

ago, and I know how deep are the currents of this war.

President Nixon's proposal for timed withdrawal is therefore eminently sound, and his desire to keep such a timetable discretionary is profoundly sensible. President Nixon has clearly put us on the path to peace.

Since it is far easier to start a war than it is to end one (let us not forget that even victors have difficulty ending wars), this country should give President Nixon, not yet a year in office, sufficient time to work out the conclusion to one of the longest wars in American history. Such support is simply the reasonable action of a reasonable people. To criticize the President's actions not for being proper, but for being slow, is childish and unrealistic. This country has been founded on that delightful cry of the underdog: "Give a man a chance." I suggest we give President Nixon a chance.

This is why it is so important for Republicans especially to band together behind the President—to give him that solid support he needs to wage a war for peace. As the titular head of the Republican Party, President Nixon should not be exposed to embarrassment or to any action by his own Party which would weaken his quest for an end to the Vietnam war. The earnest support of our President is the freest expression we have to show that we join President Nixon in ending—as quickly as rationally possible—the hell of the Vietnam war.

In conclusion may I say that we as party members should be slow to reject his appointees or question his policies, not because we should allow ourselves to be stifled, but because Richard Nixon has come to the Presidency at one of the most difficult periods in American history and he is making decisions to shape and to mold a better America.

ME

NO PEACE IN MIDDLE EAST WHILE ARABS EXPECT ISRAEL TO WITHDRAW

## HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. MURPHY of New York. There can be no peace in the Middle East so long as the Arabs, with the cunning approval of the Russians, expect Israel to withdraw from occupied territories as a precondition to negotiations for peace.

It is therefore inconceivable to me that the United States should even remotely suggest withdrawal by Israel. Secretary Rogers, in his December 9th statement, suggests that the intercession of the United States and Russia, and the abandonment of occupied territories, will hasten peace. Israel does not accept this position. I do not accept this as a sound position. The United States should not accept this position.

The lesson of 1957 is clear. Israel was amenable to accommodation with the Arabs after U.S. assurance and the Arabs used the presence of a weak-kneed United Nations force as a cover for building a war machine to smash Israel.

When that clash came in 1967, 10 years later, Israel responded heroically to her own survival and secured the homeland. Arab territory was taken. It would be foolish to abandon that territory now in the hope of inducing the Arabs to again participate in negotiations while it is

clear that the Arabs are bent on nothing less than the total destruction of Israel and the annihilation of the Jews.

Israel must hold the occupied territory and negotiate its return to the Arabs only as part of genuine, substantive talks aimed at bringing a secure and lasting peace to the Middle East. You do not bargain with anyone by throwing in your best cards at the beginning of the game.

The United Nations also errs when it attempts to deal with the Russians to have them intercede with the Arabs. Russia is in absolute harmony with the intentions of the Arabs, and Israel is opposed to bilateral talks with Russia and the four-power talks with Britain and France. We should actually be pushing for face-to-face negotiations between Arabs and Israelis.

Nations not directly involved cannot hope to bring peace to the Middle East when one of those nations is the instigator and supporter of Arab aggression and hostility.

The security and integrity of the State of Israel cannot be compromised. Israel's best hope for long-range peace is strength. I have therefore recently urged the President to supply an additional 250 Phantom jets to Israel to insure her defensive power in the shadow of increasing Russian military assistance to the Arab States.

While Israel is strong she will survive. Her strength alone will finally compel the Arabs to recognize the reality of the existence of Israel and sit down to achieve a lasting and durable peace.

Vital to Israel's strength is the unserving support of her position by the United States. The Secretary of State can do grave injustice to Israel should he attempt to compromise Israel's position in opposition to Israel's wishes.

There has been war in the Middle East three times in the last 20 years.

Let us learn from that history and not make the same mistakes again.

## CONGRESSIONAL REFORM

## HON. DONALD W. RIEGLE, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 22, 1969

Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. Speaker, our colleague, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. BOLLING) has done our country a great service by continuing to focus national attention on the pressing need for congressional reform.

His compelling article from the November issue of Playboy magazine speaks for itself and I would urge all Americans to read it.

This article follows:

THE HOUSE: "HOW THE LOWER CHAMBER BET SET BY REACTIONARY COALITIONS, STALEMATED BY AN ARCHAIC AND CORRUPTIBLE COMMITTEE SYSTEM, FAILS IN FULFILLING THE NATION'S MOST PRESSING LEGISLATIVE NEEDS"

(By Representative RICHARD BOLLING)

It is my conviction, a heresy in my trade, that the primary failures of political leadership at the Federal level are found in the United States Congress. Particularly, these

failures are found in the House of Representatives, where I serve—the legislative area of civil rights excepted. The House has failed to organize itself in such a way as to exercise effectively and responsibly its share of the political leadership that the American people may fairly expect from their Federal Government. A drastic change in the House power structure and major reforms of the House as an institution are needed. The House as now constituted is ineffective. It is negative in its approach to national tasks and usually unresponsive except to parochial economic interests. Its creaky procedures are outmoded. Its organization camouflages anonymous centers of irresponsible power. It often passes legislation that is a travesty of what is really needed.

The fundamental reforms I suggest are directed at the way Democrats in the House organize themselves. In the majority during 34 of the past 38 years, the Democrats are largely responsible for the present condition of the House. The inflammations in our cities and the unresponsiveness in our schools and the effluence of our polluted environment would be much less aggravated if the Democrats had faithfully put the House in order. If the House were properly organized, such reactionaries as Howard Smith of Virginia, longtime chairman of the House Rules Committee and a Democrat in name only, could not have arbitrarily throttled school aid, housing programs and civil rights legislation in the Forties, Fifties and early Sixties. If the House were properly organized, Representative Wilbur Mills of Arkansas, chairman of the powerful House Ways and Means Committee, would not have been able to pigeon-hole Medicare for the elderly until 1965. Congress would be a more respected body today if it, rather than the Supreme Court, had outlawed malapportioned Congressional districts and segregated public school districts. A majority of the Democratic Party in the House has permitted its minority Tories to misuse seniority in order to obstruct, damage and deflate the party's national programs. The House must assume part of the blame for ghetto fires and rioting, Birmingham bombings and the Little Rock school confrontation.

Is the Congress, especially the House, to continue as the least responsible organ of Government, responding, if at all, often 10, 20 or 30 years after social problems arise? Is the essential well-being of the nation dependent on an occasional political landslide, such as occurred in 1964 because of the Goldwater Presidential candidacy? Will the nation learn to improve itself by means of other institutions and thereby push the Congress to the outskirts of American society?

The naysaying 90th Congress of 1967-1968 is a good illustration of how a legislative body should not work. The House during those years gave one of its worst performances. The Congressional trail was dotted with the sump holes of legislative ineptitudes and misadventures. The House mangled elementary-secondary school aid, Model Cities, the promising Teacher Corps, rent-supplement and other anti-poverty programs. It amounted to a virtual war against America's poor.

The first mishap was the handling of that flamboyant Harlem grandee, Adam Clayton Powell. At the time, Powell was in deep trouble of his own making. He had abused his trust as chairman of the Education and Labor Committee. It distressed the country. It distressed many House members. But the Speaker of the House, John W. McCormack of Massachusetts, did not see it that way. He felt that there was no problem. Just newspaper talk, the Speaker said. Yet mail demanding Powell's head was being delivered by the truckloads to House members from irate constituents. A few of the senior bulls shared McCormack's view. Disturb Powell, they reasoned, and who knows which of us



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committee chairmen may someday be dislodged from our seniority shelter?

So what happened? Powell was quite properly stripped of his chairmanship of the Education and Labor Committee by a caucus of his Democratic colleagues. This action then snowballed into a successful but unconstitutional move to deprive Powell of the seat to which his Harlem constituents had elected him. Incompetent leadership was to blame for not blocking the exclusion effort. As a result, Harlem, festering with dire poverty, was not represented in the House for the two-year life of the 90th Congress.

The Powell affair was only the first in a series of bumbblings. The Democratic House leadership agreed to accept an apportionment of seats among Republicans and Democrats on the key Ways and Means and Appropriations committees that doomed at the outset the liberal domestic legislative program of the President. While urban ghettos blazed during the midsummer of 1967, the House gutted remedial legislation for urban areas in mindless fashion. It refused even to discuss a bill to authorize a rat-eradication program for cities—yet a few days later, it became known that a contract had been let to eradicate rats in the office buildings occupied by House members. A bill to renew and extend the anti-poverty program—a real hope for millions of Americans, both black and white—was so incompetently scheduled that it barely survived debate on the House floor.

Finally, in late 1968, the 90th Congress ended on perhaps the most outrageous note of all. The core of parliamentary government is the vote. When it is abused or besmirched, our democracy is gravely wounded. Yet last fall, it appeared that House assistant clerks were registering as present many members who were not present—indeed, one member was in California at the time he was recorded. This scandalous ghost voting caused no great outcry among House members, although it was referred for inquiry to the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct. That committee has recommended a preliminary course of action that can lead to effective reform in this vital area.

Amid this bedlam, the conservative and reactionary committee chairmen prospered. One was Mills, the chairman of Ways and Means. Under the rules of the House, legislation involving tax reform, Social Security, Medicare, welfare programs and a vast array of other domestic problems are referred to this grand committee. Mills is a legislator of considerable ability and strong conservatism. At some time or other, he has voted against Medicare, minimum wage, foreign aid, Model Cities, anti-poverty funds and civil rights. He bottled up the surcharge until he forced the President into agreement on a ceiling on domestic spending, a deceptive-sounding objective that disguised its true purpose; rather than curtailing or stretching out such expenditures as postponable military construction, civil public works and highway construction, Mills assured slashes in the newer, innovative programs designed to solve the problems of our cities.

As chairman of the Committee on Committees, composed of the 15 Democrats on Ways and Means, Mills also occupies a powerful Democratic Party position in the House. Until this year, when a small halter was placed on it, this committee had, without restraint, assigned all other Democrats to seats on the other permanent committees of the House. Southern Democrats—actually, "Republicans with Southern accents"—have, until recently, been a majority on this key Committee on Committees. Over the years, this custom has enabled Southerners—many of whom are able men of great integrity, but virtually all of whom are stuck to the segregationist flypaper—to rise to head the major legislative committees and key subcommittees within these full committees. Even this

year, nine of the 21 committees have Southern Democrats as chairmen and only one of the nine chairmen is what I would call a "national Democrat."

How in the devil did this regressive state of affairs develop? And why has it been permitted to continue? The story begins in 1910, when insurgent Republicans, joined by Democrats, successfully rebelled against a tyrannical and deeply conservative G.O.P. Speaker, Joseph "Uncle Joe" Cannon of Illinois. The bipartisan rebels forged a voting majority to strip the Speakership of its major powers, among them the unilateral power to appoint all members, Democrats as well as Republicans, to committees. Subsequently, House Democrats and Republicans each devised separate machinery to name their respective members to the committees. It soon became the firm practice to re-elect returning members to the committees on which they had served in the previous Congress. The Democratic committee members came to be listed in order of the length of time they had served on a particular committee—the one with the greatest service was chairman, if his party was the majority party in the House. In a broad sense, this custom was acceptable. After all, it takes time to learn to be a competent national legislator. But seniority became the overriding factor in determining appointments to committees—a custom no other state or national assembly in the world follows. Custom became Congressional "common law." Violating seniority became as unthinkable as soliciting for one's sister. Senior Congressmen, of course, enjoy the seniority system. Most of those far less senior tolerate it, in the hope they too, someday will enjoy the trappings of chairmanships. The few who recognize its evils are outgunned in any attempt to change matters.

The present state of affairs, then, is this: For a Democrat to become a chairman, he need only live long enough and get re-elected often enough to outdistance his colleagues. Eventually, he'll make it, although he may have the morals of a Mafia capo or the mind of a moron—or both. And who among Democrats is most likely to achieve the cherished goal of chairman? The answer is easy: He is a member from a one-party Congressional district, usually in the rural South—insular, suspicious and racist. His rise on the seniority ladder is aided by the competitive nature of many Northern districts, where Democrats fare less well. Consequently, Southern Democrats generally hostile to the moderately liberal cast of their national party came to dominate the House power structure. It is as if we named George Wallace to head the United States Civil Rights Commission, a Democrat to head the Republican National Committee or someone who believes the world is flat to head the Federal space agency. (Along their way to power, it should be noted, the Southerners have the assistance of the "dough-faces"—Northern men with political appetites rather than convictions—elected from rotten districts in New York, Chicago and other large cities. Both types come to the House to feast on the spoils. They don't give a damn about issues.)

Occasionally, an aspiring Southern Democrat lets slip his masks in this farce. Both Albert Watson of South Carolina and John Bell Williams of Mississippi, for example supported the Republican Presidential candidate, Barry Goldwater, in 1964. Their actions were so blatant that a thin majority of House Democrats, in caucus, was able to strip them of their accumulated seniority. Watson then showed his true colors. He resigned his seat in the House returned to South Carolina, ran as a Republican for the seat he had just vacated and was elected. He still sits as a Republican in the House. Williams, a much more senior member of the House, would now be the chairman of the House Committee on

Interstate and Foreign Commerce had his seniority on that committee not been taken away. Deprived of this opportunity for great national power, he chose to seek the much less important position of governor of Mississippi. He succeeded, and now the people of that sad state are the exclusive beneficiaries of his reactionary tendencies. This year, Representative John Rarick of Louisiana, who had supported George Wallace, was likewise stripped of his seniority at a Democratic caucus—an action energetically fought by the House Democratic leadership, including Speaker McCormack.

But these are only dents in the iron system of seniority, a system with very real rewards. From his cockpit as committee chairman, a member may and does thumb his nose at the President, the Speaker and a majority of his own party. A chairman usually decides which bills will be granted hearings. He controls the timing of the hearings and the selection of witnesses. By absenting himself or refusing to call committee meetings, he often can deny a bill passage through his committee. It's that simple—and that arbitrary.

Among the most right-wing chairmen is Mendel Rivers of Charleston, South Carolina, a Snopes who whispered support for Hubert Humphrey in the 1968 Presidential election while winking at the supporters of George Wallace. During a TV interview, he once said, "I don't put myself on a parity with a Government employee. The people, in the Constitution, put me above them." He supported his party's national program only 37 percent of the time during 1965-1966, and hasn't changed since. He chairs the Armed Services Committee, which seldom gives searching thought to the major military matters within its jurisdiction but acts, instead, primarily as a committee on military real estate, parceling out military installations to districts of "deserving members." John McMillan of South Carolina heads the District of Columbia Committee, which has made our national seat of Government a national disgrace. William Colmer of Mississippi heads the powerful Rules Committee, through which most legislation reported favorably by committees must pass before reaching the House floor for final action. And this is only a partial list.

The result has been a grand deception of the American people. For 34 of the past 38 years, as I noted earlier, the Democrats have been the "majority party" in the House. In the present 91st Congress, for example, there are 243 "Democrats" and 192 "Republicans" in the House. However, at least 60 of the 243 Democrats are opposed to the Democratic National Party platform. These 60 are Southerners almost without exception. And there are perhaps ten John Lindsay types among the 192 Republicans. Therefore, the true equation on major domestic remedial legislation is not 243 Democrats to 192 Republicans. In fact, 243 Democrats to 192 Republicans. In fact, 193 members are generally in favor of progress and 242 are usually opposed. Consequently, the Southerners still maintain a balance of power in those dozen or so hotly contested domestic legislative rows that erupt during each session of Congress. Their pivotal position is being eroded, but it still often thwarts the national, as opposed to the regional, interest.

This ratio is reflected within the key committees as well. Usually, the gutting of bills to aid the poor and mistreated takes place beyond the glare of publicity, behind the closed doors of the committee room. The truncated bill then comes to the floor—where it is very difficult to restore the lost features.

The condition of committee appointments has two faces, actually. One aspect is packing a committee, so that humane legislation does not get a fair chance to be considered. The second aspect is equally disastrous to fairness and justice. Certain House committees, as in the Senate, have become

# - ELECTION OF MEMBER TO COMMITTEE

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged resolution (H. Res. 770) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution as follows:

H. RES. 770

Resolved, That Phillip M. Crane, of Illinois, be, and he is hereby, elected a member of the standing committees of the House on Banking and Currency and House Administration.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

## ADMINISTRATION'S MARITIME PROGRAM

(Mr. GARMATZ asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced a bill which is designed to implement President Nixon's proposed 10-year program to revitalize the American merchant marine.

I want to emphasize that this legislation is cosponsored by 35 members of my House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, as well as myself. It is also cosponsored by a number of Congressmen who are not members of my committee but are concerned about the future of the American merchant marine. This includes the majority whip, the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. Boggs), and the minority leader, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. GERALD R. FORD).

The fact that many Democrats and Republicans have joined together to support this legislation is significant: It is indicative—especially of my committee—of the bipartisan, cooperative spirit with which we are attempting to reverse the alarming decline of our maritime industry.

I hope the same spirit of cooperation will now be displayed by all segments of the industry—including labor and management—so that this program can be made to work. I think the industry realizes that—as far as a maritime program is concerned—it is “now, or never.” Everyone is going to have to hitch in his belt a few notches, and be willing to make a few sacrifices.

When President Nixon first presented his proposal for a long-range maritime program to our committee, I said at the time that it was a good program, and that I would support it.

The President first presented that program to Congress October 23, 1969. When the implementing legislation did not soon follow, I became naturally concerned about the time lag. I, therefore, announced on December 11, that my committee would begin a series of comprehensive hearings in January 1970 on a total maritime program. In that hearing schedule, I included a number of subjects which are not considered in the President's program. Among these are the Jones Act, passenger ships, inducement for ship construction in the domestic trades, an independent maritime

agency bill, nuclear potential, and so forth. These matters are important and, I think should be included in a comprehensive maritime program.

The schedule of hearings already announced were based on the assumption that we would have in hand by the time the hearings commenced the legislative recommendations of the administration to implement the President's long-range maritime program. Accordingly, I do not think it will be necessary to reprogram our hearings to take account of the administration's legislative recommendations. I am confident that with the cooperation of spokesmen for the Government agencies, industry, and labor we can complete the hearings in all the subject areas I have proposed within the time frame I suggested.

I want to congratulate President Nixon; Maurice H. Stans, Secretary of Commerce; and Andrew E. Gibson, Maritime Administrator. They have kept their word and presented America with a new hope for its ailing maritime industry. I hope Congress will give it the support it deserves.

## MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT

(Mr. McKNEALLY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. McKNEALLY. Mr. Speaker, I rise seriously to question a policy being pursued by the State Department and the administration. It is incredible that the long, drawn out period leading to negotiations following the 6-day war in 1967 between the Arabs and the State of Israel should be culminating in the way they are. It is understood that the Soviet Union and the other two parties were informed by our country that Israel should withdraw to the Egyptian border of 1967. Now we are informed that Israel is to withdraw to the Jordanian border with minimal changes. It occurs to me that this policy is based upon a calculation which works to the detriment of our friends and will lead, if it has not already done so, to a further unsettling of the situation bedeviling the Middle East.

Israel won the 1967 war. It threw its own soldiers into the fight. In a period of 6 heroic days, they redeemed again their right to exist as a nation. The issue was simple enough—whether Israel was to remain a sovereign state or was to be obliterated. In 1948, within 11 hours of the Declaration of Independence of the State of Israel, the United States recognized Israel's sovereignty. From that day on, it has been understood by all people that the policy of the United States would be in pursuance of its original show of friendship and support.

Over the years the American people of all faiths and nationalities have visited Israel and acclaimed the strength of its spirit and its stability. Time after time that spirit has been tested by the Arabs and time after time that spirit has not once been broken. It can, however, be broken by such behavior as we are witnessing in the present attempts at negotiations.

I might say to you, in addition, that

all of this is leading to the Americanization of the negotiations in the Middle East, and I warn you, Mr. Speaker, it will lead to another Americanized conflict. As the political settlement of 1957 led to another war, so will this settlement as proposed lead to a conflict of immense proportions. There is only one way to serve the interest of all and that is to bring the parties to the conflict in 1967 and the conflicts before that to the negotiating table. Israel ran its war—it can run its diplomacy.

I spoke above of a calculation. That calculation is simply this. By concessions to the Soviet Union, it is expected that we shall appease them, and perhaps neutralize the Arabs in the Middle East. I am not unaware of the extent to which Russia has armed the Arab nations following their disastrous defeat in 1967. I am not unaware of their rising power in the Middle East, but I submit to you, Mr. Speaker, and to this House that the interest of the Soviet Union in the Middle East transcends their present involvement with the Arabs and even supersedes their hostility to the State of Israel.

The Soviets are working on a global scheme. If they can subvert the Arab nations and subdue and destroy Israel, they will have reached the Indian Ocean and the control of everything that touches it. One arm of the pincers movement will be secure. The other arm at this moment is strengthening rather successfully, it appears to me, through the Southeast of Asia and the heart of South Vietnam. If we pursue the policy in the Middle East that seems to be developing, we will have played into the hands of the Soviets.

Forget if you will, Mr. Speaker, the strong sentiments of sympathy, of solidarity, of confidence and of faith that many of us have for Israel. Forget its capacity to be born, its strength to live, its strength to dream, its struggle to teach its children the traditions, the aspirations, and the realities of an ancient faith. Forget if you will the thrust which resulted in Israel's birth. Israel came about after World War II largely because an ancient people were nearly destroyed in Europe. They were disappointed when other people who might have helped turned and looked the other way.

The Jews were lonely during those years because of the faults of other men. For Heaven's sake, do not make the Jews of Israel lonely again. The very basis of our policy should be to keep this one democratic state in the Middle East alive. If we cannot keep it alive out of compassion and friendship, let us keep it alive because of our own selfish self-interest. No matter what we forget, let us not forget that Israel is the bastion, on a far away shore, of Western values, Western culture, and free men. If this Nation forgets that, it will have abandoned a primary of its own existence.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, the policy as we understand it needs immediate re-vamping. Any policy concerning the Middle East must be based upon the central fact of upholding the State of Israel as the only bastion of freedom in that area and the only light in a darkening world.

December 23, 1969

**PEACE IN ISRAEL**

(Mr. KING asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record.)

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, I wish to associate myself with the remarks of the gentleman from New York (Mr. McKNEALLY). I, too, am greatly disturbed by the attitude of the Secretary of State, Mr. Rogers, in attempting to dictate peace terms to the sovereign state of Israel. The result of his latest press releases has been to send a shiver of fear down the backs of all of us who have long supported Israel. We must not yield to Soviet influence. We must not become intrapped by Soviet schemes. Russia is not our friend; Israel is.

Earlier this session, I introduced House Resolution 234, which calls upon and urges the President among other things to bring about direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab States. This must be done. Israel won the war; it can and must be allowed to negotiate its own peace.

House Resolution 234 reads as follows:

**H. RES. 234**

Whereas an internal Middle East conflict inherently endangers the peace and well-being of the world community of nations;

Whereas an open door in the Middle East is vital to the protection of NATO's southern flank and to the flow of world commerce;

Whereas by United Nations declaration Israel legally deserves the status and rights of a sovereign nation and the territorial integrity which such status entails;

Whereas many thousands lost their lives in the recent Middle East conflict; and

Whereas it is essential to avoid repeating the mistakes of 1956 which led to the resumption of hostilities in 1967; Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That it is the sense of the House of Representatives that permanent peace in the Middle East can be achieved only if—

(1) the existence and sovereignty of Israel is acknowledged by the Arab nations;

(2) freedom of passage in the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aquaba is guaranteed not only to Israel but to all nations;

(3) final settlement of the boundaries of the State of Israel is made and such boundaries are acknowledged by the Arab nations;

(4) effective restrictions are imposed upon the flow of arms into the Middle East from other members of the world community;

(5) all nations address themselves to a final and equitable solution of the refugee problem in the Middle East; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the House of Representatives, in order that lasting peace may be established in the Middle East, urges the President of the United States—

(1) to use all diplomatic resources at his command, including our membership in the United Nations, to work for the accomplishment of the five aforementioned objectives, and

(2) to oppose, as a precondition to the discussion and negotiation of the aforementioned five objectives, the relinquishment by Israel of territories possessed at the time the cease-fire was effectuated, and

(3) to oppose an imposed settlement either upon Israel or the Arab States, and

(4) to use every available means to bring about, through direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab States, the consummation of permanent peace treaties.

**AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST**

(Mr. LOWENSTEIN asked and was given permission to address the House

for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to associate myself with the remarks of the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. McKNEALLY) this morning.

**MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND TECHNOLOGY**

(Mr. BOW asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous material.)

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution voted at its meeting on November 5, 1969, to request that the Congressional Regents introduce legislation to authorize the construction of pavilions as additions to the National Museum of History and Technology for the Smithsonian Institution, including the preparation of plans and specifications and all other work incidental thereto.

As a member of the Board of Regents, I am complying with that request today.

The Board of Regents has prepared the following statement of justification for the legislation:

**JUSTIFICATION**

The National Museum of History and Technology (NMHT) is the center of historic research and education at the Smithsonian. It is fitting, therefore, that the Institution's observance of the Nation's Bicentennial in 1976 should be focused principally upon this Museum.

Yet this Museum, which has far surpassed all expectations in its popularity and in demands upon its resources, is already inadequate to accommodate the increased numbers of visitors and to display to best advantage its historical resources. Unless action is taken immediately to fit the Museum for its role in the Bicentennial, the Museum may prove unable to make the contribution the occasion demands.

**INCREASED VISITORS, LIMITED SPACE**

The number of visitors to NMHT is increasing steadily, even without the Bicentennial. In 1967, for example, the number of visitors to NMHT was nearly six million. The year 1976 will bring much larger numbers to the Mall and to the Museum.

Exhibit space in NMHT is already scarce. The historical collections are growing and special acquisitions of historical artifacts will be a part of the Museum's Bicentennial preparations. If the Museum is to fulfill its education role, to make a coherent and comprehensive statement about the growth of the United States it must now construct appropriate exhibit space.

To accommodate new permanent exhibits and to handle an unprecedented influx of Bicentennial visitors, the Smithsonian Institution proposes that two Bicentennial pavilions be added to the Museum of History and Technology.

**THE BICENTENNIAL PAVILIONS**

The Bicentennial Pavilions will become the focus of a great effort of research to interpret the first 200 years of the United States. Long after 1976, they will be the scene of important educational presentations revealing the special international nature of America's history.

As proposed, the two Pavilions will, with the present museum, provide a three-part complex in the National Museum of History and Technology.

**THE FIRST PAVILION**

The first pavilion, "A Nation From the Nations," will present the people who have settled America; their contributions, their

trials, and their character. The theme would be the distinctive immigrant experience of each period of American history and of each part of the country.

Topical exhibits would illuminate the rise of American civilization, emphasizing the contributions of all the different ethnic groups: political institutions and law influenced by other nations; technology, from English factory organizations to Dutch diamond cutting; the scientific, agricultural and mathematical contributions of the Germans, Danish, Swiss and Italians, and the many contributions of various peoples to American religion, art, architecture, education, science, sports and other fields.

**THE SECOND PAVILION**

The present Museum will continue to show the achievements of America: what the American people have accomplished together, from folk art to physics to human rights.

The second pavilion will provide the final phase of the Museum's Bicentennial presentation: "A Nation to the Nations." Its goal: to trace the influence of America on the world; the shaping power of our thought, industry and politics upon the world.

A final segment of this pavilion, entitled "Toward World Community," will show how Americans and their ideas of cooperation have helped shape and cement a world community.

**A SCHOLARLY EFFORT**

It should be noted that the Bicentennial Pavilions promise not only an effort in bricks and mortar, but a focal point for new and important scholarly activity.

As Secretary Ripley has said:

"We have failed to give the true historical picture, to describe the whole panorama of our cultures. Young people representing Negroes, Indians, Spanish, Chinese, Japanese and other subcultures are not given the evidence that they are part of the stream of history of the United States with a noble past, a vital present, and an unlimited future. If our Institution is to play a valid role in the Bicentennial of the American Revolution in 1976, we should be prepared to correct what is in effect a series of oversights in history, the history of our country and of the multiplicity of our people."

To this end, the Pavilion project will call upon many of the nation's greatest scholars as consultants. The Smithsonian hopes that such eminent social historians as Oscar Handlin, Samuel Eliot Morison, John Hope Franklin, Oscar Lewis, Richard Hofstadter, and others, will contribute to the Bicentennial Pavilion effort.

The paucity of scholarship both in immigration-history and in the history of American influence abroad gives us the opportunity to promote a deeper and wider discovery and understanding of our role in the world.

At a time when our nation is preoccupied with its internal divisions, when we are tempted to identify "minority" status with poverty and inequality, the Pavilions will channel our concern into a broad humanistic pride. They will remind all Americans that our "minorities" are the symbol of our peculiar strength and of our ties to all mankind.

**COST**

Each pavilion will provide approximately 25,000 square feet of additional floor space. Design, construction, site improvements and completion of interior furnishings are estimated to cost \$6,000,000.

The text of the bill is as follows:

**H.R. 15420**

A bill to authorize the construction of pavilions as additions to the National Museum of History and Technology for the Smithsonian Institution, including the preparation of plans and specifications and all other work incidental thereto

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the*



Regents of the Smithsonian Institution are hereby authorized and directed to have prepared drawings and specifications for and to construct suitable pavilions as additions to the National Museum of History and Technology Building at 14th Street and Constitution Avenue, NW., Washington, D.C. (with requisite equipment) for the use of the Smithsonian Institution, to be used for special exhibits in support of the Bicentennial of the American Revolution and thereafter for the use of the Smithsonian Institution, at a cost not to exceed \$6,000,000.

Sec. 2. That the preparation of said drawings and specifications, the design and erection of the building, and all work incidental thereto may be placed under the supervision of the Administrator of the General Services Administration in the discretion of the Board of Regents.

Sec. 3. That there are hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Smithsonian Institution such sums, not to exceed \$6,000,000 as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act: *Provided*, That appropriations for this purpose, except such part as may be necessary for the incidental expenses of the Regents of the Smithsonian Institution in connection with this project, may be transferred to the General Services Administration for the performance of the work: *Provided further*, when so specified in the pertinent appropriation act, that amounts appropriated under this authorization are available without fiscal year limitation.

#### VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION'S MEDICAL PROGRAM FOR VETERANS

(Mr. TEAGUE of California asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, although the President in making strenuous efforts to reduce expenditures in all Government departments and agencies, he has shown his concern for the medical care of our sick and disabled veterans by recently authorizing 1,500 additional full-time employees for the Veterans' Administration. Moreover, 83 percent of these employees were specifically earmarked for the hospital and medical program.

Despite this action by the President, and other significant developments, certain news items that have appeared in recent days in newspapers, and which have been highlighted in national TV news programs fail to present all of the facts regarding the Veterans' Administration's medical care program for veterans.

I am concerned that the general public, and, more importantly, our young Vietnam veterans may come to the belief that the Veterans' Administration is neither capable nor much concerned about providing proper hospital care for these younger veterans. Such a conclusion would be entirely erroneous. This Congress, the Veterans' Administration and the President of the United States are equally determined to provide—and are not providing—outstanding medical care which the Nation's veterans have most assuredly earned and deserve.

I am informed by high officials of the Veterans' Administration that these are the facts.

Some reports infer that "an avalanche" of Vietnam veterans are seeking

Veterans' Administration hospital treatment, but that Veterans' Administration facilities cannot provide the necessary beds. Nothing could be further from the truth. These reports overstate the demand, and underestimate the Veterans' Administration's capacity for meeting the demand that actually exists.

Vietnam veterans have full and equal eligibility for Veterans' Administration hospital care with veterans of all other wars. An accurate measure of the present demand is demonstrated by the fact that of some 86,000 patients in the Veterans' Administration's 166 hospitals at this very moment, fewer than 6,000 are Vietnam era veterans. In the past fiscal year, of the more than 800,000 Veterans' Administration patients treated, only 44,000—or slightly more than 5 percent—were Vietnam veterans who required hospitalization.

Based on experience to date, the total of Vietnam veterans requiring treatment probably will reach about 60,000 in this fiscal year, and the Veterans' Administration has the capacity to meet the gradually increasing hospitalization needs of our younger veterans. Thanks in large part to farsighted legislation initiated by our House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, plus constantly improving treatment methods, the Veterans' Administration is treating more than 150,000 additional patients than it could accommodate a decade ago.

The Veterans' Administration appropriations bill recently signed by the President includes \$1.5 billion for medical care—the highest sum devoted to this purpose in the history of the Veterans' Administration. The amount is about \$68 million over last year's appropriations, and more than \$180 million in excess of amounts available in the 1968 fiscal year.

Although much has been said about the inadequacy of Veterans' Administration hospital staffs, the staffing ratio between medical employees and patients is constantly improving. The ratio for all types of Veterans' Administration hospitals in this fiscal year is about 127 employees for each 100 patients. The ratio was 121 to 100 last year; 117 to 100 the year before, and only 104 to 100 in fiscal year 1966.

It has been alleged that physicians are leaving the Veterans' Administration program in disproportionate numbers. This is not borne out by the latest statistics. As of September 30, 1969, the Veterans' Administration had 4,954 full-time physicians—including 799 hard-to-get psychiatrists. This is 190 more doctors than VA had just 6 months earlier, including 26 more psychiatrists.

Many of the critics who mistakenly claim that physicians are not attracted to the Veterans' Administration medical program, infer that this has occurred principally because of a major reduction in medical research and medical education and training funds. The truth is that the Veterans' Administration now has a medical research budget of \$57.6 million, which is 20 percent higher than last year, and 26 percent higher than the year before—and is currently funding the medical education and training pro-

grams at an all-time high level of \$87 million, a sum \$11.4 million higher than the year before.

It has been claimed that the Veterans' Administration was loading its psychiatric patients with chemicals and, thus was dooming young Vietnam veterans to perpetual stays in mental hospitals.

The psychotropic drugs now used throughout the medical world, have nearly doubled the turnover of mental patients in all mental hospitals. The Veterans' Administration, through its cooperative studies, has scientifically established the proper use of these drugs. As a result, the Veterans' Administration monthly turnover of psychiatric patients in the past fiscal year was 18.4 percent. The turnover was 15.4 percent the year before, and was 12.7 percent and 10.6 percent in the 2 years before that. In fiscal year 1950—before the Veterans' Administration's pioneering work with these drugs—the turnover rate was only 5.3 percent.

I want to assure our Vietnam veterans and the American people that the Nation's veterans now have, and will continue to have the finest medical care possible in our Veterans' Administration hospitals. I also know that no one is more determined that this should be so than President Nixon and his administration.

#### ME AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST FAILS TO SERVE PEACE

(Mr. PUCINSKI asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I believe that Secretary of State Rogers is playing a very dangerous game in the policy he has assumed in the Middle East, particularly the policy he has proposed for the solution of the Arab-Israeli problem.

I believe the Secretary is totally unmindful of the fact that there is a whole new problem in the Middle East since the Soviet Union has come into the Middle East and has moved in on that situation. I believe the policy of parity in arms in the Middle East which this country has followed for many years is no longer realistic when we consider that the Soviet Union has given Egypt 960 jet fighters and has given the Syrians 460 jet fighters and has rearmed completely the Arab armies and is now stirring up aggression in the Middle East.

In my judgment it is folly for our State Department to fail to see that, unless we give Israel the kind of arms she needs to defend herself and to have a balance of power in the Middle East, we are actually inviting a major disaster in that part of the world.

I was astounded to hear the Secretary now is suggesting an imposition of terms on Israel which neither Israel nor the Arab States have had anything to say about. We remember well the result of Yalta and we remember well the result of the other international agreements where the major powers have tried to determine the destinies of small countries, and we know what happens.

I suggest Mr. Rogers seriously reconsider his policy and that Mr. Rogers

indeed move in the direction of forcing the Arabs and the Israelis to sit down and work this problem out for themselves.

There are those who say the Israelis are the aggressors. I think we have to understand what the situation is. Here is a nation of 2.5 million people gallantly and heroically and valiantly trying to stem the tide of 100 million whose leaders have publicly stated they will not rest until Israel is driven into the sea. So Israel cannot under any circumstances permit any kind of build up of strength anywhere along her many borders. The moment she lets two or three pockets of strength build up, she is through. So the Israelis have had to take a calculated risk because they are fighting against great odds.

I think it is high time that we Americans recognize the survival of a free Israel is not a sentimental journey for the Jewish people alone but it is in the highest interest of the United States.

What happens in the Middle East may very well control and determine the future of this world. There is an old saying that he who controls Africa controls the world. The rich natural resources of that African Continent have always been the great ambition of the Soviet Union. Little Israel alone stands today in the way of the complete domination by the Soviet Union of the Middle East.

So I say, Mr. Speaker, it is a naive policy Mr. Rogers is following today. I believe the United States ought to publicly declare that the survival of Israel is in the highest interests of the United States and of all free nations, and act accordingly. If Israel needs 200 Phantom jets, give her 200 Phantom jets to maintain peace. The only way we will have peace in the Middle East is to let Israel be strong enough to defend herself. If we forget this nation we will see the Soviet Union dominating the Middle East, dominating Southeast Asia, and dominating Europe. There is no question that this is coming unless we act decisively.

That is why I say there is reason to believe that the State Department is on a collision course in the Middle East. Two objectives are the motivation which may lead to a point of no return: first the desire to appease the Soviet Union in the hope that by such appeasement the Soviet Union will reciprocate by attempting to gain concessions for us from Hanoi and second, the desire by the United States to regain the lost amity once enjoyed in her relationship with the Arab nations. Both attempts are pregnant with danger for the United States. The lessons of Yalta should have taught our State Department that the appeasement of the Soviet Union can only bring tragedy in its wake. Because of its present involvement with Communist China the Soviet Union may give the impression that she is willing to abandon her Communist expansionism in exchange for friendly relations with the United States. This is sheer hypocrisy. There is a better way for the Soviet Union to demonstrate her peaceful intentions: By allowing the peoples of Eastern and Central Europe to hold free elections. I am sure that the United States would applaud such action and offer many concrete acts of friend-

ship once that is done. But not until such time ought we to rely on Soviet promises.

The desire to regain friendly relations with the Arab States is commendable. The United States should attempt to achieve friendly relations with all nations. But at what cost? How is one to measure friendly relations? And with whom do we seek friendly relations—with the people of the Arab States or with their dictators? Are we attempting to appease Nasser? If we are, then I hold that the American people ought to be appraised of that fact. In my opinion, appeasement is a mistaken policy. A man who sees war as the only solution to the problems in the Middle East is not my idea of a man in whom the American people should have trust and confidence. By contrast, how does the Prime Minister of Israel state her case?

Mrs. Golda Meir declared:

We have decided, that as far as it lies within our power, and to the extent that it depends on us this is going to be the last war that will be fought between the Arab States and us. We don't ask them for a love declaration but that they must acquiesce to our existence in the area. They will be there forever. We ask them to live with us in peace—for our part, in cooperation.

Any concessions made to Nasser will not be interpreted by anyone as a victory for us. It will, in deed and in fact, be a defeat for the United States and a victory for the Soviet Union.

The problems of the Middle East can be solved only when the principals themselves are made to sit down at the conference table. I am sure the Israelis would not object, no matter what the shape of the table may be. Instead of pressuring the Israelis, as is now being done, the United States would do well to take a more positive stand on the side of Israel, not on the side of the Soviet Union.

#### GI EDUCATIONAL BENEFITS

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House the gentleman from New York (Mr. HALPERN) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I deplore the fact that Congress has failed to take final action on a broader veterans' education benefit bill this year. It is my fervent hope that action on an increased GI education bill will be the first order of business when the Congress reconvenes in January.

It is my belief that the increases being proposed are inadequate, because they fall far short of today's realities. The House passed a 30-percent hike, raising benefits from \$130 to \$170 monthly. However, the Senate passed the Yarborough-Cranston bill, similar to my own proposal, providing for a 50-percent boost to \$190 monthly. The difference must now be reconciled by a Senate-House conference, which I hope will swiftly be convened when Congress returns.

Another major difference in the bills passed by both houses, was that the Senate passed an amendment sponsored by Senator CRANSTON, which I sponsored in the House, setting up a PREP program, a remedial education incentive

effort to encourage more Vietnam GI's to use their educational benefits. The House failed to act on this amendment.

Indecision on this matter of GI benefits vitally affects the Nation's future. GI education costs should be considered a part of the cost of waging war. I do not hear anyone asking that we skimp in the cost of weapons to help our men defend themselves.

In June of 1944 this Nation undertook a bold new commitment in the area of veterans' benefits with the passage of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944. Among other provisions, this act, popularly known as the GI bill, established a program to help returning war veterans obtain an education.

The response to this program was immediate and immense. More than half of the 15 million veterans returning from service in World War II took advantage of it to further their education. Under a similar program enacted for veterans of the Korean war period, another 2.4 million ex-servicemen received educational assistance, and the number of veterans who have participated in the current program for those serving in the post-Korean period has already passed the million mark.

It is not possible, of course, to measure precisely the long-range effects of these programs of educational assistance for veterans, but we can, in general terms, be confident that every dollar spent for such purposes is a dollar wisely invested.

Education is after all, as Abraham Lincoln once said, "the most important subject which we as a people can be engaged in." We do, moreover, know that on the average the more education an individual receives, the higher his lifetime earnings will be. In a very real sense, then, we may look forward to repayment with interest of whatever we spend on veterans' educational allowances in the form of the taxes to be paid on incomes which might otherwise never be earned. For this reason, failure to maintain these educational allowances at a level which will encourage our veterans to go back to school and enable them to stay in school would be false economy of the very worst kind.

#### CHANGING POLICY TOWARD MIDDLE EAST SOLUTION

(Mr. BROWN of California asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, the Middle East is a powder keg fused with big power politics and lit with deep emotional issues of sovereignty and survival. How this problem—this crisis—can be resolved has troubled me for some time. Every person concerned with world peace must think about the Middle East and the possible strains, conflicts, and destruction it can create throughout the world.

Until now, my position had been in the formative stage. My first appraisal of the conflict led me to the belief that the United Nations must play a crucial role along with the big powers to resolve the

problem. In this regard, I did not cosponsor the many resolutions which advocated direct talks between the hostile nations.

I still firmly believe that through the efforts of the U.N. and major powers of the world a true peace can be obtained. It is through these bodies that I am looking for economic aid, refugee assistance, and a world leadership and guidance in obtaining a lasting peace. However, I have reevaluated the situation and now believe and would like to be associated with those who advocate that an immediate end to the continuous undeclared war can be found in direct talks between the hostile nations.

The reasons for my new position are multifold. I have watched the United Nations debate the merits of the 1967 war while one nation became the victor. This demonstrated to me the importance of a preventive role of the U.N. and the likelihood of its direct intervention in another all-out war.

The problems in Vietnam and the ineffectiveness of the present negotiations in Paris provide a good lesson. If we are to avoid another Vietnam, and more dependent relationships, we must permit hostile nations to independently negotiate their own peace—if they are to control and operate their own governments.

I am greatly distressed by the recent pro-Arab foreign policy statement by our Secretary of State. If the United States is to become a viable agent in the search for peace in the Middle East, we must demonstrate no bias in our views and vested interests. This was not shown by the Secretary's recent declaration. The huge arsenal buildup by the Soviet Union in the Arab world coupled with the neglect by the United States, Britain, and France in the survival of the only democratic nation in the Middle East produces great concern for the real prospects of an immediate peace and the role of the United States in the search for that peace.

The answer to Middle East crisis must be found not in military terms, but in solutions which emphasize peaceful coexistence, recognition of the sovereignties of the area, and their right to peaceful existence, recognition of refugee problems and their right to live, and recognition of nonmilitary expressions of hostility.

#### CONGRESSMEN CALL ON PRESIDENT TO NEGOTIATE WITH INDIAN PEOPLE ABOUT ALCATRAZ ISLAND

(Mr. BROWN of California asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, Alcatraz Island long stands out as a poignant symbol of our civilization.

For years it was "the Rock," an impregnable prison fortress—its image one of solitude, repression. Today, though, Alcatraz begins to assume a new, more positive, role. To American Indian people a saga now taking place on Alcatraz is a milestone. It represents a real breakthrough to them, an escape by the Indian

people from a series of private and public binds imposed by our society.

Since early November—and in the face of persistent official harassment—Indian people have "occupied" Alcatraz Island, not as a conquest, but instead as a means of pointing out the tragic place of the Indian people in this society. The occupation of Alcatraz by the Indians has been a harmless, yet effective, method of bringing to the attention of the American people the fact that we have neglected the cultural needs of today's Indians.

To date, government Indian policies have been patronizing, treating them like children, and further alienating the Indian people and destroying their rich culture. One has only to read recent books by young Indians such as Vine Deloria and Scott Momaday, and by the Indians who wrote the moving study "Our Brothers' Keeper" under auspices of the Citizen's Advocacy Center, to understand the impact of the Government's futile attempts to assimilate Indian people into the "mainstream of American life."

Assimilation, termination, the entire list of Indian policies have failed miserably. There are more Indians in America today than ever before, we are spending more than ever on various Indian programs; yet, the Indian people consistently rank as the poorest, most illiterate, short-lived and distant members of our society.

Therefore, Alcatraz is critically important. It is a move by the Indian people themselves. Unfortunately—and tragically—the Government has failed them. Now, Indians have decided to peacefully take destiny into their own hands.

I view the Alcatraz experience as no "renegade" act. The island is barren, crumbling, isolated, seemingly unwanted by the Government which owns the property. While various proposals for the island have been made since the prison was abandoned, virtually all have been rejected as unfeasible for one reason or another.

I assume that had not the Indians moved onto the island, it would have gone unused, unnoticed for years. Over that period, it would be a continual cost for the Government; but, while it may be a debit for Government, for the Indian people it poses many immediate benefits.

On Alcatraz the Indians are doing something positive. They have created a living community on the island. And their future plans are both feasible and viable. Instead of a casino or a gold rush days exposition, two possible alternative suggestions bantered about at one time or another for Alcatraz, the Indian people envision using the facilities on the island to set up a cultural center and educational complex.

Along with a surprisingly large number of my colleagues, I support the Indian people in their plans and their vision. Three weeks ago I met with some of the Indians from Alcatraz—the group is known as the Alcatraz relief fund—at the American Indian Center in San Francisco, and I indicated that I would do all I could to help the Indian people in their efforts to gain title to the island.

Last week, a meeting was held in my Washington office. The relief fund was represented by Mr. Browning Pipestem of the Arnold & Porter law firm, the fund's Washington counsel. Mr. Pipestem had just returned from San Francisco, and we discussed the current situation on Alcatraz.

As a result of that meeting, Representative OGDEN REID and I decided to introduce legislation to assist the Indian people in their plans to obtain title to Alcatraz. The language contained in the joint resolution we are introducing today was approved at a meeting this past weekend by the Indians on the island.

Now, Representative REID and I have been joined by nine of our colleagues to sponsor a House joint resolution. This resolution directs the President to initiate immediate negotiations with delegated representatives of the Alcatraz relief fund and any other appropriate representatives of the American Indian community with the objective of transferring unencumbered title in fee of Alcatraz Island to the relief fund or any other designated organization of the American Indian community.

Joining with Mr. REID and I in this measure are: JONATHAN B. BINGHAM, SHIRLEY CHISHOLM, DONALD M. FRASER, ALLARD K. LOWENSTEIN, ABNER J. MIKVA, OGDEN R. REID, BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL, EDWARD R. ROYBAL, WILLIAM F. RYAN, and LOUIS STOKES. In addition, Representative TOM REES expressed his wish to be associated with this resolution.

This resolution is but a first step. Next session I plan to sponsor a broad legislative proposal aiming to establish Government-funded, but Indian-run, cultural centers and educational systems geared to the needs and objectives of the Indian people.

For too long, the relationship between our Government and the Indian people has been distressingly dismal. Alcatraz can be a significant turning point in that relationship, and I pray that President Nixon will begin these important negotiations as soon as possible.

(Mr. BROWN of California asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. BROWN of California's remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

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[Mr. BROWN of California's remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]



December 23, 1969

## LABOR DEPARTMENT SHOULD INVESTIGATE

(Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, on December 9, 1969, members of the United Mine Workers of America voted for their international officers. In an unprecedented move, the challenger for UMWA president, Joseph A. Yablonski, had posted about 2,000 volunteer election observers at many of the polls throughout the country. Thus, he was able to document many new violations of the UMWA constitution and the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act. Pursuant to LMRDA requirements, Mr. Yablonski invoked the union's internal remedies on December 18, 1969, when he wrote to the UMWA international tellers and the union's three top officers, W. A. Boyle, George J. Titler, and John Owens, challenging the December 9 election and setting out in detail the grounds for his challenge. All of this material was submitted to the Department of Labor. Some of it had already appeared in the Record—July 15, H5955; July 29, H6509, and December 3, H11682. The rest of the information, including election day violations, I am including in today's Record. The Secretary of Labor has authority under section 601 of LMRDA to make an investigation in connection with the December 9 election. As the following documented information reveals, the Secretary of Labor should investigate these matters.

I am cognizant that there are those who would prefer to forgive and forget any election, once it is over. I submit that law and order should not be suspended, either during or after an election campaign. We have an obligation to insure that the law of the land is fully enforced. There follow the documents to which I have referred:

DECEMBER 18, 1969.

Messrs. W. A. BOYLE, president; GEORGE J. TITLER, vice president; and JOHN OWENS, secretary-treasurer, United Mine Workers of America, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MESSRS. BOYLE, TITLER, AND OWENS: Section 402 of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 requires that I invoke the remedies available under the UMWA Constitution prior to filing a complaint with the Secretary of Labor to invalidate the election of December 9.

The UMWA Constitution is not clear on what remedies are open to me inside the Union. I submit this letter and the enclosed letter to the International Tellers and appendices thereto and request that they be treated as my effort to exhaust any and all available remedies within the UMWA to invalidate the December 9 election as violative of the UMWA Constitution and LMRDA, all as described in massive detail in the enclosed letter and appendices.

I desire to present this matter to the International Executive Board at its next meeting. Secretary Owens has informed me that the Board would be called to consider my letter concerning your financial peculations. Either at that meeting or at one specially called to consider your election violations, I will present to the International Executive

Board the matters covered by the enclosed letter to the International Tellers and appendices.

Fraternally yours,

JOSEPH A. YABLONSKI.

DECEMBER 18, 1969.

International Tellers WILLIAM CALPIN, CLYDE W. RUNIONS, and EDWARD A. LAZUR, United Mine Workers of America, Washington, D.C.

GENTLEMEN: For the following reasons I hereby challenge the December 9, 1969 election for International Officers:

1. All of the conduct, unlawful under the UMWA Constitution and the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 (LMRDA), set forth in Mr. Joseph L. Rauh, Jr.'s July 9, 1969 letter to Secretary of Labor George P. Shultz, attached hereto as Appendix A.

2. All of the conduct, unlawful under the UMWA Constitution and LMRDA, set forth in Mr. Rauh's July 18, 1969 letter to Secretary Shultz, attached hereto as Appendix B.

3. All of the conduct, unlawful under the UMWA Constitution and LMRDA, set forth in Mr. Rauh's July 25, 1969 letter to Secretary Shultz, attached hereto as Appendix C.

4. All of the conduct, unlawful under the UMWA Constitution and LMRDA, set forth in Mr. Rauh's July 30, 1969 letter to Secretary Shultz, attached hereto as Appendix D.

5. All of the conduct, unlawful under the UMWA Constitution and LMRDA, set forth in Mr. Rauh's August 13, 1969 letter to Secretary Shultz, attached hereto as Appendix E.

6. All of the conduct, unlawful under the UMWA Constitution and LMRDA, set forth in Mr. Rauh's December 1, 1969 letter to Secretary Shultz, attached hereto as Appendix F.

7. All of the conduct, unlawful under the UMWA Constitution and LMRDA and in breach of Secretary-Treasurer Owens' Letter of Instructions sent to UMWA local unions pursuant to representations made on behalf of UMWA to Judge George Hart in Civil Action No. 3061-69, set forth in the affidavit of Joseph A. ("Chip") Yablonski, who coordinated my campaign effort in the field, attached hereto as Appendix G.

8. All of the conduct, unlawful under the UMWA Constitution and LMRDA, set forth in the affidavit of Clarice R. Feldman, attached hereto as Appendix H.

There is no need to repeat here what is set forth in those eight appendices. What they show, in a word, is that Tony Boyle stole the election through massive violations of the UMWA Constitution and LMRDA unprecedented in the history of the American trade union movement. His campaign can best be described as a great treasury raid in which he converted the dues of honest mine workers and elderly pensioners to his personal campaign and used the personnel of the UMWA as though they were his private servants.

These eight appendices demonstrate that the election must be set aside because of the massive violations up to election day, including already judicially-adjudicated violations of Title IV of LMRDA; that it must be set aside because of the massive violations on election day; and that it must be set aside because of the massive violations of the UMWA Constitution in counting the votes cast in unconstitutional bogey locals. The election must be set aside for each of these reasons separately. Taken together they make an overwhelming case binding on the mind and conscience of all honest men.

Tellers, stand up before it's too late. I, too, once submitted to the discipline of Tony Boyle. But I shall die an honest man because I finally rejected that discipline. I realized at long last that there are values so great in this world that the time had come to stand up and be counted for decency in our union

and a better life for the miners we represent. Your conscience will have to be your guide.

Fraternally yours,

JOSEPH A. YABLONSKI.

LAW OFFICES RAUH AND SILARD,  
Washington, D.C., July 18, 1969.

Hon. GEORGE P. SHULTZ,  
Secretary of Labor,  
Department of Labor,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: On July 9, 1969, Joseph A. Yablonski, candidate for President of the United Mine Workers of America, and H. Elmer Brown, candidate for Vice President thereof, requested an immediate and continuing investigation of the illegal activities of the incumbent UMWA officers who are seeking to prevent the nomination of Mr. Yablonski and Mr. Brown for those offices. I am writing on behalf of Mr. Yablonski and Mr. Brown once again to set forth additional pieces of information supporting our earlier request for an investigation. It can truthfully be said that there has never been the equal in massive violations of federal law to what the officers of the UMWA are now doing.

Initially, it should be pointed out that a copy of the July 9th letter was served the same day upon W. A. ("Tony") Boyle, President, George J. Titler, Vice President, and John Owens, Secretary-Treasurer, with a request that the Union or its governing Board or officers bring suit to remedy the breaches of trust by the incumbent UMWA officers and those working with them as enumerated in the July 9th letter to you. That request was, in effect, rejected in a letter from Mr. Edward Carey, General Counsel of the UMWA, dated July 14, 1969, a copy of which was sent to you. But the significant thing about Mr. Carey's letter was not his rejection of our request; rather it was his calculated failure to deny practically every assertion in our letter to you, a denial which would have carried the penalties of 18 U.S.C. 1001.

Incidentally, in the two instances where Mr. Carey did make statements of fact, they are without foundation. The suggestion in Mr. Carey's letter that Mr. Yablonski was somehow involved in the change of the UMWA Constitution in 1964 to require 50 nominations from local unions rather than 5 has no support in any record of the UMWA and is incorrect. The statement of fact—Mr. Carey's denial that "an attorney for the UMWA deliberately sought to sabotage the mailing"—falls in the face of the actual facts. After Judge Corcoran issued his preliminary injunction on June 20, 1969, directing the UMWA to send out Mr. Yablonski's campaign literature, lawyers for the UMWA and Mr. Yablonski worked out an arrangement under which a non-profit bulk mailing permit was obtained by the UMWA from the Silver Spring, Maryland, Post Office (Permit No. 542). It was understood that this permit was acquired for the purpose of distributing Mr. Yablonski's campaign literature pursuant to Judge Corcoran's Order. While Mr. Yablonski's literature, under the label "Miners for Yablonski," was on the printing press and after the postal authorities had approved use of said permit by Mr. Yablonski, Mr. Willard Owens, a lawyer for the UMWA and son of Secretary-Treasurer John Owens, called Mr. Harold E. McKnight, the relevant official of the Post Office Department, and informed him that an organization of private individuals, i.e., "Miners for Yablonski," was attempting to use the UMWA non-profit bulk mailing permit. Mr. Owens further told Mr. McKnight that "Miners for Yablonski" was not the same entity as UMWA and that therefore he thought they should not be allowed to use the UMWA bulk mailing permit. He did not mention the fact that the UMWA were under

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President's plan for ending the Vietnam war and a resolution which I also co-sponsored concerning the humane treatment of American prisoners of war in North Vietnam. Both passed the House by large margins.

I was equally pleased by the work of the Veterans' Foreign Affairs Committee on which I am now the third ranking Republican. Legislation increasing the monthly education allowances for GI's was reported out and approved by the House. The Senate has passed a similar but not identical bill, and both Houses are now meeting in conference to iron out the differences. Other veterans legislation which was favorably acted on includes the elimination of the requirement for filing an annual income questionnaire, a raise in dependency and indemnity compensation, and liberalization of mailing privileges for servicemen. The committee has also begun action to prevent veteran's pensions from terminating as a result of the recent increase in social security benefits.

LEGISLATION INTRODUCED

Following is a list of some of the bills I have introduced which I feel are vitally important to our country and to the Fourth District:

House Joint Resolution 304, FCC study of violence on TV;

House Joint Resolution 305, constitutional amendment allowing prayer in public schools;

House Joint Resolution 357, constitutional amendment for electoral reform;

H.R. 3045, definition of food supplements for the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act;

H.R. 3855, establishment of a Commission to Improve Government Management;

H.R. 4782, exempt ammunition from Federal regulation;

H.R. 4783, limit questions in census taking;

H.R. 4784, increase outside earnings without deductions from social security benefits;

H.R. 5168, preventive detention of criminals;

H.R. 5171 and H.R. 14202, prohibit mailing of obscene material;

H.R. 7427, cost-of-living increases in social security payments;

H.R. 7428, cost-of-living increases for railroad retirement;

H.R. 8769, permit joint operation of newspapers for economy reasons;

House Concurrent Resolution 169, Biffran relief;

H.R. 9156, deduction of increased living expenses from taxes due to the destruction of one's home;

H.R. 9355, Supreme Sacrifice Medal for wives and parents of servicemen killed in Vietnam;

H.R. 11118, liberalize eligibility of blind persons for social security benefits;

H.R. 12744, authorization of Eisenhower silver dollar;

H.R. 12425, addition of kidney disease to Public Health Act;

House Resolution 301, creation of National Gerontology Center to study ways to help the aged;

H.R. 13053, benefits for firemen and policemen killed in line of duty;

H.R. 13374, funding of Federal Water Pollution Control Act;

H.R. 13463, creation of mass transit trust fund;

H.R. 13776, establishment of orderly procedures to consider renewal of broadcast licenses;

H.R. 13875, broaden active duty allowed for GI education benefits;

H.R. 13983, revenue sharing with the states;

H.R. 14130, increase in home loan financing for veterans;

H.R. 14214, railroad passenger service standards;

House Resolution 614, "peace with justice in Vietnam" resolution;

House Concurrent Resolution 441, prisoner of war declaration;

H.R. 14893, giving Secretary of State authority to impose restrictions of travel to countries when such travel undercuts American foreign policy; and

House Resolution 758, establishment of congressional Committee on Improving the Quality of Our Environment.

**ME**  
 CONCERN FOR THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL

(Mr. PODELL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material.)

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply concerned about the security of Israel in the conflict that now rages in the Middle East. The erosion of Israel-American relations threatens that security still further.

Many of the points in the December 9 speech delivered by Secretary of State William P. Rogers contradict some of the earlier administration's declarations concerning Israel. On December 19, I wrote to President Nixon asking him to clarify the U.S. position on this matter. I think it important that the contents of this letter be repeated.

DECEMBER 19, 1969.

The President,  
 The White House,  
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I have carefully examined Secretary of State William P. Rogers' address of December 9, 1969, stating the Administration's policy objectives in the Middle East. Secretary Rogers enunciated a stand that appears to differ in important aspects from your own thinking on the issues of peace and security in that region.

It would appear to me, Mr. President, that the Congress has a right to know whether to regard Secretary Rogers' expressions or your own words as the official guideline to our Middle East policy. You have often stated that it is important for our enemies not to miscalculate on our intentions. A situation now exists, however, that finds Members of our own Congress confused as to whether the Administration is still backing Israel's insistence on a real peace as the essential precondition for any rolling back of Israeli forces from the present firing lines.

I would be appreciative, Mr. President, if you would clarify the actual position of the United States Government on the question of Israeli withdrawal from occupied territory. Secretary Rogers has opened a Pandora's box of confusion by giving the Communist bloc and the Arabs the impression that the United States might press Israel to withdraw in exchange for some flimsy accord that

would fall short of an actual peace treaty. The notion is spreading that our government is willing to use its great influence on Israel to accept a withdrawal arrangement similar to the 1957 roll back. You are aware, sir, of how the 1957 withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula contained international assurances that were so lacking in substance that we are now faced with the present tragedy which is daily taking a toll of Israeli lives.

I am certain you recall your erudite and well-received address of September 8, 1968, before the B'nai B'rith convention in Washington, D.C. You asserted that "it is not realistic to expect Israel to surrender vital bargaining counters in the absence of a genuine peace and effective guarantees." Have you now changed your mind?

You stated in that same speech that "we support Israel because it is threatened by Soviet imperialism". Yet Secretary Rogers failed to remark on that fact in his recent remarks. Nor did he find a single word in his lengthy address to denounce the growing menace of Soviet support of Arab guerrillas and terrorists and the deadly pipeline of Russian munitions supplying the unrelenting Arab war against Israel.

In your own speech, sir, you stated that "we must impress upon the Soviets the full extent of our determination". But Secretary Rogers gives the impression that we might be vulnerable to appeasement at Israel's expense. He said nothing about the vitriolic anti-Israel and anti-Jewish policies of the Soviet Union. Are you still mindful, Mr. President, of this sinister aspect of the Kremlin's policies?

You told the B'nai B'rith that "we can hardly ignore the fact that during the past five years of active Soviet penetration, the United States Government has at times seemed to hide its head in the sands of the Middle East. The (previous) Administration has failed to come to diplomatic grips with the scope and seriousness of the Soviet threat". Sir, is your own Administration similarly failing?

Mr. President, you told the B'nai B'rith in 1968 that "as long as the threat of Arab attack remains direct and imminent... the (power) balance must be tipped in Israel's favor". You pointed out that "if maintaining that margin of superiority should require that the United States should supply Israel with supersonic Phantom F-4 jets, we should supply those jets so that they can maintain that superiority".

Secretary Rogers did not even state that we were still concerned about a balance to deter aggression. Are you still in favor of maintaining an Israeli margin? When may we expect a reply to the promise you made to Israeli Premier Golda Meir when she visited the White House last September? Mrs. Meir got the very definite impression, it would seem, that you were following the Soviet military build-up of the Arabs and were considering authorizing the sale of additional jets, in addition to financial arrangements to enable Israel to cope with the developing military situation. As an original sponsor of the Congressional resolutions favoring the provision of Phantom jets to Israel, I would naturally like to know what is happening involving the supply of such aircraft beyond the number originally sold. I also am extremely eager to know whether we will agree to financial arrangements that would permit Israel to deter the mounting Soviet-backed and Soviet-armed vendetta of the radical Arab states against Israel.

Secretary Rogers has created more questions than he answered. I feel that the crisis in the Middle East requires that we say what we mean—and that we mean what we say. Since I, as a Member of the Congress, do not know what is going on with reference to our Middle East policy, there is a considerable likelihood that the Russians and their Arab

tion have been reasonable and should once again result in a budgetary surplus. The past fiscal year was the first time in 10 years that a national administration closed its fiscal books in black ink instead of red ink.

Two main areas that I felt required reductions in spending were the space program and foreign aid. The annual authorization for NASA this year was \$3.9 billion which is less than previous years and represents a recognition that we need to solve many of our problems on earth such as air and water pollution while we carry on our space exploration. Having attended the launch of Apollo 11 and having spoken with the astronauts, I fully realize the importance of the space program, but feel that we must be patient and only allocate what we can afford to the program.

Although the Nixon administration has effected improvements in the foreign aid program, there is still too much evidence of wasted taxpayer's dollars. Thus, I voted against both the foreign aid authorization bill and the foreign aid appropriation bill. I offered amendments both in the Foreign Affairs Committee and on the floor of the House which reduced the requested authorization substantially.

Further attempts to curb expenses included my vote against the addition of another staff member for congressional offices at the taxpayer's expense, opposition to the construction of a new wing to the Capitol Building, and support for the provision in the Agricultural Appropriations Act limiting Federal subsidy payments to farmers to a ceiling of \$20,000 per year.

#### DRAFT REFORM

I strongly favored the draft reform legislation initiated by the Nixon administration as it should cure many of the inequities in the present system. It will minimize the disruption in the individual lives of our young people by reducing the period of prime vulnerability to the draft from up to 7 years to 12 months. Moreover, selection of those classified as available on a completely random basis will give all an equal chance.

#### ELECTORAL REFORM

During the last Presidential election it became apparent that a situation was developing whereby the contest could have been thrown into the House of Representatives. Fortunately, this did not happen, but it was evident that reform was in order. While I favored the district plan and introduced a bill proposing such, I voted for the direct election plan on final passage in order that the Nation would not have to face the possibility of another Presidential election under the present system. The Senate still has to act on the constitutional amendment and it must be ratified by three-fourths of the States.

#### CRIME LEGISLATION

As crime continued to rise across America, the democratically controlled Congress continued to delay consideration of anticrime bills, some of which President Nixon asked for as long ago as January 31. The President proposed a wide-ranging attack on criminal activity

at all levels, including a stepped-up drive against organized crime, illicit drug traffic, and illegal gambling; legislative changes in witness immunity laws, bail reform laws, and grand jury procedures; and Federal aid to State and local enforcement agencies. The only proposal acted on by the Congress was an amendment to the Bail Bond Act, which I cosponsored, to permit "preventive detention" until a trial is held of defendants likely to commit further crimes. Among the few anticrime bills to come before the House, all of which I supported, were the following: establishment of a Select Committee to Study Crime; the Correctional Rehabilitation Act; and the Drug Abuse Education Act which authorizes educational programs concerning the adverse effects from the use of drugs.

#### CONSERVATION AND POLLUTION CONTROL

The House was especially active in this area, as we all realize the urgent need to improve the quality of our environment. The House passed the Water Pollution Control Act which amended and strengthened water pollution control legislation and proposed an authorization of \$348 million for a 3-year period. Furthermore, the Public Works Appropriations bill called for \$600 million for water pollution control grants to the States. This is considerably more than has been appropriated in the past. I also supported the Clean Air Act which authorized funds for research into air pollution problems involving fuels and motor vehicles, the major contributors to air pollution. In addition, legislation was passed to establish a Council on Environmental Quality. Permanent machinery to study and recommend solutions for this pressing problem has long been needed.

#### EDUCATION

Several constructive developments occurred here. I supported the Republican proposal for a 2-year extension of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act approved by the House instead of a 4-year extension. A shorter authorization is needed as Congress should change the fund distribution formula after the 1970 census results and the program should not be frozen beyond the current 4-year presidential term. This bill also combined four Federal grant programs into a single block grant to the States which is much more efficient and allows better planning by the States and local communities. Since I strongly support vocational education programs as they make productive citizens out of many who would otherwise be on our welfare roles, I voted for an amendment to the HEW appropriations bill which raised the total for HEW programs to \$17,500,000 as the increase was primarily in the area of vocational education. The House also passed the student loan emergency bill which increased the Federal subsidy on student loans by 3 percent. This was imperative as college tuition in Indiana went up markedly this year and at the same time interest rates on loans increased. Finally, I favored a House-adopted amendment to a supplemental appropriations bill which denies Federal interest subsidies on college construction loans to colleges which fail to certify that they are complying with a

law directing colleges to cut off Federal aid to students or employees convicted of crime of force against the college or who engage in disruptive activities detrimental to the college. I voted for this amendment as I felt the Congress had to do something to assure those students who are in college primarily for an education that they will obtain the education for which they paid.

#### SOCIAL SECURITY

The Congress passed an immediate across-the-board increase in social security benefits of 15 percent for the 25 million elderly people, disabled people and their dependents, and widows and orphans who now get monthly benefits. Because of the recent inflationary trend, it became obvious to me that there was a pressing and urgent need for an across-the-board increase in the social security payments of people now on the benefit roles.

#### DEFENSE SPENDING

Although I feel that some budgetary restraints are needed by the Pentagon in its operation of our Defense establishment, I voted for the military procurement authorization bill which included funds for the ABM as it is needed to protect U.S. missile bases against a Soviet first strike and would aid rather than harm our nuclear disarmament talks with the Soviet Union. By deciding not to put ABM's around our cities, the President has effectively removed them from the list of high priority targets, but at the same time has made certain that we will have the power to react if an enemy strikes first. This is the best way, I feel, to deter such an attack and save millions of lives if it should ever take place.

#### COMMITTEE WORK

As the senior Republican member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, I have spent a great portion of this session working on legislation affecting our foreign affairs and also consulting regularly with President Nixon and Secretary of State Rogers on foreign policy matters. The bulk of the committee work concerned foreign aid. As I mentioned previously, I led the successful effort to reduce the amount authorized and encouraged more emphasis on technical aid rather than on grants and loans. A new feature of the Foreign Aid Act is the Overseas Private Investment Corporation which will facilitate private U.S. investment abroad, and, thereby, reduce the need for U.S. tax dollars to be spent on foreign assistance.

Both in the committee and on the floor of the House, I supported the annual authorization bill for the Peace Corps. During the hearings on the bill, we heard a good deal of refreshing commonsense testimony from the new Director, Joe Blatchford. He proposed that we utilize the services of older persons whose families are grown and who have the skills so needed by the developing countries. Moreover, because of Blatchford's reduction of administrative personnel, the Peace Corps was able to reduce its request for funds by \$8,700,000.

The Foreign Affairs Committee spent most of its remaining time on the consideration of a resolution which I, along with others, introduced supporting the



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friends may grievously miscalculate on American intentions.

I would deeply appreciate a reply that would help clarify the seeming inconsistencies.

With assurances of the highest, personal respect.

BERTRAM L. PODELL,  
Member of Congress.

# ME

## IS DAVID ROCKEFELLER PROMOTING ANTI-ISRAEL POLICIES?

(Mr. KOCH asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, and to devise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material.)

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, an article which appeared in the New York Times today indicated an apparent anti-Israel position by David Rockefeller, president of the Chase Manhattan Bank and several other oil company executives who are advising the President. The implications of that article distressed me and I am sure other Members of this House.

To ascertain whether the columnist correctly stated Mr. Rockefeller's position, I have written to him today. A copy of my letter follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D.C., December 22, 1969.  
Mr. DAVID ROCKEFELLER,  
New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. ROCKEFELLER: I was very distressed to read this morning in the New York Times an article by Tad Szulc which clearly indicated that you, as president of the Chase Manhattan Bank, John J. McCloy, former president of the Chase Manhattan, and Robert B. Anderson, former Secretary of the Treasury and director of Dresser Industries Company, which has oil interests in Kuwait and Libya—as well as others—met with the President on December 9th and advised him against continuing the present policy of allegedly supporting Israel in its confrontation with the Arab countries. It appears that you basically argued that the oil industry and perhaps the Chase Manhattan Bank are suffering because our policies toward Israel have received an adverse economic and political reaction from the Arab states—and that "the United States must act immediately to improve its relations with oil producing and other Arab states."

In my own judgement, the United States has not sufficiently supported Israel and has failed to provide it with arms and planes necessary to offset the arms and planes furnished by the Soviet Union to the Arab states, and indeed now Secretary Rogers is attempting to impose a settlement in the Middle East which would be adverse to Israel. I, for one, believe it is in our national interest to support the State of Israel as the one democratic government in that area which from its inception has identified with the United States and for which reason it has gained the enmity of the Soviet Union. In addition, and of equal importance, are the moral reasons for supporting the people of Israel in their fight to survive. However, if you are not already convinced of the validity of both or either of these two reasons, this letter will not persuade you and I will not attempt to elaborate on them.

The reason for this letter is to inquire whether the thrust of Mr. Szulc's article was correct. And to do so I would appreciate having the opportunity of meeting with you as soon as possible.

While you and the Chase Manhattan Bank have an absolute right to take any position you deem correct in support of your economic interests and while I have no quarrel with your having financial agreements with

any of the Arab states, I want you to know that when you attempt to influence the foreign policy of the United States so as to support your economic interest, you run the risk of having those who disagree with you undertake a campaign designed to render effects which would be economically adverse for the Chase Manhattan Bank. The survival of Israel is an important issue to me and my constituents—Jews and Christians alike. If after our discussion, it is clear that the article fairly sets forth your position, further acts with respect to your bank would be in order. And in that eventuality, your patrons may be heard from.

Sincerely,

EDWARD I. KOCH.

(Mr. BURTON of California asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material.)

[Mr. BURTON of California addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

## PLAN TO RESTRUCTURE NEW YORK PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION

(Mr. LOWENSTEIN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, Monday's papers headlined a story on Governor Rockefeller's plans to restructure the New York Public Service Commission. The commission's predilection for servicing the utilities it is supposed to regulate, rather than protecting the public, has been documented many times.

Many of us in Nassau County are living and working literally on top of explosive evidence of the commission's dereliction of duty. I am referring of course, to the high pressure pipeline installed with the cursory approval of the State Public Service Commission by the Long Island Lighting Co. The route for this pipeline—capable of generating pressure of up to 350 pounds per square inch—runs directly through heavily populated and traveled routes in Rockville Centre, East Rockaway, Long Beach, Island Park, Lynbrook, Hempstead, Malverne, and Oceanside. In many instances the route passes within 50 feet of residences and within 12 feet of a high school. The Public Service Commission took the incredible position that the choice of route for this potentially lethal installation was largely within the discretion of the LILCO and did not really subject it to scrutiny.

In fact, the commission held absolutely no hearings on the entire issue until the construction of the pipeline was virtually completed and \$9 million had been spent. After 4 days of so-called hearings in which no cross-examination was permitted, the commission predictably issued a finding that permitted the completion of the pipeline. Subsequent lawsuits by aroused citizens groups and affected villages were unsuccessful largely on technical grounds. However, in these cases one senses an underlying feeling by the court that the existence of the Public Service Commission as a guardian of the public interest, was per-

suasive in denying these petitions. Residents of the areas through which the pipeline traverses are not so deluded. They are living over a powder keg of incalculable destructive potential. At least once in a week gas leaks and explosions are reported in various parts of the country. Yet, not one of these disasters approaches what could be the magnitude of a similar incident in Nassau. Potential for explosion or leaks is always present and becomes greater as time goes on. The pipeline is constructed a few inches under heavily traveled highways, and is located closer to homes, schools, and other underground utility lines than the distance specified by law. This variance was made possible by further odd behavior on the part of the Public Service Commission—again acting without hearings—without even consulting the people most directly affected.

If this pipeline did not represent such a continuing potential for catastrophe for so many human beings, we could file its existence as a case history of the way in which the Public Service Commission and the utilities it is entrusted with regulating operate in partnership, cynically disregarding the need and rights of the public.

But it does represent such a potential, and residents of the community cannot file as history what remains a clear and present danger. They have sought redress from the Commission, from the courts, and from Congress. Their cause is the cause of all Americans whose rights and interests have been subordinated to the financial conveniences of powerful companies and the unrelenting pressure of a technology that may yet destroy its creators. All of us who have been in this fight welcome the new voices that have joined our protest against the failures of the Public Service Commission to fulfill its functions. We hope they will add their energies as well as their words to the tough battle to bring some regulation to the regulators.

And we hope they will remember that among the continuing victims of the Public Service Commission's past derelictions are the people who must live every day literally on top of the LILCO pipeline. We will not be quiet while this totally inexcusable invitation to disaster perils the health and safety of our community.

## COAL MINE SAFETY BILL

(Mr. MOLLOHAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MOLLOHAN. Mr. Speaker, it is unfortunate that the administration has taken its present stance as Congress moves to clear its agenda for this session.

The threat of a veto is, of course, a legitimate weapon in the President's political arsenal; but in the past, most administrations have exercised this threat only at times when legislative and executive branches have reached an impasse.

It is unfortunate that an administration should use this most potent of weapons to shape legislation when other

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means, and more constructive means, have been and are available.

For instance, the administration used the veto threat against the coal mine safety bill last week, because of the expense of the compensation provisions, even though the Secretary of the Interior ignored until last week a request of 6 months ago to comment on those very provisions, and their expense. The conferees had completed their work a full month before the Secretary answered. Thus, the threat to veto the legislation came at a time when neither House was in a position to reopen its consideration of that bill. In this instance, the threat of veto hampered rather than contributed to the legislative process.

Now we are faced with the threat of veto for the supplemental appropriations for Labor and HEW unless the President's civil rights plan, the Philadelphia plan, is left intact. The Comptroller General has flatly stated that the plan is in direct violation of the 1964 civil rights law. In view of the administration's efforts to curb Federal construction and the general decline in the construction industry at this time, implementing the Philadelphia plan would be profoundly divisive at a time when this Nation should seek unity rather than further division.

Capitalizing on the desire of the Congress to adjourn, the administration is using this threat of veto to shape legislation on taxes and appropriations alike. The Senate was bluntly informed during its consideration of both tax reform and the appropriations for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, that their legislation was unacceptable and would be vetoed. The warning was based upon the cost of the two measures and both were represented to the public as being highly inflationary. The administration declined to note that even with the higher expense of the tax bill and the outlays for Labor and HEW, the budget would not be disturbed because of the nearly \$5½ billion cut in the Defense budget.

This use of executive powers is a form of legislative overkill, and it is lamentable that the administration has chosen such a blunt and inflexible approach to shape the Nation's legislation. It is more provocative than productive, and the response of the Hill is more likely to be reactive than reasoned. In the final analysis, this attempt to legislate through veto is likely to be more damaging to the country than helpful.

#### PRICE OF CHRISTMAS TURKEYS AFFECTED BY ECONOMY

(Mr. MCCARTHY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MCCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, as Americans shop for their Christmas turkeys the high prices of the festive birds remind them that we are suffering from the worst inflation in 18 years.

Last month the wholesale price of turkeys skyrocketed 6½ percent. And indications are that the average turkey price of 52.2 cents a pound will go even higher in the future.

Since President Nixon took office inflation has pushed prices up 5½ percent—the highest rise since 1951. Another increase this month equal to last month's will make 1969 the most inflationary year since 1947.

In the meantime, the average weekly paychecks of some 45 million U.S. workers have actually dropped. They fell 62 percent last month because of shorter work weeks in the slowing U.S. economy.

When asked about price increases 7 days after taking office, President Nixon answered that the Government would not intervene in price and wage decisions, that the fight against inflation would rest on fiscal and monetary policy and he would not exhort business and labor.

That blew the lid off prices right there.

The President has supported a severe monetary policy. He demanded continuation of the tax surcharge. But unlike President Johnson, he has made no effort to use the moral power of the presidency to persuade business and labor to modify their price of wage demands. The Johnson administration not only used moral suasion but put the pressure on rising prices by sales out of stockpiles and by altering Government buying policies, especially at the Pentagon.

While Members of Congress, including myself, have sought to reduce defense spending, not only to shift priorities but to fight inflation, the President has supported almost all of the new major weapons systems. Clearly, in this vital area, the President has fumbled the economic ball and set off a cycle of runaway inflation. And the effect has been devastating especially on those with fixed incomes, those living on social security and pensions. In the case of working men and women, price increases have far outdistanced gains in wages.

I believe the time is long past due for President Nixon to start using the powers of his office to do something meaningful to halt this cycle of runaway inflation.

(Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

[Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

(Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

[Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

(Mr. WYMAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

[Mr. WYMAN addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

(Mr. CORMAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. CORMAN addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PATMAN) is recognized for 30 minutes.

[Mr. PATMAN addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

#### PESTICIDE CONTAMINATION AND POISONING—TIME FOR ACTION

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. MONAGAN) is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, the failure of the Department of Agriculture to protect the public from the effects of certain pesticides has resulted in a minimum of 100,000 unnecessary human poisonings in the past 10 years. The Department has failed to enforce provisions of the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide, and Rodenticide Act—FIFRA—intended to protect the public from hazardous pesticide products being marketed in violation of the act. Moreover, unless constructive action is taken by the Department of Agriculture to enforce provisions of FIFRA—much of our food will be illegally adulterated with pesticide residues. At present, millions of pounds of cheese and fish are impounded for this reason and will have to be destroyed. Unless constructive action is taken, much of the food supply will contain large amounts of cancer-producing pesticide compounds. Unless constructive action is taken to reduce environmental contamination, a very large percentage of the world's remaining animal life faces extinction during the next twenty years and human life may be endangered. Much of this wanton destruction has been attributed to pesticide contamination and misuse.

The President and members of the Cabinet acting as the Environmental Quality Council should not be forced to oversee, review, and order the cancellation in part or whole of every pesticide registration allowed by the Pesticide Regulation Division of the Department of Agriculture that may be a potential or imminent health hazard. If the Department of Agriculture had carried out its Federal Insecticide, Fungicide, and Rodenticide Act responsibilities by following a prudent course in matters concerning hazards to human, other forms of life and our ecology, much of our problems and fears would not exist.

It is chilling to realize that certain food additives and pesticide residues which we ingest may kill, cause cancer, create fetal deformities in animal—mammalian—life and also be hazardous to humans. Pesticide fogs, sprays, and vapors in a constant fallout in concentrations sufficient to kill animal life may fall on man. Certain pesticides stored

ennese police to clear his way through the mobs.

The testimonial dinner was as rewarding as the joys that he has brought to so many with his remarkable voice and warm personality.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to again express the gratitude of so many along with best wishes to Mr. Tucker and his wife, Sarah, for a future which continues to be as exciting and worthwhile as he has known in the past.

And I would also like to mention the names of some of the other persons who helped to make this dinner such an outstanding event. They are: Cochairmen: Harold Donnitch, Mrs. Selma Kon and Bernard Martin; program cochairman: Al Liederman and Shelley Goren; and Rabbi Bernard Jacobson.

ME  
GREECE TODAY AND THE LIMITS  
OF COMPROMISE

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, the recent resignation of Greece from the Council of Europe underscores the need for close scrutiny of relations between the United States and Greece. Charges of political suppression and dictatorial rule are apparently not without foundation. Moreover, the prospect of continued violence in Greece at a level unseen since the 1946-49 civil war, should alert both Greeks and Americans to the need of restoring democratic rule in Greece.

One expert who has thoughtfully analyzed the situation in Greece and appropriate American action is Prof. George Anastaplo. In a briefing at the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, Professor Anastaplo presented a paper which I commend to my colleagues.

The paper follows:

GREECE TODAY AND THE LIMITS OF  
COMPROMISE

(By George Anastaplo\*\*)

"It is not fit that you should sit here any longer! . . . You shall now give place to better men."—Oliver Cromwell.

I

The American scholar who has been perhaps the most respectable advisor to the

\*\* The author, who lives in Chicago, is Chairman of the Political Science Department at Rosary College, as well as Lecturer in the Liberal Arts at the University of Chicago and Professor of Politics and Literature at the University of Dallas. Other discussions by him of Greece today may be found in the current volume of the *Congressional Record* at pages E1875 (March 11, 1969), E2631 (April 2), E2632 (April 2), E5156 (June 23), E5978 (July 15) and E6294 (July 28).

See, also, Saville R. Davis, "Blow to NATO: Greek Armed Forces Disintegrating?" *Christian Science Monitor*, August 29, 1969, p. 1; Christopher Wren, "Greece: Government by Torture," *Look*, May 27, 1969.

This discussion has been prepared for use in a briefing to be given by Dr. Anastaplo at the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, September 15, 1969.

tyranny in Athens has recently returned to Washington from a visit to Greece. He offers us his current advice about Greek affairs in an article, "A Role for the U.S. in Greek Solution," published in the *Washington Post* of August 3, 1969.

The truly significant feature of this article, however, is not its advice but rather its admission that even Greeks who had been "disheartened by the pre-coup quarrels and political instability and therefore initially accepted the [present] regime with a sigh of relief" are now "cool if not downright hostile" toward it. The mood of this article is in marked contrast to its author's published defenses of the regime ever since its seizure of power, defenses which have been so generous as to be thought worthy of distribution in this country by the Greek government. (See, e.g., *Notes on World Events*, Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, May, 1969, p. 5.)

There is, moreover, no discussion in the *Washington Post* article of why anyone should now be cool toward the regime in Athens. But the article does manage to condemn as "intransigent" the Greek opponents of the regime who have been cool and even hostile toward it from the very beginning. They are "intransigent," it seems, because they prefer to continue their determined opposition to this tyrannical regime rather than to accept the advice of those who have collaborated with it.

Advice which has evidently been spurned in Athens, at least by opponents of the regime there, is now offered to Americans and to their government in Washington. Let us see what the advice in this article amounts to and whether American critics of the Greek regime should be as "intransigent" as the Greeks who have already rejected it.

II

We are told in this article that there are two opinions in Athens about what is likely to happen in Greece if things continue as they are now: "Opponents of the regime are firmly convinced that in spite of his protestations, Premier Papadopoulos has no intention of allowing the return of free political life. On the other hand, government spokesmen assert that the regime is only temporary and that elections will be held as soon as the aims of the revolution are accomplished." "Whatever the truth," the article goes on to advise us, a "compromise" must be found between the opponents and the defenders of the current regime in Greece. But until one is prepared to decide which of these two opinions about what is likely to happen in Greece is correct, one is neither entitled nor equipped to offer responsible advice either to Americans or to Greeks on this vital matter.

Who is right here, the opponents of the regime or the government spokesmen? There is, of course, a sense in which both opinions are correct: there is a sense that is, in which both opinions come down to virtually the same thing. Elections will be held in Greece, if only for the sake of propaganda, as soon as the aims of the revolution are accomplished: that will be when the transformation (or, at least, the immobilization) of Greek institutions and of Greek public opinion has reached the point where purportedly free elections (but with the press still controlled, of course) can be held without jeopardizing the tight grip upon the country of its present rulers. After all, what do "the aims of the revolution" amount to now, if not primarily the personal advancement and welfare of the handful of junior officers (predominantly colonels) who betrayed in April 1967 their military oaths, their king, their comrades and their fellow-citizens with the deliberate intention of holding on to power long after the immediate political crisis which permitted them to seize power had passed?

The suggestion in the *Washington Post* article of a "compromise" rests upon the condition that things should be so arranged that "the constitutional reforms" that have already been achieved may be preserved. Precisely what reforms can the author be referring to? The Constitution of 1968 is hardly an improvement upon its predecessors, designed as it is to legitimate the colonels who imposed it upon their country. Indeed, the only permanent result of the 1968 Constitution may be to discredit the occasional worthwhile innovation included in it which will hereafter be identified with an oppressive regime.

One must consider, in order to assess properly "constitutional reforms," not only the Constitution itself but also how it has been imposed and what maintains it. We are dealing, after all, with a regime that is ruthless and, even worse, shameless in what it will do and say to perpetuate itself. It is a tyranny which has revealed itself as remarkably incompetent in everything but the tricks of conspiracy and of counter-conspiracy. No conscientious student of Greek affairs can ignore the evidence, available since the first year of the regime and now overwhelming, which displays the present regime as having easy recourse to extensive arrests and torture, to the most flagrant deceptions, to open contempt for constitutions and laws (including its own), to the harsh suppression of all independent opinion, and to an extravagant (and eventually ruinous) expenditure of funds on public works.

Who can doubt that all this is done by the colonels not in the interest of Greece but primarily in order to perpetuate themselves in power? It is no wonder that Greeks who know what is going on in their country are "cool if not downright hostile" toward this regime and its apologists. The wonder is that any responsible man can remain sincerely sympathetic to the regime once its character becomes apparent to him. Some responsible men did express sympathy for the regime at its beginning in the hope that they might thereby help induce the colonels to surrender power willingly—but it should have been evident by the end of the colonels' first year, if not before, that this approach would be of no use.

What informed man can continue to believe that there remain any serious "aims of the revolution" worth preserving, any coherent and defensible set of principles guiding the program of the Greek dictators? The serious problem is not how to preserve the legacy of the "revolution," but rather how long it will take to eliminate from Greek life the depredations of the present tyranny, and at what price. The corrupting influence of the colonels in Greece will remain long after they are gone, even if they should go tomorrow; they have done much that will be difficult to undo justly and harmoniously. Is not that usually the legacy of an army of occupation?

The more astute among the colonels must realize that if they go, their constitution and "reforms" will go with them, no matter what promises or deals or "compromises" should be made in advance of their departure. The concern of the colonels at that time is not going to be whether their "reforms" will survive their regime but whether they themselves will. The only compromise the colonels will ever take seriously will be one which seems to permit them to save their necks, not their "aims of the revolution," in the event they find themselves about to fall.

Both the colonels and their opponents are correct in recognizing each other as irreconcilable enemies. What each realistically seeks from the other is not compromise but surrender. The advocacy of compromise between the government and its opponents in 1969 (as distinguished from 1965, 1966 or 1967) is not only naive, it is also harmful



to the revival of genuine constitutional government in Greece. The only practical effect of a serious attempt at compromise at this time would be to demoralize, radicalize and divide the serious opposition to the present regime and thereby to gain for the colonels even more time.

Time is working against the interests of both Greece and her allies: the colonels' unprecedented purging and reshaping of the officer corps, of the civil service (including the courts), of the school system, of local councils (both public and private) and of the Church cannot but help them cling to power if they remain united. Once their extensive reorganization is complete—and it should be, except perhaps for the Church, the Navy and Air Force, and the Universities, virtually complete by the summer of 1970—Greece is likely to have to endure for a generation both the colonels' self-righteous tyranny and the sporadic armed resistance it will generate. There is already more violence in Greece today than there has been at any time since the 1946-1949 Civil War.

### III

Massive propaganda, reinforced by generous subsidies, will continue to be used at home and abroad by the present Greek government to magnify the virtues of the colonels and the vices of the politicians. We, on the other hand, are not obliged, in order to expose the colonels to be as bad for Greece as they are, to make the politicians of 1961-1967 better than they were. But the longer these colonels stay, the better those politicians look. In fact, it is difficult to name a single prominent Greek politician who would not be better for Greece and her allies today than the colonels now in power. Indeed, the most serious indictment one might make of Greek politicians before April 1967 is that such people as these colonels were permitted to remain in the Army, that they were given an opportunity to attempt to seize power, and that they could succeed in such an attempt. It is to be hoped that the legitimate political and military leaders of Greece, as well as her allies abroad, have learned the appropriate lessons from this disastrous experiment. One important lesson is that decent Greeks of all parties and allegiances have much more in common than any of them has in common with the kind of man who is apt to be tempted to seize power for himself if decent men are not moderate in their political differences.

It is to the credit of Greek politicians of all parties, as well as of Greek intellectuals, that almost all of them have stood firm since April 1967 against the threats, the sophistries and the enticements of the present Greek government and of its apologists abroad. The same tribute should be recorded on behalf of the King of Greece and most of the senior as well as many of the junior officers of the armed forces of that country. These Greeks, in their respect for the best in Greece, have been more perceptive and more principled about what has been happening to their country than have been certain American students of Greek affairs (in and out of the American government).

The Washington Post article suggests as the appropriate role for the United States today that we encourage the "compromise" it advocates. But if, as I have argued, any attempt at such compromise in these circumstances will help the colonels consolidate their power, then any American effort along that line can only weaken the legitimate influence of America in Greece. For the longer the colonels stay, the more independent they are likely to become of American influence and, indeed, of the influence of any moderate men at home or abroad. (One need only recall Shakespeare's Richard III.) We Americans could have discreetly helped the constitutional leaders of this NATO ally get rid of their usurpers any time between April and December 1967, a period during which the

colonels were relying mostly on bluff and maneuver to stay in power. Instead, we were duped by talk of "constitutional reforms" and "law and order" and hence did, or failed to do, various things in 1967, as well as in 1968, which permitted and even helped the colonels to dig in.

Measures are still available to us which can be used to help our true friends in Greece dislodge the colonels and restore their country to control by its people, measures which would be far more effective than are likely to be the timid ones our government now employs to indicate its tardy approval of so destructive a tyranny. Every serious student of Greek affairs knows what more can and should be done by the United States in the present circumstances. There is no need for me to spell out again on this occasion the measures available to us, measures which would emphasize the publicized withdrawal of vital American support rather than any explicit American interference in Greek domestic affairs. I need only add that I continue to believe, along with many in Greece, that Constantine Karamanlis is the best, though not the only, name around which effective opposition to the colonels can rally. I also continue to believe that it would be prudent for Mr. Karamanlis to offer to include in a coalition government, legitimated by the King and recognized by the United States, figures such as Andreas Papandreu. This is where genuine compromise would be good for Greece.

### IV

The colonels, by the end of their third year in power (in April 1970), will probably have immobilized, if not transformed, all institutions in Greece which might stand in their way: repression and propaganda and the lavish use of public monies will have done their work. When that happens, whether by 1970 or by 1971, responsible elements in Greece and abroad (including in the United States) will no longer have any significant influence in that country. If the colonels are dislodged thereafter, it will probably be (unless a serious international crisis erupts) only because of the use of armed force against them in Greece. If violent opposition should somehow be successful, the liberators of Greece—whoever they may be—are not likely to forget first our negligence and thereafter our impotence in the time of their desperate need. And then what will our long-term influence be in that allied country which we insist is of great "strategic importance" to us?

Whether there will be in Greece a generation of violent tyranny or an immediate return to constitutional government and the rule of law depends, in large part, on what the United States does in the months immediately ahead. We Americans had better use our power while some of it remains, rather than allow ourselves to be duped again (this time by talk of "compromise") into promoting a policy unworthy both of us and of the Greeks.

The peace and the prosperity, as well as the liberty and honor, of Greece require that the colonels go and with them everything they have come to represent. This is what informed and conscientious Greeks are certain of. This, it is to be hoped, is what the sadly misinformed American government is belatedly beginning to realize.

### LEST WE FORGET

#### HON. BILL CHAPPELL, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. CHAPPELL. Mr. Speaker, the Christmas season is approaching and families throughout America are gather-

ing together for worship and gift giving and rejoicing in family reunions.

Today I ask all Americans to join with me as we celebrate this holiday, to remember those men who are missing in action and prisoners of war—

Lest we forget our own gladness in being free;

Lest we forget our own joy in being with our loved ones;

Lest we forget that over 1,300 families will be without a loved one—again this year;

Lest we forget that the reason these men are so cruelly held in prison is because they were fighting for us;

Lest we forget that it is our responsibility to bring these men home again;

Lest we forget the brotherhood of man and our reasons for celebrating Christmas.

Mr. Speaker, this is a time for each of us to take the families of these brave men especially to our hearts. Let us all renew our efforts for freedom of man and these absences can be soon turned into rewarding reunions for all the Christmases to come.

#### NEW U.S. LINE ON WITHDRAWAL A SEVERE BLOW TO ISRAEL

#### HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks an article entitled "New U.S. 'Line' on Withdrawal Deals Severe Blow to Israel," written by William S. White, and published in the Philadelphia Inquirer of December 16, 1969.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### NEW U.S. "LINE" ON WITHDRAWAL DEALS SEVERE BLOW TO ISRAEL (By William S. White)

WASHINGTON.—The old year is drawing to its close on a somber note for Israel, whose whole position in her fight for survival has worsened markedly in these recent days. The newly enunciated American policy line calling for Israeli withdrawal from frontier security positions seized from the Arabs in the 1967 war, in return for Arab promises for peaceful coexistence, has hit the Israelis a cruel if unintentional blow.

For this well-meant effort to take up a purely even-handed attitude from Washington is in truth a revolutionary departure from the traditional American posture of candid friendliness to the Israeli side in the chronic crisis of the Middle East.

The difficulty is that the doctrine of ostensible even-handedness actually assists those extremist Arab states which are pro-Communist and publicly bent both upon Israel's literal destruction and the spread of Soviet power in the Middle East.

It ignores the immense reality that this is not a case where two adversaries are equally good or equally bad. One cannot equate aggressors patently embarked upon a Vietnam type of "war of liberation," urged on by the Soviet Union, with defenders motivated simply by the desire to stay alive—and defenders moreover who form a pro-Western outpost in the worldwide struggle that is the Cold War.

close it by reminding my friends, the leaders and the assistant leader on the side, of another reference in our literature to the effect that a rose by any other name would still smell the same.

# DEATH OF FORMER SENATOR JAMES H. DUFF, OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, it is with extreme sorrow that I report to the Senate that a former Senator from Pennsylvania and former Governor of our Commonwealth, the Honorable James H. Duff, died today. A spokesman for George Washington Hospital announced that Senator Duff, aged 86, collapsed at National Airport, was taken to the hospital, and pronounced dead at 9:43 a.m. We have no further details, so I shall say nothing further now except that I was a longtime friend, associate, and admirer of Big Jim Duff. We will miss him greatly. We shall have more to say in the form of a memorial tribute at a later date.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SCOTT. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. I should like to join the distinguished Republican leader in expressing my sadness at the death of Jim Duff, an old friend of mine. He lived a very rich life and died at a ripe old age. We shall miss him.

Mr. SCOTT. He died as he always wished to—with his boots on.

Mr. JAVITS. I extend my condolences to the members of his family.

Mr. SCOTT. And so do I.

## ME GREEK-TURKISH ECONOMIC COOPERATION

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, on several occasions, I have brought to the attention of the Senate the work which was initiated by the NATO Parliamentarians Conference, now the North Atlantic Assembly, looking toward Greek-Turkish economic cooperation. Reports on this matter were presented to the Senate on June 3, 1965, October 20, 1965, January 19, 1967, December 15, 1967, January 28, 1969, and some remarks on the subject were included in my report on a trip abroad which was presented to the Senate on July 2, 1969.

A number of important developments have taken place during calendar 1969, which I should like to lay before the Senate.

At the outset, to put the work which has been done on this project in its proper context, requires some brief comment on the political situation in the area, and of the relationship of this project to that situation.

The project for Greek-Turkish economic cooperation, although launched by an inter-parliamentary body, was conceived of as essentially a private effort. Through its good offices, working with the private sector, but with governmental support and approval, possibilities in economic development yielding mutual benefits to Greece and Turkey could be expanded. The effort was

designed to function in the economic and not in the political sphere.

Thus, the major thrust of the project has been to bring together participants from Greece and Turkey, where possible mainly from the private sector, to work together in such areas as tourism, the cooperative exploitation of such natural resources as fish, the increase of agricultural exports to Western Europe, and the common development of the border region between the two countries along the shores of the Meric-Evros Rivers. It is, I think, fair to say that although the emphasis of this effort was thus in the noncontroversial area of economic benefit to both sides, the parliamentarians had in mind, when the project was initiated, not only the fact that Greeks and Turks were among the less-developed members of the NATO alliance, but also the fact that work on mutually beneficial development projects would tend to increase contacts between the peoples of Greece and Turkey, and hopefully to ameliorate the tensions which at the time existed as a consequence of the Cyprus dispute.

In these objectives, it is fair to say that the project initiated in 1965 by myself and by my Greek and Turkish parliamentary colleagues, Messrs. Kasim Gülek and Alexander Spanorrigas has been eminently successful. Despite much initial skepticism it has, in fact, proved possible to bring Greeks and Turks together and to produce useful and cooperative work. And that has been done even at a time when tensions in the area were extremely high. The result, I believe, has been a substantial contribution to U.S. foreign policy objectives and, I may note, the U.S. Government has consistently supported this effort. So also has there been a contribution to the security which is the aim of NATO itself. In this latter belief, I am, incidentally, reinforced by the comments on several occasions of the Secretary General of NATO, Manlio Brosio.

The recent course of political developments in Greece cannot pass unnoticed—as I am, also, chairman of the Political Committee of the North Atlantic Assembly—a committee which had occasion to consider a deeply troubled report on this situation as recently as October last.

It has been my hope, as it must be the hope of all friends of human liberty and of the Greek ideal of moderation and tolerance which forms so large a basis of our own political system, that swift progress would be made in Greece, toward restoration of a representative parliamentary system, and that present restrictions on essential liberties would quickly be removed. It remains my conviction that this must come, and that it would greatly contribute to the security, stability, and welfare of the Greek state, and of the Greek people.

In this context a continued and increased measure of cooperation on projects leading to the economic and social betterment of the peoples of Greece and Turkey, and to peace in the southeastern area of NATO continues to be vital. As the project for Greek Turkish Economic Cooperation is such a project,

it benefits all. For this reason, I continue the support which I have given in the past to the objectives of the project which are designed to bring together, the peoples of that often-troubled area of the world, to ameliorate the relationships between them, to increase their cooperation on mutually beneficial works, and to set up institutions which can serve as channels of communication between the Greek and Turkish peoples.

With this introduction, Mr. President, I should like to deal with some of the attainments of the project during 1969, and with some of the prospects for its future work.

First. The project has been administered over the course of the past several years by the Eastern Mediterranean Development Institute, a nonprofit unincorporated association. The board of directors consists of nationals of the NATO countries, with a large majority being nationals of Greece and Turkey.

In the course of the past year, indigenous sister organizations have been set up in Greece and in Turkey themselves, and funds have been raised in local currency to meet their necessary expenses. Work has been going forward on various projects of the sort mentioned above.

In several of these areas, there has been substantial progress.

In the field of tourism, a notable success was achieved when, in March 1969, the Greek National Tourist Organization and the Turkish Ministry of Information and Tourism held a meeting in Istanbul, at which were present as observers the deputy chairman of the EMDI, the Honorable Kasim Gülek, and its executive director, the Honorable Seymour J. Rubin. At the March meeting, the two sides approved, subject to ratification, the first intergovernmental document signed between Greece and Turkey since the eruption of the difficulties over Cyprus. This was a procès-verbal which is intended to lead to a formal agreement on cooperation in the field of tourism. The agreement which is contemplated would call for the establishment of a permanent consultative committee before which can be laid various proposals of mutual benefit in touristic endeavors.

Subsequent to the meeting of officials in March, further meetings of a less formal sort have been held. The most recent of these was held in Athens on December 5, 1969. At these meetings, the private sector of both countries has strongly expressed its support for cooperation on tourism, and has agreed that the lifting of visa restrictions for tourists of Greek and Turkish origin would be of mutual benefit to the two countries. Were this to be done, it would largely restore the freedom of transit between the two countries which had existed after the farsighted arrangements which were made in the mid-1920's by the two great statesmen of the area, Venizelos and Atatürk.

Additionally, others outside the region have expressed strong interest in participating in touristic developments. A meeting thus was held under the spon-

sorship of the Deutschebank in Frankfurt on October 13, at which various German and Italian interests, together with a representative of the International Finance Corporation, discussed the possible organization of research and financing entities which might help to promote tourism in the region.

Tourism in this region is of great importance. It is already a major source of income so far as Greece is concerned; it promises to be an equally useful source of foreign exchange on the Turkish side. Moreover, the touristic area of the Aegean is so interlaced between the Turkish mainland and the Greek islands as to make regional development not only attractive to tour operators and to developers of touristic areas, but practically at least in the long run, inevitable.

The administrative arrangements which are contemplated under the procès-verbal of March 1969, should make a continuing contribution to this development and should help to develop continuing working relationships between the two sides.

A major endeavor of the project for Greek Turkish Economic Cooperation and the Eastern Mediterranean Development Institute has been that involving the Meric/Evros River. In previous reports, I have noted that this work has moved forward extraordinarily well, with a heavily documented prefeasibility or reconnaissance study having emerged in late 1967 from the joint work of a large group of Turkish, Greek, and German experts. This report was revised and in its final form approved, subject to slight modification, at a large international meeting held in Frankfurt in September 1967. It was then put in the hands of various international financing bodies such as the World Bank and the European Investment Bank, and has been extensively discussed with the United Nations Development Programme which, with the IBRD, had been kept au courant at all stages of the research and study work. After a considerable amount of preparatory discussion, both the Greek and the Turkish Governments have officially notified the UNDP of their desire to move forward with further developmental work on the Meric/Evros, with the help of the UNDP. As of early December 1969, a senior representative of the UNDP has visited both Greece and Turkey for discussions with experts and governmental officials there. These discussions are expected to lead to an official proposal to be laid before the next governing board of the UNDP in the spring of 1970.

Hopefully, this work will lead to a full scale feasibility study financed by the UNDP and the Greek and Turkish Governments, with certain small pilot projects included, in areas of land management, irrigation, and small power projects in this sensitive area, the border between Greece and Turkey in Thrace. Should full scale implementation of this feasibility study be undertaken, the final scale of expenditure is estimated in the neighborhood of \$100 to \$150 million. This is obviously a matter of great importance both to the economies of Greece

and Turkey, and to the population of this politically sensitive border area.

It is important to note, as I have mentioned in previous reports, that the Meric/Evros River rises in Bulgaria, where it is called the Maritsa, and that the Bulgarian Government has in several ways expressed interest in the developmental work which I have just mentioned. This interest was expressed, for example, in a visit to me of the Bulgarian Ambassador in Washington. Prior to its recent contacts with the Greek and Turkish Governments, the UNDP consulted with Bulgarian authorities in Sofia. It would be premature to make any predictions as to whether the Meric/Evros project may evolve not merely into a binational and regional development project, but into one which would form a link based on mutually useful development work between East and West. That prospect in any case remains open, and is partially encouraged by a recent amelioration of relationships between Turkey and Bulgaria and between Greece and Bulgaria.

Finally, in this respect, it should be mentioned that one of the objectives of EMDI has been from the outset to stimulate the activities of others on developmental projects in the Greco-Turkish area. This attempt to achieve a multiplier effect with the efforts of EMDI has had more than a reasonable amount of success.

Thus, not only have tourism projects evolved and have physical and business connections with the two sides developed, but a new project has been set in motion in the field of agricultural research in the Meric/Evros region.

This is a project funded by the Thyssen Foundation of Germany, and led by a group of German agronomists to investigate the conservation of soils which on both the Turkish and the Greek side of the river have been eroded over the course of many years by excessive grazing and by improper methods of land management. This project, which is a direct outgrowth of the work done by the German, Turkish, and Greek team on its Meric/Evros study, is at present under way. Hopefully, other aspects of the basic Meric/Evros study will lead to further exploratory and scientific work of this same general sort. The prospect of this happening seems to be quite good, since the basic material upon which further research proposals can be based is already contained in the Meric/Evros report, and since that report itself demonstrates the feasibility of a joint and cooperative research effort.

On other projects of EMDI, it is not necessary at this stage and in this form to say much in detail. Work is proceeding on projects having to do with the export of agricultural produce to Western Europe and on investigation of the ecological conditions affecting fish resources in the eastern Mediterranean. The recent meeting of the board of directors of EMDI received a new suggestion that EMDI could perhaps contribute to the training of Greek and Turkish guest workers in Western Europe, and to the evaluation of methods by which the

skills of these workers could be put more effectively to work when they returned to their own countries.

A proposed meeting of industrialists of the two countries is to take place shortly in Istanbul and its program has been expanded to include the development bankers of both countries.

In short, there are ample opportunities for cooperative work, opportunities which can be seized if conditions permit.

Second, I turn now to a new and potentially extremely important aspect of the work which has, until now, been done on the project for Greek-Turkish economic cooperation under the auspices of the EMDI. This arises out of the recommendations contained in the report of the rapporteur of the Political Committee of the North Atlantic Assembly, the Honorable Erik Blumenfeld, of Germany. This report, which was considered by the Political Committee of the North Atlantic Assembly at its meetings in Brussels in October 1969, under my chairmanship, suggested the desirability of expanding the objectives of EMDI and of establishing a Mediterranean development organization. The recommendation was carefully considered by the Political Committee. It was, therefore, considered also by the Economic Committee of the Assembly, under the chairmanship of Mr. Bishop, of the United Kingdom. During the discussion, it was suggested that, after preliminary work, a governmental conference should be convened with the aim of establishing a Mediterranean development organization "with the ultimate aim that responsibility for furthering the project should be entrusted to the Eastern Mediterranean Development Institute." I append a copy of the resolution which emerged from the deliberations of both the Political and Economic Committees of the North Atlantic Assembly to this statement.

There are many problems as well as many opportunities presented by this recommendation, which was endorsed at the plenary session of the North Atlantic Assembly. Yet any new type of organization in the field of economic development enters an already crowded arena. It is clear, moreover, that cooperation between donors in any such organization is difficult, and a recommendation which contemplates, as this one does, some type of organizational unity between "donors" and "recipients" makes the task even more complicated. Nonetheless, there is at present no specific organization which deals with the developmental problems of the Mediterranean base, nor is there one which expresses those NATO responsibilities which lie in the field of development. It was for these reasons that both the Political and Economic Committees at the plenary session endorsed the recommendation annexed hereto.

Since the adoption of this recommendation, a number of steps have been taken to move forward with this project. I have consulted with Mr. Blumenfeld and with Mr. Rubin, the Executive Director of EMDI, here in Washington. Subsequently, the matter has been dis-



cussed by Mr. Rubin with Greek and Turkish board members of EMDI and, immediately thereafter, with the chairman of the Economic Committee of the North Atlantic Assembly, with Mr. Blumfeld, and with M. Philippe Deshormes, the Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Assembly.

Based upon an analysis prepared by Mr. Rubin, further work is going forward to explore both the problems and the possibilities with a view toward a meeting at the International Secretariat of the North Atlantic Assembly in March next, which will consider the establishment of a working group, as called for in the recommendation and which will attempt to establish a program of work for that working group. The timetable set up at the Paris meeting of December 9, 1969, suggests that it should be possible to lay a specific proposal before the fall 1970 meeting of the North Atlantic Assembly.

Many difficulties will have to be overcome before one may reasonably say that progress has been made toward the objectives of the recommendation annexed hereto. But work has been started on this project in a good spirit, with a desirable objective in mind and with the first prerequisite of success; that is, knowledge of the difficulties.

In these circumstances, I think it is justifiable to hope that the experience with the project which was begun by the NATO parliamentarians in 1964-65 and which has yielded highly useful results is only the beginning of an enlarged and even more useful experiment in international cooperation for economic and social development.

#### CONVEYANCE OF CERTAIN MATERIALS TO EMOGENE TILMON, LOGAN COUNTY, ARK.; ENOCH A. LOWDER, LOGAN COUNTY, ARK.; J. B. SMITH AND SULA E. SMITH, MAGAZINE, ARK.; AND WAYNE TILMON AND EMOGENE TILMON, LOCAL COUNTY, ARK.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Chair lay before the Senate messages on S. 65, S. 80, S. 81, and S. 82, in that order, and that the Senate agree to the House amendment in the case of each measure.

These bills are relatively minor items, all dealing with a related subject.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 65) to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to convey sand, gravel, stone, clay, and similar materials in certain lands to Emogene Tilmon of Logan County, Ark., which was, on page 2, line 2, strike out "*And provided further*, That such sand, gravel, stone, clay, and similar materials shall only be used on said tract."

The amendment was agreed to.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 80) to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to convey sand, gravel,

stone, clay, and similar materials in certain lands to Enoch A. Lowder of Logan County, Ark. which was, on page 2, line 2, strike out "*And provided further*, That such sand, gravel, stone, clay, and similar materials shall only be used on said tract."

The amendment was agreed to.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 81) to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to convey sand, gravel, stone, clay, and similar materials in certain lands to J. B. Smith and Sula E. Smith, of Magazine, Ark., which was, on page 2, line 3, strike out "*And provided further*, That such sand, gravel, stone, clay, and similar materials shall only be used on said tract."

The amendment was agreed to.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 82) to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to convey sand, gravel, stone, clay, and similar materials in certain lands to Wayne Tilmon and Emogene Tilmon of Logan County, Ark., which was, on page 2, line 2, strike out "*And provided further*, That such sand, gravel, stone, clay, and similar materials shall only be used on said tract."

The amendment was agreed to.

#### ADDITIONAL POSITIONS IN GRADES GS-16, GS-17, AND GS-18

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives on S. 2325.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 2325) to amend title 5, United States Code, to provide for additional positions in grades GS-16, GS-17, and GS-18 which was to strike out all after the enacting clause, and insert:

That (a) section 5108(a) of title 5, United States Code, is amended by striking out "2,577" and inserting in lieu thereof "2,727".

(b) Section 5108(b)(2) of such title is amended by striking out "28" and inserting in lieu thereof "44".

(c) Section 5108(c)(1) of such title is amended by striking out "64" and inserting in lieu thereof "90".

(d) Section 5208(c)(2) of such title is amended by striking out "110" and inserting in lieu thereof "140".

Sec. 2. Section 4 of the Act entitled "An Act to provide certain administrative authorities for the National Security Agency, and for other purposes", approved May 29, 1959, as amended (50 U.S.C. 402, note), is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 4. The Secretary of Defense (or his designee for the purpose) is authorized to—

"(1) establish in the National Security Agency (A) professional engineering positions primarily concerned with research and development and (B) professional positions in the physical and natural sciences, medicine, and cryptography; and

"(2) fix the respective rates of pay of such positions at rates equal to rates of basic pay contained in grades 16, 17, and 18 of the General Schedule set forth in section 5332 of title 5, United States Code.

Officers and employees appointed to positions established under this section shall be in addition to the number of officers and em-

ployees appointed to positions under section 2 of this Act who may be paid at rates equal to rates of basic pay contained in grades 16, 17, and 18 of the General Schedule."

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, the measure with the adjustment has been cleared with both sides. I move that the Senate concur in the House amendment to the Senate bill which was to strike out a provision for 45 additional supergrades and a provision for eight supergrades specifically allocated to the Smithsonian Institution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Wyoming.

The motion was agreed to.

#### COMMUNICATIONS FROM EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS, ETC.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

##### WESTERN HEMISPHERE AFFAIRS

A letter from the Secretary of State, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to reorganize and strengthen the United States Government structure for dealing with Western Hemisphere affairs (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

##### REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE ON REAL AND PERSONAL PROPERTY

A letter from the Deputy Secretary of Defense, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the fixed property, installations, and major equipment items, and stored supplies of the military departments maintained on both a quantitative and monetary basis (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Armed Services.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. EAGLETON, from the Committee on the District of Columbia, with amendments:

S. 2694. A bill to amend the District of Columbia Police and Firemen's Salary Act of 1958 to increase salaries, and for other purposes, with amendments (Rept. No. 91-629).

By Mr. MAGNUSON, from the Committee on Commerce, with amendments:

S. 2289. A bill to amend the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended, in order to make unlawful, as unreasonable and unjust discrimination against and an undue burden upon interstate commerce, certain property tax assessments of common and contract carrier property, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 91-630).

#### NINETEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF SELECT COMMITTEE ON SMALL BUSINESS—INDIVIDUAL VIEWS (S. REPT. NO. 91-627)

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I submit the 19th annual report of the Select Committee on Small Business.

I ask unanimous consent that the report be printed, together with individual views of Senators JAVITS, SCOTT, and HATFIELD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report will be received; and, without objection, the report will be printed, as requested by the Senator from Nevada.

**REPORT ENTITLED "THE EFFECTS OF CORPORATION FARMING ON SMALL BUSINESS"—REPORT OF A COMMITTEE—INDIVIDUAL VIEWS (S. REPT. NO. 91-628)**

Mr. BIBLE, Mr. President, from the Select Committee on Small Business, I submit a report entitled "Impact of Corporation Farming on Small Business." I ask unanimous consent that the report be printed, together with individual views of the Senator from Colorado (Mr. DOMINICK).

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report will be received; and, without objection, the report will be printed, as requested by the Senator from Nevada.

**EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE**

Mr. MAGNUSON, Mr. President, from the Committee on Commerce, I report favorably sundry nominations in the Coast Guard which have previously appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and I ask unanimous consent, in order to save the expense of printing them on the executive calendar, that they lie on the Secretary's desk for the information of any Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The nominations, ordered to lie on the desk, are as follows:

David W. Hiller, and sundry other officers, for promotion in the Coast Guard; and Paul L. Milligan, and sundry other Reserve officers, for appointment to the Coast Guard.

**BILLS INTRODUCED**

Bills were introduced, read the first time and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. JAVITS:

S. 3277. A bill to amend the Mental Retardation Construction Act to extend and improve the provisions thereof, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

(The remarks of Mr. JAVITS when he introduced the bill appear later in the RECORD under the appropriate heading.)

By Mr. ERVIN (for himself, Mr. ALLEN, Mr. EASTLAND, and Mr. HOL- LAND):

S. 3278. A bill to amend the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by adding a new title, which restores to local school boards their constitutional power to administer the public schools committed to their charge, confers on parents the right to choose the public schools their children attend, secures to children the right to attend the public school chosen by their parents, and makes effective the right of public school administrators and teachers to serve in the schools in which they contract to serve; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BIBLE:

S. 3279. A bill to extend the boundaries of the Toiyabe National Forest in Nevada, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(The remarks of Mr. BIBLE when he introduced the bill appear later in the RECORD under the appropriate heading.)

By Mr. TALMADGE:

S. 3280. A bill for the relief of Sergio I. Leguizamón; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MCNTOYA (for himself, Mr. CANNON and Mr. RANDOLPH):

S. 3281. A bill to amend section 139 of title 23, United States Code, relating to additions to the Interstate System; to the Committee on Public Works.

(The remarks of Mr. MCNTOYA when he introduced the bill appear later in the RECORD under the appropriate heading.)

By Mr. YARBOROUGH:

S. 3282. A bill for the relief of Jean Rawls Fairbank; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 3283. A bill for the relief of John L. Clark; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. KENNEDY:

S. 3284. A bill to authorize the acquisition and maintenance of the Goddard Rocket launching site in accordance with the act of August 25, 1916, as amended and supplemented, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(The remarks of Mr. KENNEDY when he introduced the bill appear later in the RECORD under the appropriate heading.)

By Mr. YARBOROUGH:

S. 3285. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Louise Sheridan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MAGNUSON (for himself, Mr. GRIFFIN, Mr. PEARSON, Mr. PROUTY, and Mr. SCOTT) (by request):

S. 3286. A bill to assist consumers in evaluating products by promoting development of adequate and reliable methods for testing characteristics of consumer products; to the Committee on Commerce.

(The remarks of Mr. MAGNUSON when he introduced the bill appear later in the RECORD under a separate heading.)

**S. 3278—INTRODUCTION OF THE MENTAL RETARDATION SERVICES AMENDMENT OF 1969**

Mr. JAVITS, Mr. President, I introduce, for the administration, the Mental Retardation Services Amendments of 1969. The bill assures the continuing support of the Federal Government in providing services and expanded facilities for the mentally retarded, including special incentives to encourage these activities in areas having the most critical need.

Included among the activities for which grants could be made under the bill are the provision of services for the mentally retarded—operation grants—construction of mental retardation facilities; development and demonstration of new or improved techniques for provision of services for the mentally retarded; training of personnel to work on the various problems of the mentally retarded; and State and local planning, administration, and technical assistance.

I am pleased that the administration bill provides:

First, the maximum on the Federal share of the costs of new projects, including construction projects, shall be 75 percent except in poverty areas where 90 percent would be permitted;

Second, the duration of support for projects providing mental retardation services is to be extended from the present 51 months to 3 years except for poverty areas where support could be granted for 10 years; and

Third, the Federal share of support for projects providing services would decline gradually, from a maximum of 75

percent in the first 2 years to 10 percent in the 8th year, and in poverty areas from 90 percent in the first 2 years to 10 percent in the 10th year.

Other major features of the bill provide that operational support would continue to be provided to recipients who have already received commitments for future support under the existing law; Federal funds for all types of mental retardation projects in a State would not be less than the amounts allotted to the State in fiscal year 1970 for construction of community mental retardation facilities; joint funding arrangements with other Federal programs could be entered into; and before grants are made, States must be given an opportunity to review and make recommendations on projects in their jurisdictions.

In order to meet the problem to which the President called attention in his message of April 30, 1969, to the Congress on improving the administration of Federal programs, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has provided in the bill for consolidating the present separate categories of grants for construction of mental retardation facilities, for construction of university affiliated facilities, and for initial staffing of community mental retardation facilities into a single, flexible program of grants to public or nonprofit agencies covering facilities and services for the mentally retarded.

Appropriations authorizations are requested for 3 years.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 3277) to amend the Mental Retardation Construction Act to extend and improve the provisions thereof, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. JAVITS, was received, read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

**S. 3279—INTRODUCTION OF A BILL TO EXTEND BOUNDARIES OF THE TOIYABE NATIONAL FOREST**

Mr. BIBLE, Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to extend the boundaries of the Toiyabe National Forest in Nevada.

The purpose of the bill, is to aid in the protection, improvement, and proper maintenance of the watershed, wildlife, recreation, and natural environment values of the lands in the Lake Tahoe Basin, much of which is already embraced within the boundaries of this national forest. The bill would extend the national forest boundary to include 12,920 acres of largely undeveloped, privately owned lands along the Nevada side of the lake.

Lake Tahoe is a unique body of water set in a basin which, despite encroachment by urban development, still retains much of its natural environmental beauty. It is one of the Nation's outstanding natural assets.

The stability of the natural conditions contributing to the clarity of the lake

however, a great service to the American public. It is a critical stage in the delivery of pharmaceuticals to the consumer, and in my view, our accounts should be organized so that the role of this essential service can be better measured.

Next among the basic commitments is education. We have an extensive education system. It begins with the detail man, but it is in our literature, in the distribution of reprints from the technical journals, our symposia, our hospital meetings, our films—a tremendous educational network directed towards every physician, pharmacist and hospital. And in every analysis of this system that I can recall even by our critics, one thing we get back clearly from the doctor is that certainly to a significant extent, our activities in relation to them, are truly educational and a true service to the medical profession and, therefore, to the patient.

Now finally, there is promotion—sheer, straight building of the market and share of the market. Our industry is different from others in degree but not in kind. Attention must be attracted to the products available, especially new products. This history of marketing proves that people do not beat a path to your door to buy that better mousetrap. The market must be made. We must take greater care, but we must still build the market. This is a typical free enterprise type of operation which is expensive and necessary and without it the other services would not be possible.

So there they are, these six commitments of the pharmaceutical industry.

The most significant thing about this briefly told story is that it brings home that the pharmaceutical industry is not just a manufacturing industry, but a service industry as well. We are a service and a product industry with six commitments of profound social value. This is basic to an understanding of what we are.

At the beginning of this talk, I touched so lightly as hardly to have done it on some of the accomplishments of this industry. But, in the future, even more should be expected of this industry because knowledge builds on knowledge in geometric progression. And the evidence is all there, that there will be a speaker like me 30 or 35 years from now, making the kind of comparison I did at the outset of my remarks and probably likening us, too, to some equivalent of the kindly old general practitioner who had hardly anything in his black bag.

But some members of this industry do not assume all of these commitments. Some, hardly any of them. And I think this contrast helps bring the significance of these commitments into clear perspective.

I remember many years ago encountering one of these people in this category of little or no commitments, and out of sheer curiosity, I said to him, "How do you operate? I know you don't do any research. I doubt if you do any development. I've never seen any advertising, and you don't have any detail men do you?" And he got a big laugh out of this. And he said, "It's simple enough. First of all, I'm not a full-line house, I pick and choose the fast-moving items that are already developed, like the best-selling products in the Pfizer penicillin line." This was many years ago, as I said. But he said, "I can make these products and, in fact, I can make them cheaper than you can—you're too fancy. And I can send a postcard to the druggist. Not all across the nation, not even throughout all of my state. But I can send a postcard to the druggist and say I've got penicillin available at the lowest price on the market. They won't all come to me, but I'll get my share." He said, "I'm going down to Palm Beach this winter. What are you doing?"

I don't deny that man his right to operate in that fashion as long as his products meet

proper quality standards. I don't even criticize. But I ask this question: What is the relative social value of this entrepreneur. I don't mean the value of his enterprise to himself. I mean the value to society. This is what is in issue these days. This is what the debate is really all about, or should be about. To some, the lower prices of the drugs he supplies will seem an important social contribution. But just what is the net value to society of that price differential, when it is achieved by largely or completely avoiding those vital service commitments to research, development, quality control, distribution, education, and marketing that has earned world leadership for the American pharmaceutical industry, and on which the progress of therapeutics very substantially depends? What is the real price of that low price drug? And who pays it?

So this is the point of beginning for our industry—to know ourselves through serious study, to welcome the beginning of the possible new atmosphere as the shrill cries seem to moderate, or at least as some moderate voices begin to be heard. Before us now is the difficult problem of the future of health care in this country. Our hope and our responsibility is to participate with our new partners—government, the medical profession, and academia, in building for the future. The old way of hostile hearings and regulatory battles has little to do with this future—indeed can only hinder and impede it. In a word, if we are to build the future it will be by cooperation. In that necessary cooperative effort, the pharmaceutical industry is ready to do its part.

#### AMENDING TITLE 28, UNITED STATES CODE, TO EXTEND THE TIME FOR FILING TORT ACTIONS BY CERTAIN PERSONS

SPEECH OF

**HON. JACOB H. GILBERT**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, I support H.R. 10124, offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. DONOHUE), to extend the time for filing tort actions by persons under the age of 21, or insane or mentally ill, or imprisoned on a criminal charge.

I have sponsored a similar bill in past Congresses and in this Congress—H.R. 4155, 91st Congress. The bill will modify existing law by providing that the 2-year statute of limitations applicable to tort actions against the Government will not run against persons under legal disability at the time the action accrues, and that, such individuals may present the claim within 2 years after the disability ceases. We should recognize the fact that persons suffering from legal disabilities and particularly those who are under age are actually being deprived of their rights because of the presently overstrict limitation provision in subsection (b) of section 2401, title 28 of the United States Code.

There is a demonstrated need for this legislation. I support H.R. 10124 and I commend my distinguished colleague (Mr. DONOHUE) for the action of his subcommittee in bringing this bill to the House floor.

#### PLAYING WITH FIRE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

**HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply disturbed about the apparent erosion by the Nixon administration of our position of support for a fair and permanent resolution of the conflict between Israel and her Arab neighbors in the Middle East.

The basis of our policy has been to promote a settlement by direct negotiations between the parties of their disputes over borders, recognition, refugees, and access to international waterways and, until such a settlement can be reached, to assure Israel's invulnerability to Arab attack.

The first disturbing indication that the Nixon administration was backing away from this policy occurred at its inception when Gov. William Scranton announced, after a Presidential fact-finding tour of the area, that the new administration was going to pursue a more "even-handed" policy. Next came a period of equivocation over delivery of Phantom jets to Israel in pursuance with prior commitments. While the jets have now been promised, they still have not been delivered.

These events led to sincere fears that "even-handedness" meant abandoning Israel in favor of Republican oil interests in the Arab States.

These fears were heightened when the United States supported the United Nations resolution condemning Israel for her attacks on Lebanon in response to actions of Arab terrorists in blowing up an El Al airliner at Beirut airport without any condemnation for the Arab attacks which provoked the incident. This hardly seemed even-handed. Nor did our abstention from subsequent one-sided U.N. Middle East resolutions or our silence in the U.N. during the public hangings by Iraq of Jews.

These fears were again aroused when the U.S.-proposed four-power talks to promote a Middle East settlement with France and Russia committed to side with the Arabs. They were barely assuaged by our assurances that the four powers would concern themselves solely with broad guidelines for peace and not the specifics of a settlement which we stated would be left to direct negotiations.

The State Department's latest pronouncement inviting resumption of official recognition of the Arab States that have sworn to annihilate Israel and are daily sending terrorists across her borders to kill her citizens can but confirm these fears.

Worse yet, Secretary Rogers' recent speech putting forward specific border settlement proposals, undermines Israel's chief bargaining position requiring direct negotiations of the details of a settlement. Indeed, since only direct negotiations can produce a permanent and lasting settlement, the State Department's position seriously jeopardizes the



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prospects for peace in that troubled area.

It seems clear that President Nasser and his radical Arab associates will interpret Secretary Rogers' latest overtures as a signal that they are free to pursue, with Soviet assistance, their policy of military adventurism against Israel and her people. This encouragement could well prove to be explosive.

Indeed, it is significant that no sooner had Secretary Rogers spoken than the Soviet Union's prime minister promised increased military aid for Egypt and reaffirmed his nation's support for the terrorist Arab guerrilla movement.

I think it is clear that the Soviet-Arab strategy is to create an atmosphere of such intense crisis that the United States would force major concessions upon Israel as the price for a temporary respite. And temporary it clearly would be, for no arrangement worked out in the absence of direct negotiations between Israel and the Arabs can hope to have any permanence.

We cannot, we must not let ourselves be coerced into such a position, for to do so would jeopardize the political independence and territorial integrity of Israel without achieving a meaningful peace in the Middle East. To undermine Israel at this time would merely whet the radical Arab appetite for full-scale assault on Israel and increase the risk of a wider war.

It is appropriate to remind ourselves of the statements made by John Foster Dulles when he was Secretary of State under President Eisenhower:

The preservation of the State of Israel is one of the essential goals of United States foreign policy.

Israel is the one bastion of freedom in the Middle East. By encouraging the Arabs, we are playing with fire in an explosive situation. If the Arabs mount a major attack on Israel, we can hardly avoid becoming involved. It is eminently in our interests to prevent such a conflict from breaking out and to return to the sound principles for a sound settlement that this country has pursued until the present.

## BIG TRUCK BILL

## HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker my editorial for today is from the Arizona Republic. The editorial follows:

CONGRESS LEFT TO DECIDE SAFETY QUESTION OF HEAVIER TRUCKS

WASHINGTON.—The Nixon administration left it up to Congress yesterday to decide whether heavier and bigger trailer trucks and buses are safe enough to be permitted to travel on interstate highways.

Federal Highway Administrator F. C. Turner told a House public works subcommittee his agency did not have "sufficient reliable evidence" to determine whether the increased sizes of trucks and buses proposed in controversial legislation would mean additional safety hazards to motorists.

If Congress decides motorists safety is not affected "measurably," Turner said, the ad-

ministration would urge that implementation be delayed until July 1, 1972, rather than on the date of passage. The government needs the three years to set performance standards for the bigger trucks, he said.

Turner's long-awaited disclosure of the administration position on the bill, while not an endorsement, brought smiles to the faces of subcommittee members who support the legislation.

As opponent, Rep. Fred Schwengel, R-Iowa, said it was "incredible" that the Transportation Department did not recommend delay in action on the bill until it could collect adequate safety data.

The bill, supported by the trucking industry and opposed by the American Automobile Association, would increase from 8 feet to 8½ feet the maximum allowable width of trucks and buses using the interstate highway system.

The limit on weight would be raised from 73,280 pounds to 108,500 pounds. The length, which is not limited now, would be set at 70 feet. Turner recommended a maximum length of 65 feet.

## CHRISTIAN HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE SEVENTIES

## HON. BILL NICHOLS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, on November 18, 1969, Dr. Harry Philpott, president of Auburn University, addressed the Alabama Baptist State Convention in Birmingham. Dr. Philpott is an ordained Baptist minister although he has never held a pastorate, his entire career has been in the field of education. In his address, Dr. Philpott outlined the continuing need for Christian higher education in the years ahead. I would like to share his thoughts on this important subject with my colleagues by inserting his remarks in the RECORD at this point:

## CHRISTIAN HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE SEVENTIES

Our emphasis on Christian higher education continues a glorious phase of Baptist history. It is well to remind ourselves of the fundamental importance of education in the development of Baptist churches. Our present-day heritage has many roots but none is more important than the leadership of Luther Rice in the 19th Century. One commentator has described his return from Burma to solicit support for Judson's pioneering missionary enterprise as the single most important event in Baptist history during the 19th Century. He arrived with a great zeal for missions but discovered the support necessary for these could not be obtained because of the fragmented character and separatism of the Baptist churches and because of the appalling lack of education within the ministry and the leadership of the churches. If the missionary endeavor was to move forward, it was necessary to bring the churches together in associations and conventions and to overcome the lack of education and understanding.

With unequalled devotion, Rice traveled throughout the eastern and southern United States drawing Baptists together, presenting the missionary challenge and sparking the organization of Baptist colleges and schools. The difficulty of his task can be seen in the fact that an early division in the ranks of the Baptists separated those who believed

in education and missions from those who opposed such endeavors by the churches. Our forebearers proudly proclaimed themselves Missionary Baptists and equally emphasized their great concern for education. Church-related educational programs, academies, colleges, universities and seminaries characterized the educational enterprises of our churches and continue to be a basic emphasis of our Christian mission today. Despite the problems which face us educationally and the changes in American education which have had their effect on our programs, we would be disloyal to our Baptist heritage and, more importantly, unworthy of the future if we did not continue to give major importance to these endeavors.

I stand before you today as a concerned individual with a troubled soul. I have always held, and still do, a firm belief in the dual system of higher education as we have known it in the United States. Problems which face both the private sector and the public sector of higher education are as difficult, if not more difficult, than at any time in our history. During this century we have witnessed undreamed of expansion in public education, while the private and church-related institutions have been forced by a variety of circumstances to simply hold their own, as a rule. In Alabama for example, in the last ten years we have seen a 115 per cent enrollment increase in our institutions of higher learning, with only a small proportion of this coming in the private and church-related sector. Our best estimates indicate that a 70 per cent increase in higher education enrollment will take place in the next decade, again with the overwhelming percentage being in the public institutions.

Changing circumstances have dictated new patterns for our Baptist programs in higher education. While continuing, as we absolutely must, support for our own institutions, we have been challenged to develop Baptist Student Programs in our public institutions. The developing Junior College system in Alabama has opened a new opportunity for student work in many of our churches and for the State Convention. Christian higher education today requires that we meet student needs whatever type of institution they attend.

It should not be supposed that the public institutions are immune from the same problems private institutions face in attempting to fulfill their responsibilities. We are witnessing at the present time, and I can only predict that this trend will accelerate in the next ten years, an obliteration of the line which distinguished private and public institutions of higher learning in the past. Tax dollars now provide as much as 45 per cent of the annual operating budgets for some private and denominational institutions while public institutions must avidly seek private gift support to supplement governmental appropriations.

We have only to remind ourselves that in every State Convention of Southern Baptists this year the issue of tax support for our institutions, or government aid in a variety of forms, will be a major consideration. I have no simple answer to resolve this issue but from a survey of recent history can only offer the prediction that in the decade ahead some form of support from the governments will be required for the continued existence of our institutions. Our task will be to devise programs which will safeguard, so far as possible, the administration of our schools in private hands and which will draw a clear line of distinction between activities which are religious in character and those which are common to the educational experience of all students.

In this connection, I am pleased with the growing understanding being shown by my fellow Baptists in placing the day by day

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Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, the State of Texas has lost one of its great civic leaders, a widely known and highly respected lawyer, a forceful and eloquent figure on the political scene, a courtly respected gentleman.

Mr. Thornton Hardie came to El Paso as a young graduate of the University of Texas Law School in 1913. He has practiced law in El Paso for more than 56 years; certainly he was one of the senior members and former presidents of the El Paso Bar, a distinguished legal scholar, and the senior member of the highly respected firm of Hardie, Grambling, Sims & Galatzan.

Excellence in legal training and practice, in civic life, and especially in the field of education, were basic themes of his life. For 6 years, he served our State with great distinction as a member of the board of regents of the University of Texas system, as chairman of the board for 2 years, 1961 to 1963. He also served as a member of the Texas Council for Higher Education, and was a member of the Philosophical Society of Texas.

In politics, Mr. Hardie was an eloquent defender of those principles of constitutional government which he believed essential to our Nation's well-being. Opponents and allies alike respected his great ability and admired his unflinching courtesy and courtly bearing.

In our community of El Paso, he was honored in the field of business, having served as vice president and director of the El Paso National Bank, director of the Southern Union Gas Co., and the Rio Grande, El Paso & Santa Fe Railroad Co.

His imprint upon the city of El Paso and the State of Texas has been great beyond measure. His memory will remain bright among his four children, all of whom are outstanding civic leaders, 18 grandchildren and eight great-grandchildren, his brothers and sisters, and his many friends.

Other Members of this body, who had the good fortune to know Mr. Thornton Hardie, I am sure will join in the sentiments that here was a citizen whose career of service deserves our admiration and respect.

#### MIDDLE EAST RESOLUTION AMENDMENT

(Mr. FINDLEY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, daily the fighting in the Middle East increases, daily the tension multiplies, daily the toll of Arabs and Israelis killed mounts—and each day the likelihood grows that open warfare will erupt between nations in that part of the world. If that fateful, violent day comes again as it did in 1957 and 1967, the position of the United States may well determine the future of mankind. The military and political support which our Government gives to one side or the other will drastically affect the outcome of any war in the Middle East, whether it spreads beyond the immediate bounds of the conflict, whether it involves a confrontation with the Soviet Union, and whether once again

American boys are called upon to put their lives on the line to support their Government's foreign policy.

Does the United States have a commitment that might draw us into a conflict in the Middle East? If it exists, how does it compare with the commitment our Nation undertook in Vietnam? Who would make the decision as to whether our interest justifies military action? What is the possibility of the United States becoming embroiled, through a Vietnam-like process of gradualism, in another undeclared war—this time perhaps posing an even greater risk of escalation to a nuclear confrontation?

These are questions the Congress and the American people are entitled to ask, particularly at this moment of mounting crisis in a region with which our country has so many cultural, religious, ethnic, and economic ties.

The answers will come as a surprise—indeed, a shock—to most Americans, including, I daresay, most of the Members of Congress.

Still in full force on the statute books is a resolution enacted by Congress in 1957 which states a broad area of national commitment to the preservation of the integrity of nations in the Middle East. It is far more specific than the formal obligations cited as justification for our entry into the conflict in Vietnam. In fact, the all but forgotten Middle East Resolution makes the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution pale by comparison. It places in the hands of the President the exclusive authority to make the determination that military action is required and to order into action military forces without limit. It relieves the President even of the necessity of consulting with the Congress, as well as the necessity of securing advance congressional approval.

It leaves open the possibility of another Vietnam-like experience, another undeclared war—this time bringing into basic confrontation the vital interests of the world's two super-powers.

What President—and especially one now dealing with the agony of disengagement from the Vietnam tragedy—would wish to use this awesome power without first consulting thoroughly with the Congress and gaining from the Congress specific approval. Surely, President Nixon would be the last person intentionally to permit the military doctrine of gradualism to draw the Nation into another large-scale undeclared war.

Indeed, President Nixon's statement this week that he approves of the Senate appropriation bill amendment forbidding ground combat troops from being introduced into Thailand and Laos suggests that the President would likewise welcome congressional restraint on similar authority in the Middle East.

This estimate of Presidential intention, while reassuring, does not relieve the Congress of its own responsibility to the American people. Under the Constitution, the power of the sword is vested in the Congress. This power it unwisely surrendered in 1957, and this power it must regain. To argue that the resolution is dormant and would never be cited is scant comfort.

In the fall of 1964, President Johnson would have scoffed at a forecast that he

would use the Gulf of Tonkin resolution and the SEATO treaty as justification for sending a half-million men into war.

Such a possibility has not been ruled completely out in the Middle East. During the 10-day battle in November between the Lebanese Army and Arab guerrilla forces, Secretary of the Navy John H. Chaffee told a London news conference, "I think certainly the United States is not anxious to become involved in land deployment in the Mediterranean." But if circumstances became serious and required it, he said, "I think we could do it." He added that, "I think the United States would need very strong reasons for landing troops from the 6th Fleet."

No one can forecast with accuracy the passions and pressures which may be generated by future events and brought to bear on institutions of our Government.

If experience has taught us anything, it has shown how fragile peace really is, and how difficult it is to draw the fine line between U.S. involvement as a provider of noncombat military support and U.S. involvement in combat itself.

Difficult though it may be, the Congress must assume responsibility for that line drawing. The chore cannot wisely be left to the President, even one as experienced and chastened as Mr. Nixon.

The power of the sword—one of the two great powers reserved by the Constitution to the legislative branch—is clearly and exclusively established as a congressional prerogative by this mandate of article I, section 8 of the Constitution, "The Congress shall have power to declare war."

There are some, myself among them, who believe that Congress has not adequately fulfilled its responsibility in this regard in the past. Irrespective of differing views on points of history, each of us surely wants to guard the legislative prerogative of power over the sword in any future conflict which might entail the use of U.S. troops.

If war should break out in the Middle East—and there is every indication that this is a real possibility—the Congress should formally and officially participate in any decision fixing the role the United States would take in such a conflict. The Constitution says we must, and the people who elected us have the right to expect us to exercise our judgment in just such a circumstance.

Yet, in the event of war in the Middle East, would the Congress be called upon to exercise its constitutional authority before our military forces are used?

Under existing law, as interpreted when it was enacted, it is clear that the decision could be made to send American combat troops in almost unlimited numbers into the Middle East to fight on any side or as a buffer between sides without specific approval by the House or the Senate.

The Middle East resolution, passed in the early months of 1957 when the menacing military posture of the Soviet Union seemed to threaten the stability of the countries of the Middle East, states:

The United States regards as vital to the national interest and world peace the preservation of the independence and integrity of the nations of the Middle East. To this

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end, if the President determines the necessity thereof, the United States is prepared to use armed forces to assist any such nation or group of such nations requesting assistance against armed aggression from any country controlled by international communism: Provided, That such employment shall be consonant with the treaty obligations of the United States and with the Constitution of the United States. Pub. L. 85-7.

This act has never been repealed. It has no specified date of expiration. It is permanent law.

Let there be no mistake. This resolution, passed under circumstances in the Middle East which have radically changed in the intervening 13 years, requires neither consultation with Congress nor congressional approval before the President can send American men to fight in a war.

When Secretary of State John Foster Dulles testified on the resolution before the Joint Senate Armed Services and Foreign Relations Committees he made that point abundantly clear in response to this question put to him by Senator Kefauver.

Senator KEFAUVER. But can you give us that as an assurance, that before the Armed Forces of this Nation will be used under circumstances which might bring about a substantial conflict, that the President would ask for a declaration that a state of war existed?

Secretary DULLES. Not prior to their use; no sir.

And in response to Senator FULBRIGHT's query, "Who determines whether or not a country is Communist dominated?" the Secretary of State replied, "That determination would be made by the President."

This broad delegation of congressional power is far greater than the grant of authority in the SEATO treaty which President Johnson often cited as authority for American military actions under the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. Under article IV of the SEATO treaty, each party to the treaty pledged, in accordance with its "constitutional processes," to "act to meet the common danger" resulting from "aggression by means of armed attack in the treaty area against any of the parties."

The hearings on the SEATO treaty in 1954 made it perfectly clear that some form of congressional action would be required to authorize military action under article IV. Senator Wiley, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee unmistakably clarified the meaning of the phrase "constitutional processes" when he asked Secretary of State Dulles the following question:

Senator WILEY. So whether it were the threat mentioned in Section 2 [of article IV] or the common danger resulting from open attack, action could be taken only after consultation with Congress?

To this, the Secretary of State unqualifiedly answered "yes."

Again, later in the hearings, the Secretary of State affirmed that the President "would act through the Congress if it were in session, and if not in session [he would] call Congress."

There was no similar pledge by Secretary Dulles in the hearings on the Middle East resolution. To the contrary, as indicated to Senator Kefauver above, the

Secretary specifically stated that the President need not consult first with the Congress, nor seek any kind of congressional authority or supportive action, prior to committing U.S. Armed Forces to fight in the Middle East. Secretary Dulles did say that the President might, under certain circumstances, call Congress into session after he had committed troops and the war had already begun. This comment demonstrated clearly the degree to which the resolution relieved the Congress of its war-making power.

The only military action taken under authority of the Middle East resolution unquestionably supports this interpretation.

When President Eisenhower sent U.S. Marines into Lebanon without prior congressional approval on July 14, 1957, he cited the Middle East resolution—passed 16 months earlier—in support of his action, although the aggression was being carried out exclusively by Arab nationals using Soviet weapons. As further justification, he listed the pattern of conquest by the Communists in Greece in 1947, Czechoslovakia in 1948, China in 1949, Korea and Indochina in 1950, and stated:

We now see in the Middle East . . . the same pattern of conquest with which we became familiar during the period of 1945 to 1950. This involves taking over a nation by means of indirect aggression; that is, under the cover of a fomented civil strife the purpose is to put into domestic control those whose real loyalty is to the aggressor.

Referring to the Korean war, President Eisenhower went on to say, "All the world knew that the North Koreans were armed, equipped and directed from without for the purpose of aggression."

Times have changed since the Congress passed the Middle East Resolution over a decade ago. The nature of the conflict has changed. Although Soviet power remains and in some respect is much greater, who can say with precision that any country in the Middle East is, in the words of the resolution, "controlled by international communism"? The fierce independence and nationalism of Arabs is only partly nurtured by Soviet ambition and aid. To the deep wounds of many years are added the scars of the 7-day war. Tension and conflict are seen more in nationalistic terms today than in terms of confrontation between the free world and international communism.

At the same time the Soviet threat has taken on a more menacing, although changed, character. The Soviet Union is now a superpower whose nuclear weapons are acknowledged to be in the same class as those of the United States. It is also a first-rate naval power, operating extensively for the first time throughout the Mediterranean.

If a confrontation should occur between the United States and the Soviet Union over the Middle East, our country would no longer hold the decisive advantages of yesterday, even though the danger of intimidation of these states by massed displays of Soviet ground forces no longer seems so great.

These changes make all the graver the risks entailed by a confrontation with "international communism" in that region. Such a confrontation may come.

The time may also come when the United States will find it clearly in its interest to go to war. But the stakes are now so mountainous as to make absolutely vital formal congressional approval before any such decision is effected.

The Congress can deal expeditiously with a challenge in whatever manner is appropriate. Let no one doubt the capability or the capacity of the Congress to act with dispatch if the occasion merits it. The comment of Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, later to be President, at the hearings on the Middle East resolution are as instructive as they are ironic. Referring to the request in the resolution for \$200 million to support U.S. economic and military aid, the Senator told Secretary Dulles:

I think that you can trust the Congress to act with reasonable care on matters vitally affecting this Nation and not to drag their feet. I know of no disposition to do so. It seems to me if the Secretary of State and the President feel the need for further information before they reach a conclusion, that they will give the Congress the same privilege they reserve for themselves.

The attitude of the American people has also changed quite markedly over the last decade. We have learned from bitter experience the limitations of limited wars.

We have learned that a war effort which has been denied the unifying force of formal congressional support and approval is gravely shortchanged. We have found that a limited military response ordered on his own by the President can lead the Nation into a paralyzing and seemingly bottomless quagmire. From this experience, I believe the Congress has become convinced that the American people will not support U.S. involvement in a foreign war unless and until such involvement has been given formal approval by the Congress.

Because of these two changed factors, plus the constitutional responsibility mentioned earlier, I am today introducing an amendment to the Middle East resolution. It would clearly spell out the role of Congress in any decision to commit U.S. forces to the Middle East under the authority of that resolution.

Retaining all the basic language of the resolution, the amendment would add three significant words, "and the Congress," to the operative clause permitting the commitment of armed forces. It would cause section 2 of the resolution to read, in pertinent part:

Furthermore, the United States regards as vital to the national interest and world peace the preservation of the independence and integrity of the nations of the Middle East. To this end, if the President and the Congress determine the necessity thereof, the United States is prepared to use armed forces to assist any nation or group of such nations requesting assistance against armed aggression from any country controlled by international communism: Provided, That such employment shall be consonant with the treaty obligations of the United States and with the Constitution of the United States.

This amendment does not in any way lessen our commitment to peace, justice, and national security in the Middle East. Nor does the amendment in any way lessen our commitment to stand fast against Communist encroachment in that part



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of the world. Outright repeal of the Middle East resolution might very well have that effect.

Acceptance by the Congress of the amendment I propose would have the undeniable effect of reaffirming congressional support for and commitment to a stable, peaceful, independent Middle East. At this point in our history when the shadow of Vietnam seems to dull many of our commitments around the world, it would be wise for the United States to renew its commitment to stand fast against Communist penetration in this part of the world.

My amendment restores Congress to its proper decisionmaking role, recognizing that before the United States can constitutionally commit armed forces to preserve "the independence and integrity of the nations of the Middle East," approval by the Congress, as well as the President is required.

This amendment would not infringe upon the legitimate right—in fact the duty—of a President to commit troops in the Middle East or elsewhere under certain limited circumstances without prior specific approval by the Congress. As Commander in Chief, the President has the implied power to repel attack and to protect the lives and property of U.S. citizens.

However, these exceptions to the general rule of prior congressional approval cannot properly be interpreted loosely. Thus, a President cannot cite as authorization the need to protect American lives or property when in fact there is no clear and substantial showing of danger to such at the time of the intervention.

Similarly, the power to repel attack is not an unlimited one. The right of self-defense is undeniable, but this authority permits only a limited response to a specific situation, and it terminates when the need for self-defense terminates. Beyond this, any intervention by American forces must be preceded by specific congressional approval.

The need for action on this amendment is urgent. If the volcano of war does erupt in the Middle East, the United States may well decide to send troops to help restore peace and stability to that part of the world. But let the decision to do so result from the constitutional processes which form the strength and security of our Nation and in which the role of Congress is fixed by the Constitution and not by the pleasure of the President. Let the decision to send troops, or not to do so, result from a synthesizing debate and vote—actions which will help forge a unified public will behind national policy. Such a unified will can best be forged on the one great anvil of democracy, the Congress of the United States.

#### MYLAI INVESTIGATION

(Mr. MINSHALL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, on November 20 I took the floor to ask for a complete investigation of the alleged atrocities at Mylai. I am glad to see that the Congress and the Department of De-

fense are conducting in-depth investigations.

Yesterday I received a letter from Mr. Raymond J. Kappel, secretary of the Fairview Park, Ohio, Jaycees, detailing a meeting in July 1968, at which Ronald Haeberle showed his now-famous color photographs taken at Mylai.

Mr. Kappel, who did not attend that meeting, wrote the letter in his capacity as secretary of the group, at the request of fellow Jaycees who were present when the pictures were shown. I have discussed Mr. Kappel's letter with a member who was there, and he states that the facts are accurately represented.

I know that my colleagues are tremendously concerned with the alleged events at Mylai and, accordingly, I am making this letter part of the RECORD and am sending copies of it to the appropriate Department of Defense officials:

THE FAIRVIEW PARK JAYCEES, INC.,  
Fairview Park, Ohio, December 11, 1969.  
Hon. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL,  
Rayburn Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MINSHALL: The Fairview Park Jaycees have been deeply disturbed by the alleged massacre at My Lai on March 16, 1968. We also are concerned about the sensationalism of the publicity concerning My Lai.

On July 10, 1968, Mr. Ronald Haeberle presented a slide show on Vietnam at our monthly meeting. The main theme of his presentation was Vietnam countryside until the final few slides, which showed Vietnamese people, whom Mr. Haeberle said were killed as a result of a military search-and-destroy mission. The slides were the same as photographs that are now getting sensational publicity by the news media. We were sickened by the photographs. We questioned Mr. Haeberle as to how these deaths occurred. He stated that his unit was on a search-and-destroy mission and that the village was a V. C. stronghold; that the villagers were warned two days in advance by dropped leaflets and voice communication that the village was going to be destroyed, and that they should leave, and that anyone remaining would be considered a V. C. The manner in which he made his presentation generally left the group with the impression that this act was justifiable.

As to what occurred in My Lai, we now question the use of these pictures by various publications and news media, 1½ years after they were taken.

We feel that the Government should thoroughly investigate the alleged massacre, and that the truth should be determined.

Sincerely yours,

RAY KAPPEL,  
Secretary.

#### THE MAIL ON MYLAI

(Mr. RIVERS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to read the House a sentence from a letter recently received from a man in Keene, N.H.:

I am an interstate bus driver (28 years old), and if a thug accosted me and robbed me, you can bet the news in reporting the incident would say "alleged assault," but here (the massacre) they almost never bother to say "alleged."

And here is another sentence from the same letter:

Politicians often think people are fooled by the press, but this is not true.

This letter from young Mr. Greg Murphy, of Keene, N.H., sums up very well the feeling expressed in the overwhelming majority of the mail received by our committee on the Mylai investigation.

The main thrust of concern among those who write to us is that the news media have tried and convicted the American soldiers in Vietnam before the case has been proved and that our committee should investigate the whole matter in depth and not prejudge the case.

I think Mr. Murphy has summed up very neatly the reaction many of us here have had to the reporting of this story in his reference to the fact that the papers did not even bother to use the word "alleged." Our mail would indicate that a similar reaction has been experienced by people throughout the country.

Our committee has received over 325 letters, and new batches of mail are delivered daily. There is a great interest on the part of the American people. The mail comes from all parts of the country and from people in all walks of life. Of course, we have received letters critical of our procedures and critical of statements I may have made in public interviews. But a staff review indicated that the mail is running approximately 20 to 1 in favor of our manner of procedure.

Those who write to us seem to be principally concerned that we get all of the facts before jumping to conclusions and that we assure that the rights of the American soldiers involved are protected. The people are greatly concerned that these matters will reflect unfairly on all of the GI's who have served in Vietnam.

The most frequent comment in our correspondence is concerned that the press and TV reports have assumed the guilt of the men accused before any investigation or any court-martial is completed.

Again, I want to say to Members of the House that the subcommittee I appointed under the chairmanship of the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. HEBERT) will press forward with a thorough investigation and will not rest until all of the facts are in. That subcommittee will determine if there has been a massacre, if there was who was guilty, and the extent to which the Army's system is at fault. That subcommittee will be diligent to protect the rights of individuals.

We shall not be swayed from our constitutional responsibilities by the glare of the TV lights or the slant of the editorialists.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RIVERS. I am delighted to yield to the gentleman from New Hampshire.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, I would like to compliment the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Armed Services on his fine statement and, because he has used a letter of one of my constituents, I would like to thank him for having selected that particular letter. I think it is fairly typical of letters I have received from other constituents. The

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motto of the State of New Hampshire has been and it still is, "Live free or die." There are many tough-minded, thoughtful people in the Granite State.

Mr. RIVERS. I want to thank the gentleman.

#### PRESS COVERAGE OF THE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE INVESTIGATION OF THE MYLAI INCIDENT

(Mr. NICHOLS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include a newspaper article.)

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, I read with great interest the comments of our colleague, Congressman BOB SIKES, of Florida, concerning the press coverage of the Armed Services Committee investigation of the Mylai incident. I agree with him 100 percent, and I want to add my endorsement to his statements about Chairman MENDEL RIVERS and the chairman of the special subcommittee looking into the Mylai incident, Congressman F. EDWARD HEBERT, of Louisiana. It is an honor and a privilege to serve with these gentlemen, and I know that they have only the good of America at heart in this or any other matter which comes before our committee.

If there is any man in the Congress who would do a better job of investigating these charges than Congressman HEBERT, I do not know who he is. As a career newspaperman for some 20 years before coming to the Congress, he knows that there is no use to try to whitewash or cover anything as important as this. Chairman RIVERS and Congressman HEBERT want only to see that justice is done in this case.

While the press is quick to publicize incidents such as that which allegedly occurred at Mylai, they seldom make an effort to bring to the public's attention both sides of the situation. For instance, the Columbus, Ga., Ledger, on Tuesday, December 16, ran a picture which was taken some 2 weeks before the incident showing Vietcong women and young boys carrying arms in Mylai. Such a picture would not, of course, be of interest to certain newspapers because it would not help their case in prosecuting those Army officers who have been accused of participating in this incident.

I believe any man going into an area where he knew women and children were part of the Vietcong force would be particularly wary of anyone. I ask unanimous consent that this article from the Columbus Ledger be inserted in the Record at this point.

#### ARMY PHOTO SHOWS VC UNIT STATIONED IN MYLAI AREA

A photograph of a Viet Cong unit based in the My Lai (4) area was made available Monday by a man who had served with the 11th Infantry Brigade at the time of the incident of March 16, 1968, which has brought charges that G.I.s committed murder against Vietnamese civilians.

He said the photograph came from a roll of film captured in a Viet Cong basecamp in the Song My village area (My Lai was one of the hamlets of this village) two weeks before the My Lai raid.

An officer who had served with the 11th Brigade during its organization and as both

a field commander and staff officer, he said the photograph was developed by the brigade public information office photography laboratory, some copies retained by that office, others given to intelligence sources.

Identification of some of the individuals in the group of 38 armed Vietnamese, including three young women and several very young boys, was made by 11th Brigade intelligence offices, he said.

Kneeling in the center of the group one arm akimbo, with a holstered pistol, is the military leader of the unit, he said.

Standing at the far left, without a weapon, in peasant garb of black pajamas, and obviously older than the armed guerrillas, is the unit's political officer, he said.

Third from right, with a U.S. M-1 rifle, posed on one knee, is a "combat hero" and squad leader in the unit, the officer said.

Men in the photograph have a 60 mm. mortar, carbines, and M-1 rifles of U.S. manufacture and M49 submachineguns of French manufacture—typical Viet Cong armament as opposed to North Vietnamese regulars who carry Chinese-Communist manufactured weapons of Russian style.

One man, standing on the right of the one identified as the political officer, wears a North Vietnamese regular's field uniform, as does the squad leader in the front row. (The man by the political officer was believed to be his body guard, the officer said.)

#### PFC. CHARLES F. TYSON III, LOVED HIS NATION AND HIS HOME, MARTIN COUNTY, FLA.

(Mr. ROGERS of Florida asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, November 10, 1969, a special Veteran's Day memorial service was held at Martin County High School, Martin County, Fla., to honor Pfc. Charles F. "Chuck" Tyson, an alumnus of that school, who gave his life in Vietnam.

Charles Tyson graduated from Martin County High School in June 1968. His favorite pastimes were surfing and swimming, both very popular in beautiful and scenic country located on the Atlantic Ocean, just north of West Palm Beach.

On September 17, 1968, Charles Tyson enlisted in the U.S. Marine Corps. He completed his basic training with flying colors and was very proud to be a marine.

In March 1969, he arrived in Vietnam and on March 29 observed his 20th birthday as a member of 3d Platoon, Company M, 3d Battalion, 5th Marine Regiment.

Private first class Tyson was assigned as a rifleman in the 1st Squad of the 3d Platoon of M Company and on the afternoon of June 21, 1969, Company M was engaged in a search-and-clear operation approximately 4 miles east of the Marine base at An Hoa, Quang Nam Province, Republic of Vietnam. The enemy was encountered and during the ensuing battle, Pfc. Charles Tyson was struck by small-arms fire and was killed. He was buried on July 8, 1969, at Fern Hill Cemetery, Stuart, Fla., in Martin County with military honors.

His commanding officer as well as his fellow marines had a deep affection and respect for Charles Tyson for they knew he was a sincere and dedicated marine

who loved his country, and particularly Martin County.

His thoughts were of Martin County High School, Stuart, Fla., when he wrote to his parents in January of this year, prior to his departure for Vietnam. I would like to enclose that letter at this point in the Record for the benefit of my colleagues:

JANUARY 29, 1969.

TO MY LOVING MOM AND DAD: Even though I don't like to mention such things, it is a necessary step that must be taken. If by some odd stroke of fate I should not return from my coming tour in Vietnam, there are a few things I would like done.

1. First to be buried at Stuart, Florida.
2. To take the flag from my funeral and give it to Martin County High School. In addition I want \$500 to be used to erect a monument to all those students past, present, and future who have given their lives in defense of their God and country. With an inscription by Nathan Hale, "I regret that I have but one life to give for my country."
3. \$2,000.00 from my insurance policy to be used in 2 \$1,000.00 scholarships for the most deserving male and female students of Martin County High School.
4. The rest is to be used by the two of you as you see fit.

Pfc. CHARLES F. TYSON III.

The wishes of Pfc. Charles F. "Chuck" Tyson were carried out at the Martin County High School on November 10.

The flag from his casket was presented to the Martin County High School by Charles' parents, Mr. and Mrs. Leonard R. Tyson, who now live in South Bay, Fla., a short distance from Stuart, where Mr. Tyson is now acting chief of police. That flag now flies over Martin County High School and has a very special meaning to the students there.

The monument for which Charles bequeathed \$500 will be designed by the students of Martin County High School and will be constructed in the courtyard. Charles' parents will give a savings bond to the student who contributes the most toward the design of the monument.

A scholarship is being established at the school to provide \$1,000 each to the most deserving male and female student at Martin County High School as Charles requested.

Mr. Speaker, words are most inadequate to express one's respect and admiration for this young man. Yet, I do not believe Pfc. Charles F. Tyson III would want us to linger in sorrow, but would rather have us heed the words of Nathan Hale in these troubled times:

I regret that I have but one life to give for my country.

Mr. Speaker, I think this Nation will continue to be strong as long as we have young men of this caliber.

#### THE NORTH AND SOUTH MUST HAVE EQUAL TREATMENT IN DESEGREGATION

(Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, it is my understanding that the southern strategy of the Nixon admin-

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ness Program once again. Details of the revision are, of course, classified and the Committee has not yet had an opportunity to thoroughly examine and evaluate the full impact of the budgetary reductions.

As I indicated earlier, I have invited the Secretary of Defense, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission to appear before the Committee and testify on the possible technological and political impacts of this decision. For that reason this report, as it pertains to Safeguard 3, must be considered tentative pending the completion of the hearing, which I hope to have some time during the early part of the next session.

#### SAFEGUARD 4—IMPROVEMENTS OF OUR CAPABILITY TO MONITOR AND DETECT VIOLATIONS

Safeguard 4 requires the improvement of our capability within feasible and practical limits to monitor the terms of the treaty, to detect violations, and to maintain our knowledge of foreign nuclear activity, capabilities and achievements. The VELA program is a joint AEC/DOD program supervised by the DOD's Advanced Research Projects Agency. It is a research and development effort being jointly conducted to improve the U.S. capabilities for detecting, locating, and identifying nuclear detonations. The VELA program has three subprograms: VELA Uniform—detection of underground nuclear explosions, VELA Satellite—detection by satellites of nuclear explosions in space or in the atmosphere; and VELA Surface Based—detection of nuclear explosions in space by ground based equipments.

All of these subprograms are discussed and managed under Safeguard 4, but it should be noted that one of these subprograms, VELA Uniform, while it produces important information and gives us a capability to detect, locate and identify underground nuclear explosions and to research technical methods that could be used by other nations to evade detection or identification of underground nuclear explosions, does not contribute directly to the safeguards program of the Limited Test Ban Treaty. This capability might become much more significant in the event that the talks that started in Helsinki result in some agreement or that the United States and the Soviet Union should enter into treaties contemplating more comprehensive test prohibitions.

#### VELA uniform—Detection of underground nuclear explosions

The seismic location capability is being improved by application of knowledge gained from a systematic study of all factors affecting hypocenter determinations based on teleseismic data. Analysis of data available from recent studies indicates that if source bias can be effectively removed, then large events can be located within areas of only a few kilometers at high confidence. Investigation of source bias is being conducted through comprehensive evaluation of Long Shot as well as Nevada Test Site data. A working three dimensional earth model computer program has been developed for evaluating the travel time effects of differing crustal and upper-mantle structures on location accuracy. Preliminary analyses have been initiated to test new earth models which may lead to prediction of travel time anomalies (source bias) in uncalibrated regions.

The objective of the large array program is to develop and demonstrate the utility of larger arrays and associated automated data processing techniques for detection and identification of small seismic events. To achieve this, three large arrays have been or are in process of being constructed and a seismic array analysis center has been established in Washington, D.C. The Montana array is complete. Construction on the large aperture Norwegian seismic array began in July 1968 and is expected to be completed by the end of this year. The Alaskan long period array was begun in April 1969.

Another area of effort is to evaluate technical methods that might be used by other nations to evade seismic detection or identification of underground nuclear explosions. As with most of the other VELA Uniform Program, this effort is only incidentally associated with the safeguards to the Limited Test Ban Treaty but might take on increased importance in a more comprehensive test ban situation. The research program includes theoretical studies, laboratory research, and chemical and nuclear experiments.

#### VELA satellite program

The VELA Satellite subprogram, with its five successful launches in five attempts and long-lived payloads, is recognized in the field of space technology as a highly successful endeavor. All spacecraft except those from Launches I and II continue to function about as planned. Launch I spacecraft have been retired from active service in view of several factors: (1) their more limited capability when compared to subsequent launches; (2) the cumulated effect of malfunctions which have decreased their capability; and (3) the undue burden placed on facilities. The Launch II spacecraft, while functioning reasonably well, are not now the spacecraft tracking and data handling being utilized on a routine basis because of the improved capabilities of Launches III, IV, and V.

#### CONCLUSION

To summarize the status of implementation of the Safeguards program we can say that over the past year DOD and AEC have made satisfactory progress in protecting the national interest under the terms of the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. The underground test program continues to provide important information far beyond what was originally expected. The laboratories are vigorous and productive and, as a result, they are able to insure their vitality by retention and recruitment of high calibre technical and scientific staff. Safeguard No. 4 was adequately supported during the past year. It is only in the area of Safeguard No. 3—Readiness to Resume Testing in the Prohibited Environments—that budget constraints are being imposed which will result in degradation of the Safeguards program. Whether this is the beginning of a change in emphasis or a justifiable adjustment of priorities which will still retain an acceptable level of readiness is a question into which the coming year will provide additional insights and on which the subcommittee intends to take additional testimony.

#### BILL OF RIGHTS DAY, HUMAN RIGHTS DAY—THE PRESIDENT AND THE BILL OF RIGHTS

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, some of us have worried and wondered whether there is beginning a serious erosion of the rights and freedoms guaranteed to all Americans by our Constitution. Because reassurance from the executive branch on this score has been limited, or given only in the context of actions or statements which seem to contradict the assurances, it is especially gratifying to note that President Nixon last week expressed his—and the Nation's—continuing dedication to constitutional liberties and especially to the Bill of Rights. In proclaiming December 15 as Bill of Rights Day. The President pointed out that "the founders of our Republic had fought for individual liberty and for representative and responsible government," and that "In the first 10 amendments to the Constitution they sought to insure that the power of the Government would not abridge the rights

of citizens." He stressed that "the Bill of Rights is the law of the land" and expressed the hope "that we may rededicate ourselves as a united people to the task of assuring to every person—regardless of his race, sex, creed, color, or place of national origin—the full enjoyment of his basic human rights."

This is an important message for day, especially since it comes from President of the United States. So to all Members of Congress, as well as those who carry out the President's policies, may appreciate his commitment constitutional liberties and human rights, I ask that the proclamation proclaiming Bill of Rights Day and Human Rights Day be included in the Record.

There being no objection, the proclamation was ordered to be printed in Record, as follows:

#### BILL OF RIGHTS DAY AND HUMAN RIGHTS (By the President of the United States America)

##### A PROCLAMATION

One hundred seventy-eight years ago, Bill of Rights was ratified and incorporated as part of the United States Constitution. The founders of our Republic had fought for individual liberty and for representative and responsible government. In the first ten amendments to the Constitution they sought to ensure that the power of the government would not abridge the rights of citizens.

More than twenty years ago, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The founders of the United Nations had endured a world war brought on by those who denied the rights of men to equality and justice and who abrogated the rights of nations to exist in peace.

The two documents—the Bill of Rights and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—are close in spirit although widely separated in time. The Bill of Rights is the law of the land. The Universal Declaration is a statement of principles, of common standards of achievement for all peoples and all nations. We in the United States are engaged in unremitting efforts to give real meaning to these standards for every American, to assure to every person the full enjoyment of his basic rights.

Now, therefore, I, Richard Nixon, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim December 10, 1969, as Human Rights Day and December 15, 1969, as Bill of Rights Day, and call upon the people of the United States of America to observe the week of December 10-17, 1969, as Human Rights Week, to the end that we may rededicate ourselves as a united people to the task of assuring to every person—regardless of his race, sex, creed, color, or place of national origin—the full enjoyment of his basic human rights. Let us act so as to provide an example that will point the way in the struggle to promote respect for human rights throughout the world.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this ninth day of December, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred sixty-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-fourth.

RICHARD NIXON.

#### CONCERN ABOUT REMARKS OF SECRETARY OF STATE ROGERS ON MIDDLE EAST

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, I am deeply concerned by Secretary of State Rogers' recent remarks on the Middle East situation. By calling for a balanced approach to this critical area of the



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out in the response time is acceptable. Certainly, if economies can be made in the program without adversely affecting the national security, I, for one, would applaud the action. A careful and critical review of the continuing need for each element in the safeguard program is a healthy and commendable function of the DOD and AEC. In addition to the Administration's examination, however, I consider that it is incumbent on the Safeguards Subcommittee to inquire into a decision which will have a major impact on the safeguards program. The original assurances that the safeguards would be maintained were given by President Kennedy in August of 1963. They were reaffirmed by President Johnson in April 1964, but the present Administration has not formally stated its policy in this regard.

I plan to arrange for the Secretary of Defense, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, the Director of the Defense Policy Support Agency, and the Directors of the two AEC laboratories, Livermore and Alamos, to appear before the Subcommittee to testify on the possible technical and political impacts of this decision on the policy of this Administration regarding the continued implementation of Safeguard 3 as well as the other safeguards which are our responsibility to oversee.

As has been my practice in the past, I would like to discuss now the record of the Atomic Energy Commission and the Department of Defense in implementing each of the safeguards over the past year. Considerable detail will be included in order to provide as broad a dissemination of this information as is possible without compromising our Nation's security.

## SAFEGUARD 1—UNDERGROUND TEST PROGRAM

This safeguard requires the aggressive conduct of a continuing comprehensive underground nuclear test program designed to add to our knowledge and improve our weapon systems in all areas of significance to our military posture. The underground test program is providing substantially more information than was expected when the safeguards were formulated in 1963. Through the acquisition of more sophisticated technologies from the continuing underground test program and the research activities conducted by the laboratories (Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory at Los Alamos, New Mexico, the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory at Livermore, California, and the Sandia Laboratories) which support the test program, there has been continued development in our capability to conduct a variety of full-scale underground nuclear tests. Many of the techniques used were not envisioned as possible when the underground test programs first began. The continuing underground test program is of paramount importance in the continued growth of the United States capabilities in both the defensive and offensive categories.

During FY 1969 the BOWLINE test series continued the underground test program at Nevada Test Site at about the same level as CROSS TIE, the FY 1968 test series. Two tests in the FY 1969 BOWLINE series were Plowshare experiments (peaceful uses) and three were DOD effects tests which were logistically and technically supported by the AEC. The remainder of the BOWLINE tests were AEC weapons development tests.

The AEC program to conduct higher yield testing on Pahute Mesa at the Nevada Test Site has proceeded in an expeditious manner. Since my last report two more high yield tests have been conducted there, the largest of which had a yield of about one megaton. The two supplement test areas have now reached an operational status, one in Central Nevada and one in Amchitka Island in the

Aleutian Islands chain off Alaska. The site calibration test MILROW at Amchitka was conducted on October 2, 1969, with a yield in the one megaton range with no untoward effects generated. For FY 1970 the planned weapons development program is directed toward the primary objectives of weaponization, weapon feasibility, advanced technology and site calibration. Because of a reduction in the amount of funding for AEC weapons development which will be available in FY 1970, the level of activity will be somewhat reduced from the 1969 level.

## SAFEGUARD 2—MAINTENANCE OF MODERN LABORATORIES AND PROGRAMS

The second safeguard requires the maintenance of modern laboratory facilities and programs in theoretical and exploratory nuclear technology which will attract, retain, and insure the continued application of human scientific resources to those programs on which progress on nuclear technology depends. The laboratory program is conducted by both the Atomic Energy Commission and the Department of Defense.

The three weapons laboratories, contractor operated for the AEC, have since the last report continued to operate as progressive research organizations in the nuclear, as well as in non-nuclear fields. The nuclear research and development programs are conducted by Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory and the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory at Livermore. The non-nuclear engineering and development activities are conducted by Sandia Laboratories. In each of the laboratories the work performed can be classified into three primary areas of interest:

(a) The fundamental research of general interest to a broad range of development needs;

(b) Advanced development of specific concepts; and

(c) The weaponization of these concepts into stockpile weapons or weapon systems.

Of primary importance to the long-range vitality of the nuclear weapons development program is the emphasis which is placed on activities devoted to developing in advance the new design concepts so important to realizing the new state-of-the-art weapons necessary for assuring the capability of meeting future defense requirements. Emphasis on pre-weaponization development effort must be maintained in order to insure advancement of technology to meet the potential threat of the future and readiness to meet future weaponization requirements as they rise. The Atomic Energy Commission reports that the combination of the challenging research program in both nuclear and non-nuclear weapons technologies, the continuing, progressive, highly complex nuclear testing program, and the maintenance and improvements in required laboratory facilities have continued the laboratories' ability to retain or recruit the necessary technical and scientific staff.

A major factor in the maintenance of progressive laboratories is the constant need to up-date both facilities and equipment, both of which are vital to providing for a wide spectrum of forward looking scientific research and development programs. A measure of the magnitude of this requirement is found in the total of about \$385 million which has been authorized or obligated for new or up-dated laboratory facilities and equipment at Sandia, Los Alamos, Livermore and the Nevada Test Site during the 6-year period of FY 1964 through FY 1969. The FY 1970 budget allocates about \$6 million for construction and \$51 million for equipment.

In carrying out its part of the responsibility for implementation of Safeguard 2, the Defense Department has expanded research in nuclear technology in government laboratories and contractor facilities. These DOD

programs help insure a continuing source of top scientific personnel.

Some of the accomplishments of the DOD in implementing the second safeguard during this reporting period are as follows:

Significant progress has been made in obtaining better calculations of radiation environments in the atmosphere and within various structures.

Calculations of radiation transport at low altitudes, including air-ground interface were completed for use in studying missile silo radiation hardness.

Vulnerability and hardening research was expanded for design, test, and evaluation of strategic re-entry vehicles and related systems components.

Improvements were made in calculations of the magnitude of shock waves induced in materials by x-ray depositions and the ensuing propagation and attenuation of the shock.

A 20-ton high explosive surface burst test were used to check theoretical calculations of structural damage due to air blast induced ground shock from a nuclear explosion.

Models continue to be developed for high altitude nuclear phenomenology for anti-ballistic missile radars and communications. A first generation computer code for radar degradation and a 6-volume communication handbook describing nuclear effects on radio propagation was published in late 1968.

Land and naval system vulnerability/hardening, medical effects of nuclear radiation and general development of laboratory simulation of nuclear effects has continued. The overall program has been active and responsive to Service requirements.

In summary, our evaluation of both the AEC and DOD program for implementation of Safeguard 2 is that the laboratories continue to be vigorous, their facilities and technical and scientific talent are being maintained in a high state of competence, and their programs are supporting the second safeguard effectively:

## SAFEGUARD 3—READINESS-TO-TEST PROGRAM

The third safeguard requires the maintenance of facilities and resources necessary to institute promptly nuclear tests in the prohibited environments (atmosphere, underwater and space) should they be deemed essential to our National security. The capability to conduct such a nuclear test series on short notice was first attained by the AEC and DOD on January 1, 1965. Since then, the National Nuclear Test Readiness Program has been reviewed twice at the Presidential staff level. It was revised in October 1968 and the revised program was approved by the White House in March 1969.

The revised National Nuclear Test Readiness Program required some additional preparation to achieve readiness to carry out the revised program. In the meanwhile, the DOD and AEC maintained their readiness to resume testing in the prohibited environments with a significant program. As indicated in my report of last year, the revised readiness program included:

1. Full proof of the survivability of hardened re-entry vehicles when they are subjected to a realistic nuclear environment while in their operational modes;

2. Evaluation of the effects of ABM radar operation from detonations at high altitude;

3. Obtaining realistic data on the electromagnetic fields created by nuclear detonations at low and high altitudes;

4. Cratering, ground shock and debris effects on hardened systems and installations;

5. Air burst and underwater shock effects related to problems of anti-submarine warfare and modern ship structures.

As budgetary constraints grew tighter and tighter during this past year, the AEC and the Department of Defense felt compelled to revise the National Nuclear Test Readiness

world, he strongly implied that our past policies were unbalanced. That is not true.

The simple fact of the matter is that the United States of all the major powers has been the only one with a balanced Middle East policy. Time after time we have urged the Arabs to recognize the reality of the State of Israel, to sit down with Israeli representatives to negotiate a true peace, and to allow for both sides freely to share and exchange in the wealth, resources, and progress of modern life.

The Secretary's remarks are being interpreted in diplomatic circles as being primarily directed toward moves Israel should make, especially returning territory overrun during the 1967 war. His speech was an ill-advised attempt to move Arab leaders closer toward peace. It has had precisely the opposite effect—it has hardened Arab resistance to a peaceful settlement. When the one major power with a sensible position on the Middle East crisis makes statements which seem to unhinge its heretofore firm policies, it is not at all surprising that the side being favored—the Arab side—becomes even more intransigent.

Where is the balance in this kind of a policy?

What sense does it make to urge Israel to withdraw from Arab territories—territories only occupied by Israel in self-defense—when there is absolutely no reason to believe the Arabs are prepared to accept the existence of Israel, to make peace with her, and to end Israel's concern for her own security?

As my colleagues know so well, there will never be peace in the Middle East until the parties to the conflict there are willing to become the parties to the peace. There must be a binding contractual agreement between Israel and her Arab neighbors, an agreement arrived at directly by the parties themselves—not imposed by outside powers.

I believe that in foreign policy as in domestic policy, actions speak louder than words. The actions of the Soviet Union in the Middle East speak for themselves. Almost \$10 billion worth of Russian arms have been shipped into Arab countries in the last 12 years. Arab armies have been completely resupplied with modern jets, tanks, artillery, and missiles in the last 2 years. Soviet military instructors have swarmed into the area. And now, for the first time, Russian weapons are being shipped directly to various terrorist organizations. Also there has of late been an increase in intimate attacks on United States and Israeli policies in the Middle East in the Russian press.

The Soviet policy is simple: to radicalize the Arab world with arms and with rhetoric. The ostensible target is Israel; the real target is moderate Arab leaders and moderate Arab governments throughout the area. The Soviets have done nothing to demonstrate that they want peace in the Middle East. Apparently, they just want to keep the pot boiling.

Faced with this situation, the United States must react with patience and with firmness. We must counter Soviet arms shipments to the Arab world with mili-

tary and economic assistance to Israel to enable her to maintain parity in arms and to sustain the continuing economic burden of continual military preparedness.

We must also continue to point out to our Arab friends that this dispute is no more in their interests than it is in the interests of Israel. Russian arms and military equipment cannot alleviate the population explosion in the United Arab Republic nor can they relieve the misery of the Palestinian refugees. Arab socialism and Arab unity will never be advanced by a holy war against Israel, nor will they be advanced by falling under the domination of Russia. America will see to it that Israel will always have the tools to defend herself. And each defeat will drive the Arab world deeper and deeper into the embrace of the Russian bear.

When the leaders of the Arab world realize that a permanent peace with Israel is in their interests and in the interests of their people, there will be a just settlement. Foreign Minister Eban has repeatedly said that all things are possible in a condition of peace.

Until a permanent peace comes we must not let our sensible long-term policies in the Middle East be nibbled away at by those who shortsightedly seek short-term tactical advantages there.

#### RETIREMENT OF DR. JOHN SLOAN DICKEY, PRESIDENT OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

Mr. MCINTYRE. Mr. President, last week my alma mater, Dartmouth College, honored its president, John Sloan Dickey, who has announced his retirement.

Dr. Dickey has served as president for 25 years. During his tenure, this small men's liberal arts college in Hanover, N.H., has emerged as one of the leading academic institutions in the Nation. Dartmouth's stature today as one of the top colleges in the country is in no small part due to John Sloan Dickey's leadership, his dedication, and his imagination.

At a time when university officials throughout the land are being subjected to criticism from all sides, I offer a well deserved tribute to this fine educator.

I ask unanimous consent that an editorial entitled "The Dickey Years at Dartmouth," published in the Lebanon, N.H., Valley News, December 13, 1969, be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Lebanon (N.H.) Valley News, Dec. 13, 1969]

#### THE DICKEY YEARS AT DARTMOUTH

Whenever institutional cement has been allowed to set around curricula and administrators, campus dissent has taken explosive forms. And where internal rigidity has been combined with outside urban pressures, as at Harvard and Columbia, violence has verged on catastrophe.

This may be one instance when Dartmouth's upstate location has been helpful. But geography does not confer immunity from disorder, (as the Parkhurst affair proved), and it is to John Sloan Dickey, honored today after 25 years at the helm of Dartmouth, that one must look for keeping

this institution relatively loose and responsive to changing needs.

Scholastically, Dartmouth under Dickey came from behind in the Ivy League. From the first, Dickey recognized that there must be scholars as well as outstanding jocks on scholarship, and that the Big-Green-party-boy image must be replaced. So he set out, in his own words, to "compete with the best for the best".

By raising faculty compensation and instituting such benefits as faculty fellowships, Dickey directed the recruitment of a new team to replace one that was superannuated. Funds were also found to broaden opportunity for deserving but needy students.

For twenty years the campus was visited by persons of distinction from every area of endeavor who spoke of the great issues of our times for the benefit of seniors. Dartmouth's Public Affairs Center, with its emphasis on participation in public life, from Senatorial offices to those of local town managers, was an outgrowth of this 1947 Dickey innovation.

In 1954 Dickey persuaded the trustees to study what the college should accomplish in the fifteen years remaining before its bicentennial. Doctoral programs under the faculty of Arts and Sciences were re-instituted, and deliberately kept small so that Dartmouth would have, in the president's words, "an undergraduate educational operation worthy of celebration as she moved from her second to her third century".

In turn, the fourth oldest medical school in the nation was reconstituted to take greater advantage of its proximity to the regional medical facilities of the Mary Hitchcock Memorial Hospital and, most recently, to provide more physicians and better medicine through a shortened and sharpened MD degree program. Two other professional schools, Thayer and Tuck, received essential encouragement.

The most dramatic innovations, the Hopkins Center and the time-sharing concept of computer usage, underlined Dartmouth's transition from a provincial institution to one with concern for the whole man and woman, outside as well as inside the academic community. And perhaps the most "relevant" programs on and off campus are those developed under the Tucker Foundation, inspired by President Dickey, and named after William Jewett Tucker, the last of Dartmouth's minister leaders. The idea behind ABC, A Better Chance, came to the president following discussion in 1964 with preparatory school headmasters over the needs of disadvantaged youngsters in the secondary school level.

Most recently Dickey insisted that the merits of the black demands for an Afro-American program on campus be examined. "No white man," (said JSD), "no matter how hard he tries, can understand the burdens black Americans carry from 100 years of discrimination on top of 200 years of slavery".

As John Sloan Dickey prepares to retire in the countryside he loves, he leaves with the satisfaction that Dartmouth is no longer a small parochial voice in the wilderness. Thanks to his quarter century of responsive leadership, the numbers of those who love her are now legion. And as his door was always open to anyone who sought his counsel, so the doors of a grateful community will always be open to him.

#### SUPPORT FOR FUNDS TO IMPLEMENT COAL MINE HEALTH AND SAFETY ACT GIVEN BY CHAIRMAN CARL PERKINS OF HOUSE LABOR COMMITTEE

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, last night, during the consideration of the supplemental appropriations bill, 1970,

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I offered for myself and the junior Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. SCHWEIKER) amendments to add to that measure \$25 million for expenses necessary to improve health and safety in the Nation's coal mines—\$10 million for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and \$15 million for the Department of the Interior. We are grateful that the amendments were agreed to and that the Senate followed this action by agreeing also to the conference report on the new Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act, which now needs only affirmative action by the President of the United States to become law.

I desire at this time to officially recognize that, through inadvertence, we failed in our discussion of the need for the appropriations addition to bring to attention and place in the legislative record a communication by the distinguished chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor, the Honorable CARL D. PERKINS of Kentucky, relating to the funding essential to provide for payments incident to black lung disease, for health research and medical examinations, for coal mine safety research, and for coal mine health and safety enforcement.

Chairman PERKINS' letter to the distinguished chairman of our Appropriations Committee, Mr. RUSSELL, with copies to the Senators from West Virginia, is of vital importance to the legislative history in support of the amendments agreed to. The able Representative from Kentucky was chairman of the House-Senate conference and submitted conference report No. 91-761 to accompany S. 2917, the bill to improve the health and safety conditions of persons working in the coal mining industry of the United States. Chairman PERKINS provided outstanding leadership, along with his subcommittee chairman, Representative JOHN DENT, of Pennsylvania, on the legislation in the other body, and he presided with dispatch and fairness over the remarkable achievement of the conference in agreeing to report the complex measure following a single day of meeting and working diligently and amicably in that conference.

Again, I highly commend the services performed for the Nation, and especially for the coal miners, by those leaders and their colleagues from the House. And our colleagues in this body, led by Chairman RALPH YARBOROUGH of our Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and Chairman HARRISON WILLIAMS of New Jersey, chairman of the Subcommittee on Labor, are deserving of praise for persevering on this measure to a fruitful conclusion. In my 25 years of service in the Congress, rarely have I observed and worked at the side of a colleague who devoted as much time and expended as much effort with diligence, patience, and intelligence as did Senator WILLIAMS of New Jersey in presiding over hearings and subcommittee sessions and in Senate management of the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969. He is deserving of a special tribute, as is the ranking minority member of our Labor Subcommittee and its parent Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, the senior Sen-

ator from New York (Mr. JAVITS), who likewise devoted an inordinate amount of time and energy with acumen to the development of the landmark health and safety legislation. The untiring and intelligent performances by the members of staffs of the Labor Committee and Senate members of the committee deserve special recognition and I commend them.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the December 18, 1969, letter from Chairman PERKINS of the House Committee on Education and Labor to Chairman RICHARD B. RUSSELL of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, concerning appropriations to implement actions under the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND  
LABOR,

December 18, 1969.

Hon. RICHARD B. RUSSELL,  
Chairman, Committee on Appropriations,  
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: As you know, last night the House of Representatives passed the landmark conference report on the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969.

I, and I am sure you, too, are quite anxious to see that there is no delay in implementing this important legislation to protect our Nation's miners and to provide needed benefit payments to those miners afflicted with pneumoconiosis, commonly called, "Black Lung" disease, and their widows.

I have consulted with the two Departments concerned in administering this Act, namely Interior and Health, Education, and Welfare, and I find that the following amounts are needed for the remainder of this fiscal year to get this program off the ground:

To Health, Education and Welfare:

(a) Black Lung Payments—\$7 million to develop standards by April 1, 1970 and to pay initial claims filed between that date and July 1, 1970.

(b) Health Research and medical examinations—\$3.5 million (a portion of this sum will be reimbursed).

To Interior:

(a) Safety Research—\$8 million.

(b) Health and Safety Enforcement—\$7 million.

I note that your committee approved the fiscal supplemental appropriations bill for this fiscal year for floor action today. I strongly urge you to amend this bill to include the above sums so we can get immediate action by these departments in helping the miners and their families. I assure you that, once included in the Senate, I will work actively in the House to gain acceptance.

I appreciate your kind consideration of this matter which is of critical importance to many people in Kentucky, West Virginia, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and other coal producing states.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

CARL D. PERKINS,  
Chairman.

#### THE LAPEER COUNTY COURTHOUSE

Mr. HART, Mr. President, the American Bar Association has for some time featured courthouses of unusual architectural interests on the cover of its monthly Journal. The November cover

pictures the Lapeer County Courthouse, the oldest courthouse still in use in Michigan.

The Journal has an interesting article about the history of the courthouse and the efforts of the Lapeer County Press in preserving it.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### MICHIGAN'S OLDEST

Mark Twain's remark that the report of his death was an exaggeration may be applied to the courthouse on our cover this month—the Lapeer County Courthouse. For through the years it has been considered a wreck, or a disgrace or just plain falling down, and it has been threatened with extinction, destruction or replacement. Yet it stands today, perhaps in better condition than it has ever been, on Nepessing Street in Lapeer, Michigan, a thriving little city in southeastern Michigan, proudly bearing the mantle of the oldest courthouse in Michigan still in use.

The courthouse, constructed in 1839, was the product of a feud that proved profitable for the residents of Lapeer. The first settler of Lapeer, A. N. Hart, got into a fuss with the second settler, J. R. White, who arrived a few days later—a fuss that a later Lapeer County history described as "more or less bitter". By 1839 Hart and White, both of whom were lawyers, each had built a courthouse and offered it to the public. Hart won what was called the "Courthouse War" when the board of supervisors bought his building for \$3,000, although it had cost him \$10,000 to erect it. White's courthouse became the Lapeer Academy and later the town's high school. Everyone was happy about the war.

Time and wear and tear took their toll, for by 1879 a committee of the board of supervisors sadly noted that the "courthouse is fast going to decay on account of the crumbling of the walls and poor condition of the underpinning". The committee also observed that, "The yard around the courthouse is in a dirty and filthy condition by reason of cattle being allowed to run therein." The cows were chased away and the building moved to a new foundation.

In 1887 a supervisor from Imlay City, a town that aspired to the status of Lapeer County seat, charged that the county buildings were a "shame and a disgrace" and said Imlay City was prepared to spend \$50,000 for a new courthouse, if, of course, it were located in Imlay City. But this move was defeated.

By the 1960s the building had fallen into disrepair again. It had not been painted since before World War II, and the paint was peeling. It was stained from rusted pipes; it had dirty windows; the yard was weedy; the heating system was erratic. The move for rejuvenation and restoration was led by the Lapeer County Press, which offered money for an architectural survey of the building. This showed that the building was structurally sound, and a restoration fund was established. The Press sponsored what was described as the "biggest dance ever held in the county", the paper paying all the expenses and half the proceeds going to the fund. The board of supervisors allocated funds, but unfortunately the restoration was not completed.

A brand new building to house the county offices has been built behind the old courthouse, now 130 years old. But many of the citizens of Lapeer County now realize they have a jewel in their midst, and they are determined to protect and cherish it. If they have their way, the Lapeer County Courthouse will last another hundred years.



Mr. PELL. Would the Senator from Kansas have any reaction to the thought of having wage and price controls as being a means of moving from talk and from various ideas into something that would really stop inflation, which is, as has been pointed out, the cruelest tax that faces our American people?

Mr. DOLE. I think that is something to consider. It is a little alien to those on this side of the aisle. We do not like Federal controls, but I say, in all sincerity, it may come to that.

**HENRY J. TASCA**

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the confirmation of the nomination.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The yeas and nays have been requested on the confirmation of the nomination of Henry J. Tasca to be Ambassador to Greece.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second? There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The clerk will call the roll.

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded, so that I may proceed.

Mr. PELL. I withdraw my request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### H.R. 11959, VETERANS EDUCATIONAL NEEDS

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for more than 10 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, I would like to speak on a matter directly analogous to the matter that we have just heard discussed on the Senate floor, the threatened cuts in the HEW budget. We face a similar slash in education and health benefits for the men who have fought for our country in Vietnam and elsewhere and are not now being given the level of education and health care that they desperately need. To deprive them of this for the same reason—because we have to make sacrifices to combat inflation—and specifically to ask men who have fought in Vietnam to now make another sacrifice at home in the war against inflation I believe to be heartless, unjust, and unacceptable.

I would like to speak briefly on the exact situation that our country and these veterans are presently facing.

Specifically, I am reporting to my colleagues in relation to H.R. 11959, the House bill covering veterans' education needs, which was passed by the Senate on October 23 with an extensive substitute amendment.

After the passage of the substitute by the Senate 7 weeks ago, the House yesterday repassed the bill, substituting provisions of House-passed bills for the Senate substitute. It rejected virtually all significant parts of the Senate's special educational package for high school dropout veterans and only slightly in-

creased its 27 percent GI bill rate increase up to 30 percent.

The House also failed to retain Senate retroactivity of rate increases. The House was offered no alternative to those this watered-down package.

The chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, the distinguished Senator from Texas (Mr. YARBOROUGH), and I yesterday asked the Senate to disagree to the House amendment and appoint conferees. This was done. Then, at once, I went off the floor and called the chairman of the House committee, requesting a conference on Friday or Saturday. The Senate conferees were ready to meet day and night, if necessary, to reach agreement on this vital legislation before our Christmas recess.

But, to my regret, the chairman of the House Veterans' Committee said that the House Members could not meet in a conference now; that we would have to wait until after Congress reconvened on January 19.

Unfortunately, this delay will affect hundreds of thousands of deserving Vietnam veterans, war orphans, and widows trying to pursue GI bill education and training with a grossly outmoded rate structure.

The Senate does not want to accept for them, and I am convinced that they themselves do not want to accept, a poor substitute package which fails to restore comparability to Korean GI bill rates which were available to veterans of that war, and which fails to provide retroactive increases back to the first of the school year, and which fails to propose any substantive programs to attract and assist dropout veterans—almost 25 percent of all separatees—to take advantage of GI benefits.

It is basically the President of the United States, not the House of Representatives or the members of its Veterans' Committee, that is responsible for this delay.

I categorically reject the President's expressed view that the Senate rate increase should be denied because of the war on inflation. The hint of a veto, if we passed a measure restoring aid to the Korean level, like the direct threat of a veto of the analogous HEW appropriation bill made by the President last night, apparently influenced the House's action. I understand the concern of House Members. A veto would mean another, even longer delay, in giving to Vietnam veterans the aid they need to get back to school. However, the President's approach, in effect, asks for double sacrifices from men who have fought our battles abroad.

First they made the sacrifice of fighting in Vietnam. Now that they have come back home, they are asked to make another sacrifice to help stem inflation that comes directly out of that war itself.

I do not believe Congress wants these men sacrificed on the altar of the administration's policies to combat inflation caused directly by the war these men were fighting. That makes sense to none of us.

Finally, let me make abundantly clear that GI bill education costs, like Veterans' Administration hospital and medical care costs, must be counted completely as a cost of waging war.

I do not hear anyone say, "Deny our servicemen the bullets and mortars and armaments they need to wage the war." Yet the administration is willing to pursue policies which discriminate against Vietnam veterans and deprive them of our paying the cost of the war that relates to their educational needs.

Why should we do less? I ask the Senate, why should we do less for Vietnam veterans than we did for Korean veterans? Are we discriminating, for some reason? Because this is an undeclared war? What reason has been advanced? I have heard none. The 46-percent increase the Senate bill provides in GI benefits would mean only that we would provide for Vietnam veterans the exact level of educational aid that we gave to Korean veterans.

Hearings which the Veterans' Affairs Subcommittee is presently holding indicate that not only Vietnam veterans, but all veterans—veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean war—are being shortchanged at present on first-rate medical and hospital care in veterans hospitals. This is totally intolerable. It cannot be countenanced.

Chairman TEAGUE in the House of Representatives has waged a superb battle in an effort to close this medical care gap. He has established how great the gap is in many respects.

In our hearings we are now finding some new evidence of incredibly bad situations developing in terms of the medical care we are not providing to men who were badly wounded in Vietnam, or men who were wounded in any of the wars our Nation has fought.

We join with Chairman TEAGUE in this effort. We pledge ourselves to see to it that the Senate is fully informed early next session of exactly what our committee has found, and exactly what VA medical and hospital needs are, after we have established those needs.

Finally, to refer back to the situation relating to GI educational benefits, we conferees on the Senate side are gravely disappointed that our attempts to secure a conference have failed. We look forward to a conference at the earliest possible date selected by the House conferees in charge, and we will then report back to the Senate what can be done to meet the great education and training needs of our Vietnam veterans.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 10 minutes.

**AMBASSADOR**

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I was going to speak on the Tasca nomination. Did the Senator from New York intend to address himself to that subject?

I understood we were ready to vote on the matter, and I was going to say a few words. I understand the yeas and nays are ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. May I say to the Senator from Arkansas that my problem is that I have another executive meeting at 2. But I will sit down and wait until he finishes.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I dislike to inconvenience the Senator, but I was told this was the proper order.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that upon the com-

I said what I thought should be done by the Chief Executive in response to the Senator's question.

I say again that if the President makes the choice to go against the old people who need that 15-percent increase in social security, against the workingman who needs that increase in the personal exemption because of increased inflation, to go against the Congress in the way it has reordered priorities by reducing military expenditures by more than \$5 billion and increasing expenditures in such vital areas as health, education, antipollution, and so forth, by \$1 billion and a half, but still leaving a budget with a net decrease of more than \$5 billion below what the President asked—if he decides to make that choice, that is his choice and the issue is joined.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oklahoma yield?

Mr. HARRIS. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. Would the Senator not agree that the President and the Vice President made great use of the communications media, particularly television, for the purpose of demonstrating their faith and interest in the so-called silent majority. They have utilized the finest techniques of Madison Avenue to get their so-called message across, that they are interested in the typical American family.

I ask the Senator from Oklahoma whether, when the issue comes to the dollars and cents of tax reform and tax relief to the average American family as opposed to the special interests, when it comes to the issue of some small increase in domestic spending which affects the average American family, whether the President and the Vice President are not talking, on the one hand, out of one side of their mouths to incur favor, yet, out of the other side, when we get down to tax reform and tax relief and the actual fight against inflation, they are pulling the rug out from under the average American family and turning their backs on them.

They come up and defend on the floor of the Senate the so-called tax reform proposal which elicits 25 percent of a dollar tax relief to those with \$20,000 income and above, and then they turn around and fight on the floor of the Senate an increase in the exemption from \$600 to \$800 which would help every middle-income family in the United States.

They say on the one hand that they will veto a \$1 billion-plus increase in the HEW budget because it is inflationary, and yet they give no credit whatsoever to the Senate which has reduced \$5 billion from the President's request in defense appropriations.

I ask the Senator from Oklahoma how can they justify to the American people such completely opposite statements on one side and an action on the other.

Mr. HARRIS. I do not think it can be justified. I think the Senator has stated that rather well. I do not believe there would be any major tax reform, nor would there be the kind of overdue tax reduction which has overburdened the lower and middle income taxpayers, except that Democrats stood together and demanded there not be an extension of

the surtax unless there was also tax reform and tax reduction.

I believe that those are issues which are critical issues for the people of this country, as are the issues of increased social security, the human environment, health, and education, for example.

Mr. TYDINGS. I ask the Senator from Oklahoma, would not the Senator agree with me that so far as coming to grips with the problem of inflation in this country is concerned, we have really nothing but lip service from the administration, as well as the failure of the administration to exercise leadership either with big business or with big labor in a manner which his three predecessors, Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson did, the sole reliance being the raising of high interest rates with Fed. Would the Senator not agree that this puts all the burden, or nearly a majority of the burden of trying to curb inflation on the homebuilding industry in the United States and, really, rather than curbing inflation is increasing inflation, and the longer the administration fails to take leadership in this area, the worse the inflation is going to become.

Mr. HARRIS. The Senator is quite right. "Credit crunch" and "tight money" have become words as familiar to the U.S. public as the name of the Vice President. Economists as disparate as Walter Heller and Milton Friedman have warned that the extremely restrictive monetary policies of the Federal Reserve Board, which have reduced the growth of the money supply to zero, should be eased.

Friedman, a leading Nixon economic adviser, is especially pessimistic:

We are heading for a recession at least as sharp as that in 1980-81. There is more than a 90% chance of that. There is a 40% chance of a really severe recession, such as occurred in 1957-58, when unemployment reached 8%.

The potential home buyer feels the credit crunch when he tries to finance a loan, with mortgage interest rates running about 15 percent higher this year—a high interest rate which the average homeowner will carry until he completes his payments 20 or 30 years from now. And the U.S. Government now finds itself as much a victim of tight money as the buyer of a \$25,000 home. This year Congress set a legal allowance of \$2 billion for uncontrollable, built-in increases in expenses. Increased interest cost on the public debt alone has mounted by \$1.5 billion—using up 75 percent of the limit Congress set. These increased costs will ultimately be borne, of course, by the average U.S. taxpayer. Further, the President himself has pointed out that the Government faces additional costs because of "a potential shortfall in the sale of Government financial assets, due to the persistence of high interest rates."

Despite the administration's stringent monetary control, big banks have found ways to circumvent the restrictions to meet the demands of large corporations which were willing to pay exorbitant interest rates and priced the small borrower, the small businessman, local, State, and even the Federal Government, out of the marketplace.

I wholeheartedly support the action of the House of Representatives in passing interest and credit controls devised by Chairman WRIGHT PATMAN and his Banking and Currency Committee. These Democratic initiatives will help lower interest rates, fight inflation, assist the housing industry and small business, and help provide more jobs. The conference report on the bill will give the President power to authorize controls over extensions of consumer and business credit during times of inflation—controls necessary to relieve the current cruel interest rates. The President has not yet used the full influence of his office in moderating price and wage spirals and has, curiously enough, opposed this bill which will give him greater power to deal with high interest rates. I hope that he will decide to use these legal measures when they are passed by the full Congress.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HARRIS. I yield.

Mr. DOLE. In these discussions we tend to forget the item of the Vietnam war, which was left on the doorstep of the present President of the United States on January 20, 1969. That has had some impact and it too is a household word. This, I might add, is another way President Nixon is exercising his "veto." He is trying to end the war in Vietnam. Under his leadership, we may get that done. When it is done, there may be additional money for the projects the Senator has mentioned and perhaps there will not be further discussion about who is responsible for inflation.

We can select what is favored by one Senator, or one issue, but let us take a look at the No. 1 issue, which is the war in Vietnam. Senators on both sides of the aisle will agree that, by and large, President Nixon has dealt with it very successfully—not always with the cooperation of Senators on both sides of the aisle, I might add—but he has dealt with it successfully thus far.

If we were all to use the same zeal and cooperation, with the support of the American people, on the war on inflation as we have on the war in Vietnam, we might bring it to an end.

It is disturbing and discouraging to this Senator that some conveniently forget the war in Vietnam when talking about inflation and costs. So do not forget the war in Vietnam President Nixon inherited on January 20, 1969.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, I note that the Senator has apparently given up trying to argue about inflation and interest rates and has decided instead to talk about some other subject.

Mr. PELL. I wonder if the Senator would give any thought to really moving from talk to wage and price controls, which none of us want to see, but which may be necessary for the protection of the victims of inflation and might seem to be the solution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Rhode Island wish to seek the floor?

Mr. PELL. I beg the Chair's pardon. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

pletion of the remarks of the Senator from Arkansas, I may proceed for 10 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Senator from Arkansas is recognized.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, the pending business, as I understand it, is the nomination of Mr. Henry Tasca as Ambassador to Greece.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I should like to say a word or two by way of background.

Mr. Tasca has been a distinguished representative of the Foreign Service. His nomination was held up in the committee for some time, and I was responsible for holding it up. There were at least two distinct reasons for that.

One was that I thoroughly disapprove of the cruelty and ruthlessness of the military regime in Greece. I think that the treatment the Greek regime gives to so many of the enlightened citizens of that country is intolerable. I did not wish to be a party to an action which might seem to approve of such a regime by quickly and readily approving this appointment.

That was only part of the reason. The other side of the coin was that, at the same time the administration had nominated an ambassador, and a distinguished man, to Greece, it had refused, according to the newspapers, or declined—I do not know exactly what the correct word would be—to name an ambassador to Sweden. The press reports indicated that this was because of administration disapproval of Swedish policy, particularly with respect to its attitude toward our policy in Vietnam.

Furthermore, and as a related matter, not too long ago the Cranston resolution was considered and agreed to by the Senate. I supported it. That Senate resolution stated a very wise rule; namely, that approval or disapproval of a regime is not indicated by recognition. This resolution was in general terms and certainly was not directed at Greece alone and, in any case, the question of recognition is not technically involved in the appointment of ambassadors either to Greece or Sweden. I make this statement however, because someone has said that holding up the nomination of Mr. Tasca for these few weeks is a violation of the spirit, at least, of the Cranston resolution. I do not think it was. It was not a question, there, of recognition. Also, the delay involved a combination of our Government's refusal to name an Ambassador to Sweden and the rather rapid way in which the administration had designated a new ambassador to Greece.

In any case, after some time, administration spokesmen assured me that they would proceed to nominate and name an ambassador to Sweden. I said with that assurance, I was perfectly willing to proceed. This was never a matter of personality or any criticism of Mr. Tasca himself; it involved our overall policy—and I have no objection to approving the nomination of Mr. Tasca.

But I want to reiterate that I do not approve of the Greek regime. It is not

just because of my sympathy and concern for the Greek people, although that is an important reason. I think it is a great tragedy for that country, which in a sense is the birthplace and originator of the whole concept of democracy. We owe more, I expect, to Greece than to any other single country for the basic ideas under which our country has been developed, and particularly our political institutions. In addition, the Greeks are a small and very brave people, and I have great sympathy when I see the tragedy of their being mistreated by their own Government.

In addition, I am very much concerned about an attitude that seems to be growing in this country. Even though it is the Americans, my own constituents, and my own Government, that concern me more than anyone else or anyone else's government, nevertheless it makes me very uncomfortable and unhappy to see how callous our Government seems to have become about military dictatorships which mistreat their own people, and destroy even the basic human qualities of respect for the individual and respect for the dignity of the individual human being. When they engage in torture, as has been reported so often and so freely to be the case in Greece, and especially torture of the leading intellectual people of their country—their great musicians and their great writers are picked out and especially subjected to the most degrading kind of treatment—I hate to see our country become so callous that, for some ulterior political purpose—in this case, it is said, because Greece is an anchor to NATO—we overlook all these things and give them special treatment and active assistance.

I do not advocate that we go in and try to change their regime. That is up to the Greek people. We have had enough of physical intervention, as demonstrated in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. But we should not give active support, such as we are giving to the Greek colonels. This I object to. It shows, in my view, a lack of appreciation for simple basic human rights and human dignity; and it is disgraceful, in my view, for this country, which professes all this concern for individuals and for human dignity, to engage in it.

This type of thing, it seems to me, cannot help but lead to increasing cynicism on the part of our young people, as well as those of our older people who are at all interested in humanity, because we profess one thing and do another. It is the type of hypocrisy which I think is very damaging to our reputation in the minds of thinking people.

So I regret that our country seems to be put in such a position. I think we should not give this assistance, and very substantial military assistance, to a regime which mistreats its own citizens. I think it is a reflection on our own sense of discrimination and our own principles with regard to human dignity. Therefore, although I strongly deplore what we are doing in supporting Greece with military aid, I shall now support the nomination because I do not regard sending an ambassador, and do not be-

lieve it should be regarded, as approval in the least of the regime, and because it is in accord with what I think was the sentiment of the Cranston resolution, which this body approved, not quite unanimously but overwhelmingly.

The political representation of this country is not to be taken as a sign of approval of the policies of the military regime. The sending of an ambassador is simply an essential instrument of international relations—essential to the conduct of our international relations. It should not be interpreted as supporting the regime.

I do not approve of the regime and hope that it will change. Only recently it found itself compelled to resign from the Council of Europe because it was about to be excluded because its policies were rejected by other members of the Council of Europe.

I believe that the Europeans have as much, if not more, interest in NATO than we do. Why sometimes we value the importance of matter to NATO more than they do in Europe is beyond my comprehension.

Mr. President, with these remarks I am ready to vote for the confirmation of the nomination. I want to make it clear that I do not approve of this regime. I also want to make it clear that we ought to send an ambassador to Sweden, a country which is one of the most humane and civilized countries in the world.

I have no criticism of Sweden and its actions with regard to this or any other matter. Sweden is a very advanced country. But they disagree with our policy in Vietnam. And we have therefore failed to name an ambassador to Sweden.

I hope that our Government will promptly name an ambassador to Sweden.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I feel that the United States has been severely handicapped by not having an ambassador in Athens.

With the loss of our naval bases in North Africa, there are only a few rather tenuous harbors left for our fleet in the Mediterranean. The Russian naval strength in the Mediterranean is now said to be about equal to our own.

One of the places where our Navy is still welcomed, entertained, or able to find a harbor is Greece. I do not believe that confirming the nomination of an ambassador to Greece will in any way obligate us to approve or disapprove the kind of government the Greeks have there.

I feel there are those who do not feel kindly toward approving an ambassador to Greece who would feel very much worse if our fleet were to leave the Mediterranean.

An exchange of ambassadors with another country does not mean that we approve of their form of government.

I call attention to Senate Resolution 205 which was enacted by the Senate not long ago. The resolution was introduced by the junior Senator from California (Mr. CRANSTON). I cosponsored the resolution with him.

The resolution reads:

It is the sense of the Senate that when the United States recognizes a foreign gov-



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ernment and exchanges diplomatic representatives with it, this does not of itself imply that the United States approves of the form of ideology or policy of that foreign government.

If the Senate takes the position that it should confirm the nomination of Mr. Tasca to be Ambassador to Greece, it would not mean that we approve of the present form of the Greek Government.

I have no excuse for our failure to send an ambassador to Sweden. There should be one there, and I am advised a selection has already been made.

So I hope we confirm Mr. Tasca's nomination. There is no question of his ability. That point has not been raised at any time during our discussions.

The question was whether we would, in effect, be approving the Greek Government by appointing an ambassador to that country.

We are the ones who are paying the price by not having an ambassador there.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I support the nomination of the Honorable Henry J. Tasca as Ambassador of the United States to Greece.

Ambassador Tasca is a career Foreign Service officer with more than two decades of experience in Europe, North Africa, and the Far East.

He is also an economist of note, who has at different times served as U.S. Treasury representative in Rome, as alternate U.S. Executive Director of Monetary Fund, as Deputy Director of the Marshall plan, and as AID Director in Italy.

He also ranks as one of our top experts on NATO affairs, having served as deputy to Ambassador Harriman on the NATO Council from 1958 to 1961.

In his most recent assignment, as U.S. Ambassador to Morocco, he conducted himself, according to all reports, with exceptional distinction.

If there is opposition to Ambassador Tasca, it cannot possibly be on the grounds of qualifications, because the Senate has rarely been called upon to approve a nominee more qualified in terms of both general background and specific experience in the area to which he is being assigned.

The opposition is based, rather, on the belief that no American Ambassador should be accredited to Athens so long as Greece does not enjoy constitutional government.

It is for this reason that the American ambassadorship in Athens has remained vacant for more than a year now. And it is for this reason that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee took 4 months to act on the nomination of Ambassador Tasca.

Mr. President, I believe that we have been playing a dangerous and strange game with the American ambassadorship to Greece.

Although most of those who oppose the nomination are among the first to protest against any suggestion of intervention in the affairs of other nations, the fact is that our failure to appoint a new American Ambassador to Greece for almost 1 year now does constitute a kind

of intervention in the internal affairs of Greece.

I do not say this by way of approving the present military government in Greece. I remind the Senate that only last Friday, when we were discussing military aid to Greece, I introduced a resolution which was unanimously approved, saying that it was the sense of the Senate that the United States should use its influence to bring about the earliest possible return to constitutional rule in Greece.

When we deliberately abstain from appointing an ambassador, however, we are not merely intervening in the affairs of Greece, but to compound the damage, we are depriving ourselves of those normal diplomatic contacts which could and should be used to convey our thoughts and suggestions to our Greek allies.

And to make matters worse, we are undercutting the NATO alliance, because without access to Greek harbors and airfields and anchorages, the position of NATO in the eastern Mediterranean would be critical indeed.

I consider our failure to dispatch an ambassador to Greece strange because it seems to involve a double standard which is applied to the prejudice of our allies and to the advantage of our enemies.

When Moscow invaded Czechoslovakia, with the support of several of its Warsaw Pact quislings, in August of last year, I know of no one among those who today oppose the appointment of an American ambassador to Athens who demanded that we refuse to accredit an American ambassador to Moscow until the Red army vacated Czechoslovakia and restored the Dubcek government.

Mr. President, I earnestly hope that the Senate of the United States will put an end to this dangerous and hypocritical and self-defeating game.

In the present critical situation in the affairs of Greece and of NATO and of the Mideast, it is imperative that America be represented in Athens by an ambassador of qualified background.

Ambassador Tasca has this background.

His nomination should be approved.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the nomination of Mr. Henry J. Tasca to be Ambassador and Plenipotentiary to Greece. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. KENNEDY I announce that the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. ANDERSON), the Senator from Missouri (Mr. EAGLETON), the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. EASTLAND), the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. HOLLINGS), the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. INOUE), the Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. MCINTYRE), the Senator from Georgia (Mr. RUSSELL), the Senator from Missouri (Mr. SYMINGTON), and the Senator from Maryland (Mr. TYDINGS), are necessarily absent.

Mr. GRIFFIN. I announce that the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. CASE), the Senators from Illinois (Mr. PERCY and Mr. SMITH), and the Senator from Texas (Mr. TOWER) are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Kentucky (Mr. COOPER) is absent because of illness in his family.

The Senator from South Dakota (Mr. MUNDT) is absent because of illness.

The Senator from Tennessee (Mr. BAKER) and the Senator from Nebraska (Mr. HRUSKA) are detained on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Nebraska (Mr. HRUSKA), the Senators from Illinois (Mr. PERCY), and (Mr. SMITH), and the Senator from Texas (Mr. TOWER) would each vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 79, nays 4, as follows:

[No. 266 Ex.]

YEAS—79

Aiken	Goodell	Montoya
Allen	Gore	Murphy
Allott	Gravel	Muskie
Bayh	Griffin	Packwood
Bellmon	Gurney	Pastore
Bennett	Hansen	Pearson
Bible	Harris	Pell
Boggs	Hart	Prouty
Brooke	Hartke	Proxmire
Burdick	Hatfield	Randolph
Byrd, Va.	Holland	Ribicoff
Byrd, W. Va.	Hughes	Saxbe
Cannon	Jackson	Schweiker
Church	Javits	Scott
Cook	Jordan, N.C.	Smith, Maine
Cotton	Jordan, Idaho	Sparkman
Cranston	Kennedy	Spong
Curtis	Long	Stennis
Dodd	Magnuson	Stevens
Dole	Mansfield	Talmadge
Dominick	Mathias	Thurmond
Ellender	McClellan	Williams, N.J.
Ervin	McGee	Williams, Del.
Fannin	McGovern	Yarborough
Fong	Metcalf	Young, N. Dak.
Fulbright	Miller	
Goldwater	Mondale	

NAYS—4

McCarthy	Nelson	Young, Ohio
Moss		

NOT VOTING—17

Anderson	Hollings	Russell
Baker	Hruska	Smith, Ill.
Case	Inouye	Symington
Cooper	McIntyre	Tower
Eagleton	Mundt	Tydings
Eastland	Percy	

So the nomination was confirmed.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of the nomination.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Cook in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, on the occasion of the Senate's confirmation of Mr. Henry J. Tasca as U.S. Ambassador to Greece, I want to express my deep concern about the continuing deterioration of the political situation in Greece. It is a situation which, if it continues to worsen, could well lead to a new Vietnam—this time in Europe.

I want also to express my dismay at the fact that the present administration is following the same set of policies established by the previous administration that must inevitably lead to disaster, not only for Greece but for long-range American interests in that vital part of the world. The net result of these policies has been that the majority of the Greek and European peoples generally believe that the United States is responsible for bringing the military junta to power in the first place and maintaining it in power since April 21, 1967.

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As early as August 10, 1966, 8 months before the colonels destroyed Greek democracy in its own ancient birthplace, I had occasion to refer to the impending disaster in an interview with the political editor of the Athens Daily Post, Mr. Elias P. Demetracopoulos. "If we want," I said, "to avoid more Vietnam and Dominican Republic interventions in other crucial parts of the world, both the White House and Capitol Hill should thoroughly investigate these grave charges voiced in Greece against the United States."

The following year it was my unhappy distinction to be the first Member of this body to visit Athens after the colonels came to power. I had lengthy talks then with their leaders. The impression I gained from those conversations has only been reinforced by events in the interim. And that is why last Friday I voted against granting U.S. military assistance to the present regime. How tragic it is that a majority of the Senate determined otherwise on the very day that member nations of the Council of Europe took the unprecedented action of forcing Greece to resign from the council because of the regime's violation of the human rights of the Greek people and its torturing of political opponents. I might add that the Council took this step in the face of intense lobbying by American spokesmen arguing against it.

Thus the Greek issue has now become a European issue. The action of our allies last week constitutes a sharp diplomatic slap against our policies in that area. We had better heed the warning before it is too late.

The Truman Doctrine of 1947 saved Greece from becoming a satellite of the Soviet Union. The Greek people have been deeply grateful to us for this, but their gratitude is turning now to resentment and worse because of our support of the dictatorship. If we fail to join our European allies in their efforts to restore democracy to Greece, we may soon be faced with developments too terrible to contemplate. And we may end up by having to bury, with our own hands, that Truman doctrine which is so proud a milestone in our postwar resistance to tyranny.

Mr. President, these pressing issues have been dealt with in characteristically cogent fashion by Mr. Clayton Fritchey in an article appearing in today's Washington Evening Star. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### WHY DOES U.S. BACK GREEK REGIME?

(By Clayton Fritchey)

After the military dictatorship that runs Greece hurriedly quit the Council of Europe to avoid being kicked out for violating democratic freedoms, the country's former finance minister, Constantine Mitsotakis, now an opposition leader, said, "The next step is up to the United States." It is indeed but when that step is taken it is not going to please Mitsotakis and his fellow exiles.

While the hopes of the democratic exiles have been raised by the council's indictment of the military junta, these oppositionists know that it is not enough in itself to topple the regime or even generate serious reforms, unless the United States also applies pressure

on the generals, for the junta can afford a European boycott as long as it can count on the support of the American government.

Instead of joining in the isolation of the junta, however, the Nixon administration is about to resume full military aid for the regime, and it is also about to send a new U.S. ambassador to Athens as further recognition of the dictatorship.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has been doing what it can to delay both actions to indicate its disapproval of the Athens government, but that strategy is about exhausted. Sen. Claiborne Pell, D-R.I., got the committee to amend the foreign aid bill to forbid all arms for Greece, but, with administration blessing, the amendment was defeated a few days ago by the full Senate. The committee has also been holding up the confirmation of Henry Tasca as the new ambassador to Athens, but he will soon be on his way nevertheless.

All this, of course, is going to be dismaying to the democratic exiles. Also, it explains why our European allies are so skeptical about our objectives in Vietnam, especially the Nixon-Johnson protestations that the United States has to fight in Vietnam because it is dedicated to upholding the principle of self-determination.

Even that leading hawk and veteran anti-Communist, Sen. Karl Mundt, R-S.D., finds this line too much to swallow. After hearing Defense Secretary Melvin Laird and Secretary of State William Rogers (in secret session) emphasize "self-determination" as the No. 1 U.S. objective in the war, Mundt felt compelled to say, "I do not think there is self-determination in Greece . . . I do not think they have self-determination in Portugal . . ."

Mundt could have cited 50 other countries where, unlike South Vietnam, the United States has been unmoved by the suppression of self-determination and democracy. In fact, in many instances, such as Taiwan and Thailand, the United States is actively helping the very governments which abolished self-determination.

Mundt thought the administration would be on better ground if it substituted resistance to aggressive communism as its prime objective. But that, too, is subject to glaring inconsistencies. Why, for example, could the United States tolerate a Communist takeover in North Vietnam, but not in South Vietnam? Why is communism acceptable only 90 miles away in Cuba, but not acceptable 10,000 miles away in one small corner of Asia?

The conclusion that our European friends draw from this is that neither our dedication to self-determination nor Communist containment is absolute. When it suits our interest to back democracy or fight communism we sometimes do so. Otherwise, we look the other way, as in Czechoslovakia and Hungary, or Brazil and Argentina.

In the case of Greece, however, the Europeans think we could do much to restore self-determination at no cost and little or no risk. The administration's answer is that it must help the junta because the Greek arm is supposed to be the southern anchor of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Our allies point out that NATO is designed to protect Europe, and if the Europeans are not worried about the alleged southern anchor why should the United States be so fearful?

After all, the United States has been exclusively equipping the Greek army for over 20 years, and so far it has used the arms only to subdue the Greek people. If the security of Western Europe depends on this Fascist force, Europe is in a bad way.

#### LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the

Senate proceed to the consideration of legislative business.

There being no objection, the Senate resumed the consideration of legislative business.

#### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT— APPROVAL OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Leonard, one of his secretaries, and he announced that the President has approved and signed the following acts and joint resolution:

On December 15, 1969:

S. 564. An Act for the relief of Mrs. Irene G. Queja; and

S. 2019. An Act for the relief of Dug Foo Wong.

On December 16, 1969:

S.J. Res. 143. Joint Resolution extending the duration of copyright protection in certain cases.

On December 18, 1969:

S. 118. An Act to grant the consent of the Congress to the Tahoe regional planning compact, to authorize the Secretary of the Interior and others to cooperate with the planning agency thereby created, and for other purposes.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the bill (H.R. 14944) to authorize an adequate force for the protection of the Executive Mansion and foreign embassies, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

#### ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled joint resolution (S.J. Res. 54) consenting to an extension and renewal of the interstate compact to conserve oil and gas, and it was signed by the Acting President pro tempore.

#### HOUSE BILL REFERRED

The bill (H.R. 14944) to authorize an adequate force for the protection of the Executive Mansion and foreign embassies, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Public Works.

#### PERIOD FOR THE TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, notwithstanding the fact that the morning hour has expired, I ask unanimous consent that there now be a period for the transaction of routine morning business, with statements limited to 3 minutes, making an exception in the case of the Senator from New York.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Under the previous order, the Senator from New York is recognized.

S17240

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

December 19, 1969

## FIGHTING INFLATION: RECESSION OR STABILITY?

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I rise to voice my serious concern over what appears to be a basic change in the administration's policy for fighting inflation, a change that is relevant to the current debate over whether we are already in—or the 50–50 chance that we will soon be in—a serious recession.

The basic change in policy to which I refer is the abandonment by our monetary authorities of the strategy of orderly monetary restraint which was considered so important by the administration last spring. This strategy was intact last spring, but during the summer and fall we have seen it give way to a system of monetary repression. It is now bringing about a state of affairs causing alarm among prominent economists and which, if allowed to persist, would accelerate the danger of serious recession without bringing a halt to the steep rise in prices.

Since the administration is responsible for this change, it can also be responsible for not allowing it to persist and for reverting again to orderly monetary restraint.

I would also like at this time to outline the steps I think Congress should take to mitigate the suffering which this change will necessarily bring about.

The present administration was brought to power, at least in part, as a result of widespread dissatisfaction among Americans over the "guns and butter" approach of the Johnson administration, a course which involved us heavily in an unpopular war in Southeast Asia and brought on crippling inflation at home. What was obviously needed on the economic front was strong leadership to bring the budget back into balance and to coordinate this fiscal policy with a system of orderly monetary restraint.

As far back as July 1968, presidential candidate Nixon had charged that the inflation has resulted "primarily from an expanding money supply," which in turn had been fed by the monetization of budget deficits. To correct this condition, Mr. Nixon said, required reversing the irresponsible fiscal policies which produced these deficits.

The President's message to the Congress, in March of this year, on combating inflation, correctly pointed out that "only a combined policy of a strong budget surplus and monetary restraint can now be effective in cooling inflation." This diagnosis echoed public statements of administration economic policymakers, all of whom emphasized the need to get monetary and fiscal policies back on to the proper course of restraint.

What was meant by "restraint" was spelled out by the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers last spring. Fiscal policy, he said, would be directed toward achieving a strong budget surplus in 1970. With regard to monetary policy, Dr. McCracken added:

There is one element here that is very important—that monetary and credit policy remain on a course of relatively slow expansion.

These words were said in March of this year. On May 20, in testimony before the House Banking and Currency Committee,

Dr. McCracken repeated this view when he characterized existing monetary policy as, "moving along a course permitting only a slow and cautious expansion of the money supply."

Looking back over the past 10 months, I believe that the administration has made commendable progress in bringing fiscal policy back on the right track, assuming the Congress does not jeopardize this progress by an improvident tax reform bill.

With regard to monetary policy, however, I fail to see the slow expansion of money and credit which Dr. McCracken thought was so very important. The growth of the money supply has been at an absolute standstill since late spring, causing alarm among prominent economists as to the effects of continuing this state of affairs any longer, and the total supply of commercial bank credit has remained virtually unchanged since last April. Is this the relatively slow expansion of money and credit which we were told in March was very important?

In fact, Mr. President, what we have at the moment is not monetary restraint—it is monetary repression—and I submit that the responsibility for this lies not only with the Fed, which formulates monetary policy, but also with the administration, which is on record as supporting it.

Some explanation for this fundamental change in policy can be found by examining policy statements of administration economic advisers over the course of the past several months. What emerges is the distinct impression that the makers of monetary policy have panicked, and have abandoned their previous approach of firm restraint. That approach was originally designed to slow down the economy—to head it back onto a noninflationary path.

The policy of firm restraint—in the words of Secretary Kennedy last February—was to last "until there are unmistakable signs" that we are headed back on this path. But the same Secretary Kennedy in October has been looking for different signs. According to Secretary Kennedy, the administration still wants the signs to be unmistakably clear, but this time he says the signs must also show "that the balance of risk has shifted from inflation to recession."

In other words, the administration and the Fed plan to slam on the brakes and not to let off until there are unmistakable signs that the brakes may lock.

While the administration does not formulate monetary policy on a day-to-day basis, it does closely coordinate its long-range objectives with those of the Federal Reserve Board and in the final analysis, bears primary responsibility for the state of the economy.

I urge the administration and the Federal Reserve Board at this time to heed the growing concern of economists and legislators including the Joint Economic Committee itself, and bring monetary policy on to the track of a slow but stable increase in the money supply.

At the same time, so that the administration can realize significant budget

surpluses for the near future, I urge that Congress in the House-Senate conference on the tax reform bill reexamine the tax rate reductions in the reform bill now before us, including the very worrisome action which the Senate took in raising the personal exemption to \$800. I do not put the self-financed social security increase in the same class; we should not expect the Social Security Trust Fund to finance the Government debt as it is presently doing.

Failure to act in both these policy areas and on both these levels of Government could quickly bring this country into the grim situation of continued price inflation coupled with a mild or not so mild recession.

In some sectors of the economy we have pretty grim conditions right now. If the housing industry, for example, reflected the state of the economy as a whole, we could say we were in the middle of a full-blown recession.

Also, Federal, State, and local government financing has been hard hit by soaring interest rates.

Prices of stocks are at a 3-year low.

We have viewed with alarm the ominous weakening of the employment market this year and November culminated a 4-month slide in industrial production this year.

I believe that two of the most important areas determining the Nation's economy are housing and unemployment.

## HOUSING

For two decades the stated objective of Federal housing policy has been to provide every American with "a decent home and a suitable living environment." Only last year this objective was translated into a specific national housing goal of 26-million units in 10 years—or 2.6 million annually.

On the basis of present housing starts we will not even approach that goal. At the beginning of this year, housing production was at 1.9-million units. It now stands at 1.3 million, and by the end of this year it is said that we will be building houses at a rate of only 1 million units a year—well under half the production needed to meet the national goal.

Probably the single most important reason for this failure has been the pattern of rapidly escalating costs in the building industry, in excess of increases in the cost of living. Increases in the cost of money have been most dramatic. Interest rates have gone up so high that the housing industry is today on the verge of a major recession.

The tragic irony of the situation is to be found in the contradictions of Federal policy. In 1 year we enact bold new housing programs and establish national housing goals. Yet, in the next year, the administration supports changes in both tax legislation and monetary policy which could make it impossible to implement the national housing policy which has been authorized.

It would appear that periodic crises in housing are built into our economic system and the present structure of our financial institutions, and that housing will always bear the major burden of tight money.

But this need not be so. I believe that





United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 91<sup>st</sup> CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

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No. 212

## Senate

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a.m. and was called to order by Hon. JAMES B. ALLEN, a Senator from the State of Alabama.

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Eternal Father, as we gaze once more upon the manger scene, may the child-heart of simple faith and trust be born in us again. Lead us to the truth which is understood not by logic but by poetry and music and a soul in tune with the infinite and eternal. In the long hours of toil keep us from being pushed or pinched by the day's program, but preserve in us an area of serenity and quiet strength. May we come to that reality of Thy sustaining and abiding presence we have never known before. And may we serve in the spirit of Him who came to be the servant of all. Amen.

### DESIGNATION OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will read a communication to the Senate. The assistant legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,  
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,  
Washington, D.C., December 19, 1969.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate, I appoint Hon. JAMES B. ALLEN, a Senator from the State of Alabama, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

RICHARD B. RUSSELL,  
President pro tempore.

Mr. ALLEN thereupon took the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

### THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, December 18, 1969, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

### COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and the

Committee on Armed Services be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

### EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate go into executive session to consider a nomination on the Executive Calendar.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The nomination on the Executive Calendar will be stated.

### ME AMBASSADOR

The assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Henry J. Tasca to be U.S. Ambassador to Greece.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the nomination?

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. President, on Tuesday, December 9, I requested Senate Majority Leader MANSFIELD to place a temporary hold upon the consideration of the nomination of Henry J. Tasca to be U.S. Ambassador to Greece.

I did not take this action because I believed the United States should indefinitely postpone sending an ambassador to Greece.

On September 25, the Senate adopted a resolution (S. Res. 205) declaring that when the United States recognizes a foreign government, that action does not in itself imply that we endorse its policies. I agree with the principle set forth in this resolution, and I voted for it. In general, the establishment and maintenance of diplomatic contacts with other nations should reflect the realities of international politics, not our preferences.

Greece now is ruled by a brutal dictatorship that does not hesitate to make systematic use of terror and torture.

The repressive nature of the Greek regime does not, however, justify a permanent refusal to dispatch an ambassador to Athens—any more than Soviet police state methods would justify withdrawing our Ambassador in Moscow.

Nor was my action based on any reservations concerning Mr. Tasca's qualifications. He is, as I have stated previously, a most able diplomat who is fully qualified for this sensitive post.

I requested a temporary hold on consideration of the nomination because I was convinced it was not the propitious moment to approve an ambassador—as the Council of Europe was about to consider the expulsion or suspension of Greece from the Council for violation of the basic human rights of Greek citizens.

I was fearful that the confirmation of a U.S. ambassador a few days before the Council's meeting would be misconstrued in Europe as a gesture of support for the junta and as an attempt to intrude ourselves into a decision that should have been made by Europeans themselves.

The Council's meeting has now taken place. The Greek dictatorship was forced to resign from membership in this body of democratic nations.

The strong stand of the members of the Council is most gratifying. It will be a clear signal to the forces behind the junta that the patience of the European democracies with the Greek junta's cruel and dictatorial methods has run out.

Now that the Council of Europe has met, the dispatch of an ambassador to Athens could no longer be interpreted as a sign that the Senate of the United States opposes strong disciplinary action by the Council against Greece.

Accordingly, I have decided to release the hold I requested on the consideration of Mr. Tasca's nomination. I am hopeful he can be confirmed soon, and I will vote for his confirmation.

While I will not oppose this nomination further, I would like to register my concern over the failure of the United States to make effective use of its diplomatic influence to press for more humane and democratic policies in Greece.

Reform in Greece is needed in the interest of simple humanity and justice. The victims of the Greek dictatorship are human beings. They must not be harassed, terrorized, and tortured. If we show no interest in preventing this sort of suffering, our claims of representing democratic and humanitarian ideals become no more than a mockery.

S 17227

December 19, 1969

Reform in Greece is needed to preserve our credibility. We simply cannot afford to profess a double standard of morality—one for Communist nations and one for rightwing dictatorships with which we happen to be allied. No one will believe our protests against repression in Czechoslovakia or Russia if we turn a blind eye to tyranny in Greece.

Finally, reform in Greece is needed to protect our security. Continued repression only increases the chances of a civil war—one which the Greek Communists could exploit to reestablish the influence they lost in the late 1940's.

The men supporting the junta are realists. Faced with strong and insistent demands for reform from the United States and its European allies, these men may well be induced by self-interest to press for more humane policies. Faced with an ineffectual U.S. response, they will have little incentive for change.

Regrettably, the official reaction of the State Department to the junta's police state practices has been most ineffectual.

Despite indications that the forces in Greece undergirding the junta might press for reforms in response to a strong U.S. stand, the State Department has evinced little more than mild disapproval for the regime's harsh policies. The Department has succeeded in conveying the impression that it is far more concerned about what hypothetically might happen to our military bases in Greece than with what is actually happening to the basic human rights of the Greek people.

A glaring example of this sort of complacency was the Department's stand on the ouster of Greece from the Council of Europe.

The Council is restricted by its charter to those countries that "accept the principles of rule of law" and the enjoyment by all citizens of "human rights and fundamental freedoms." The Greek dictatorship patently fails to meet either of these requirements.

Before the Council met last Friday, the official position of the State Department was "neutrality" on the side of the junta. Persistent reports came from Paris that the State Department was lobbying with European foreign ministries for retention of Greece in the Council.

The basis of the Department's pro-junta stance was the familiar one of fear of loss of the NATO bases in Greece. The Department was naive enough to believe threats by semiofficial Greek sources that if Greece was ousted from the Council of Europe it might "reconsider" its membership in NATO. It chose to overlook the fact that the Council is a purely advisory body of parliamentary representatives that has never included the authoritarian government that has been associated with NATO and Portugal. It also chose to overlook the fact that the junta has strong security and economic interests in the maintenance of the bases which would make its departure from NATO extremely unlikely.

As events turned out, the Department miscalculated entirely. Its lobbying effort failed, and Greece was forced out of the council. Not surprisingly, Greece decided to continue its NATO association.

Unfortunately, this was not an isolated incident. It reflects the basic attitude of the State Department at the working level. Department officials profess a desire for reforms by the junta, but they fail to convey any urgency or real determination. They seem more concerned with explaining away the junta's actions than with inducing constructive changes.

I am hopeful that Mr. Tasca's departure for Greece will signal a change of policy. I hope that he will be sent with new instructions for a tough stand toward the Greek regime's police state methods. I hope our State Department will become an effective advocate of reform in Greece.

A crucial test of U.S. intentions will be its decision on resuming regular military aid to Greece. It was most unfortunate that the Senate chose last week to override the ban proposed by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on military assistance to the junta. The resumption of full military aid at this time would be a clear sign of support for the present regime's policies. Regular arms aid should be withheld until meaningful steps toward democratization are taken.

Our foreign policy must reflect something more than a mere chess game of power politics. It should embody our underlying commitment to humanitarian and democratic ideals.

The fundamental principles upon which our Nation was launched, if they mean anything at all, should be no less fundamental in shaping the relationship of our Government toward other peoples.

Where a great democracy has fallen, as in Greece, we must avoid policies that can be construed as support for those who strangled it.

Morality should not grind to a halt at our borders. We should not park our consciences when we pick up our diplomatic passports.

Mr. President, having said all this, I believe the withholding of approval by the Senate of the nomination of an ambassador to Greece 3 days before the Council of Europe met did avoid involving this country directly in that decision in the Council of Europe. I understand this was read with some meaning by members of the Council of Europe that at least the U.S. Senate was refusing at that time to take action that could be interpreted as support of the Greek junta.

I believe at this point it is in our interest to have an ambassador dealing at the highest level in Greece to present our views forcefully to the Greek junta and other elements or establishments of Greece that we want the Greek Government to move back toward democracy; that we do not attempt to dictate their form of government or attempt to tell them what change should be made, but we do say we will not support a government which engages in widespread violation of basic human rights of people. These violations of basic human rights in Greece by the junta are well documented.

Mr. President, under all these circumstances I withdraw my opposition to the nomination of Henry J. Tasca to be U.S. Ambassador to Greece.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, I congratulate the Senator from New York on his statement regarding the nomination of Henry J. Tasca to serve as our Ambassador to Greece. I differ with him somewhat on his conclusion as to the timing on this matter but I agree heartily with what he said about this matter.

I am one of those Senators who had a "hold" against the nomination for the very reasons discussed by the Senator from New York, but I thought the time of the pending action of the Council of Europe would have been most inopportune for the United States to confirm an ambassador to the junta in Greece.

This morning, therefore, I wish to announce I still object to the confirmation of Henry J. Tasca as U.S. Ambassador to Greece at this time because it is still so closely associated with the action that happened in the Council.

I do not oppose Henry J. Tasca because of his lack of qualification for the position. He has already distinguished himself as Ambassador to Morocco and through a fruitful career in the American Foreign Service.

I think he is eminently qualified. I want to underline this point: that I do not question his qualification, or his worthiness in any respect. I oppose the confirmation now, because I feel that for the Senate to act at this time to send an American of ambassadorial rank to Greece would be a blunder in timing.

There are a number of reasons why. I shall mention several.

Earlier this month, the Council of Europe expelled Greece from that organization. I know that the colonels in Greece say they withdrew. But the fact is that the Council voted to expel Greece at the end of this year on the charge that the Greek Government had failed to restore democratic freedoms, and the colonels withdrew rather than face the humiliation of being kicked out.

The Council of Europe is not an economic alliance. It is an association of democratic governments designed expressly to advance democracy and human rights. Their moral disapproval of the regime in Greece shows quite clearly how the people on the other side of the Atlantic feel about the military junta which holds that country in its tyrannical grasp. The Council abhors the present Greek Government. And furthermore, many of them feel that it is only America's apparent friendship for the regime—only our apparent support of the colonels—which keeps them in power.

For the U.S. Senate to confirm an ambassador to Greece hard on the heels of strongly expressed European disapproval of the regime would be little less than a slap in the face to many of our allies.

Second, according to no less an authority than former Greek Minister Constantine Mitsotakis, with whom I conferred recently, the next few months—possibly the next 3 months—offer the last opportunity for a restoration of the Greek democracy without a blood bath. This opinion is also shared by my good friend Elias Demetrapoulos, a distinguished European editor and a leader of the resistance movement against the

junta in America, who accompanied Mr. Mitsotakis to my office.

The history and temperament of the Greek people practically assure us there will be an effort sometime in the future to force out the colonel's government—even if it drenches the country in blood.

No other people, on the face of the earth, understand more fully the desire of the Greek people for freedom, than do the people of the United States. Greece may have been the cradle of democracy, but we have made democracy work—and work reasonably well, for almost 200 years. The Greeks feel deeply their bond with us. They are relying on us now in their time of great travail.

Why give them cause to doubt our support—why douse their spirits and quench their thirst for freedom—by accrediting a man with the rank of Ambassador to the junta government. It would be an affront to the Greek patriots.

Third, since the Nixon administration has not yet come up with a policy on Greece, why do we need a man of Ambassadorial rank there? America's affairs can well be handled by the competent career men already in our Embassy there. Must we fill the rank of ambassador right now?

Mr. President, in the 2½ long years since the military junta took over Greece, there has not been even one small step toward the restoration of a parliamentary government.

We hear stories every day about people being brutalized in courts, and in prisons. Civil liberties are dead. Normality and freedom and liberty and order and security are only words which the colonels use from time to time—they have no real meaning to the people.

I realize that sending an American ambassador to Greece does not necessarily mean that this country approves of the present government. But most certainly if we do not send an ambassador—if the United States would postpone action on confirmation of Ambassador Tasca for some of the reasons I have outlined, it would certainly be construed as an expression of our disapproval of the junta regime.

I suggest confirmation be delayed. It is time to stop showing cordiality and friendship for the colonels, to stop exchanging visits and honors with them, and to start openly showing some sympathy for the people who are striving to restore the democratic freedoms that we hold so dear in our own country.

The U.S. Senate should not at this juncture in history be in the process of confirming a U.S. ambassador to Greece.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. President, will the Senator from Utah yield?

Mr. MOSS. I am happy to yield to the Senator from New York.

Mr. GOODELL. I want to express my gratification for the very fine statement the Senator has made.

We are in essential agreement. I think the only area where we may differ is on the question of sending an ambassador.

I agree with the Senator's comment that the next 3 months will be critical in Greece, that unless steps are taken to ease the repression there and move toward democracy, Greece may well

enter into a bloodbath and revolution, one that will be difficult to control, because revolutions never can be controlled.

I think it is imperative, under those circumstances, that we have an ambassador there at the highest level putting the pressure on the Greek junta, talking to the top leaders in Greece, expressing our concern.

I would emphasize that although the Council of Europe has expelled Greece, as the Senator has indicated, the European nations who are members of the Council of Europe have ambassadors to Greece in Athens and they are there, as I hope our Ambassador will be there, to express the deep concern of the peoples they represent over what is happening in Greece.

The record should be made clear, although the Senator and I differ on the timing of this approval, that I certainly, and I think the Senate, in approving the nomination—if that does occur—are not in any way indicating to the Greek junta our approval of their policies.

As a matter of fact, it is precisely the opposite.

I think that our Ambassador should now go there to indicate our disapproval at the highest levels.

The Senator, who has just spoken so eloquently, thinks that we should not send an ambassador because that would be a means to indicate our disapproval.

Thus, our only difference is in the way we express our disapproval of the Greek junta.

I thank the Senator from Utah for yielding to me.

Mr. MOSS. I thank the Senator from New York. He and I are in agreement that U.S. disapproval of the junta should be demonstrated. Our only difference is whether the signal has been adequately given by a rather temporary delay or whether it should be delayed further.

I am perfectly willing to acknowledge that such a signal has been given so that the people of Europe, and the Greek people themselves, understand that there is no degree of approval but, as a matter of fact, high disapproval of the regime of the junta over there, and that now we are sending our representative there to have a spokesman on hand to deal directly with the junta.

As I say, this may possibly be so, but I have felt that it is so close, still, to the action taken by the Council of Europe, that perhaps our disapproval should be underlined even more clearly.

One thing that disturbed me a bit in talking with Mr. Mitsotakis, and with others, is that there is a feeling among some of the Greeks that the United States has some sympathy for the junta; that, in fact, it has been said—rumors spread so easily—that the junta would not stay in power at all were not the Pentagon in league with it.

We know that that is not true, but I am wondering whether we should not send the signal in more clearly than we have, that it is not true that we support the junta in any way.

But in either event, I think having this colloquy on the floor and this expression made in the U.S. Senate is helpful indeed to try to get word to the Greek people that we have great affection and

sympathy for the Greek people; we would like to see them have control of their own destiny and have democracy reestablished in their country; and we are hopeful that in some way we can help them back to controlling their own destiny democratically, without having a terrible blood bath, which may be imminent.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. MOSS. I yield.

Mr. GOODELL. I think the Senator will agree with me that, in any event, Mr. Tasca should understand that the U.S. Senate wants him to go to Greece as an ambassador—if his nomination is approved—to express, in the strongest terms, our disapproval of the suppression and brutality occurring in Greece under the junta.

I think we can agree that whether the decision to send an ambassador to Greece was wise or not will be judged by the action taken by Mr. Tasca as Ambassador in Athens. If he goes over there and makes our voice stronger and clearer to the junta, then it will have been a valuable contribution in sending the U.S. Ambassador to Greece now.

I think the Senator and I would agree that, assuming the Ambassador goes, that is what we want him to do, and we hope the State Department and the President give him that kind of instruction.

Mr. MOSS. I heartily concur with the Senator and thank him for that expression.

I rather expect that the confirmation of Mr. Tasca will be confirmed. I hope there is not the least shadow of reflection of his ability or integrity coming from my remarks, because I think he is a fine, able man; but I concur with the Senator that, if he goes there, he should go there with a message, as strongly expressed as can be expressed, that we do not sympathize with the actions of the Greek junta; we sympathize with the Greek people and we want freedom and civil rights reestablished in Greece at the earliest possible time and without a blood bath.

Mr. GOODELL. If the Senator will yield, that point, I think, was made unmistakably clear the day the U.S. Senate reversed the decision on military aid to Greece; we immediately thereafter, and unanimously, passed a provision that decreed what was going on in Greece and urged the Greek Government to move back to democracy. That was a unanimous action.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I listened with a great deal of interest to the colleagues from Utah and New York, and I find myself in complete agreement with their general thoughts. I see, once again, however, that it is possible for reasonable men to pursue the same goal by different means. I find, on weighing all of the facts, that my colleague from Utah, has made an equally persuasive case.

At this time, I, personally, am opposed to Senate consideration of the nomination of Henry J. Tasca as U.S. Ambassador to Greece. But I am inclined



to lay aside my personal inclinations in the interest of Senate procedure.

I do not question the qualifications of Ambassador Tasca. It has been pointed out that he has served with distinction as Ambassador to Morocco and has proved his abilities as a diplomat during a long foreign service career. I oppose consideration of his nomination at this time for the same reasons I opposed the amendment of my distinguished colleague, the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. Dodd), striking section 508A from the foreign aid authorization bill, as a demonstration to the Greek Government, the Greek people, and the world, that the Congress of the United States does not approve of the practices of the current military regime in the cradle of democracy.

This regime's policy of torture and denial of constitutional rights has been a matter of deep concern to me, not only as a U.S. Senator, but as a citizen of the United States. In a country where we take for granted those rights, it is difficult for us to imagine a normal political life without them. Yet the Greek people are now suffering from the deliberate denial of basic human and political rights.

I would remind the Senate once again, of the action taken November 18 by the European Commission of Human Rights, when it delivered a scathing report to the Council of Europe detailing its findings that the regime in Greece has allowed torture to be used against its political opponents "as an administrative practice" and that the regime has failed to prove its claim that the suspension of civil liberties had been justified by an internal emergency.

As has also been pointed out, on December 12 Greece withdrew from the Council of Europe but only when it became clear that she would be suspended until democracy and human rights were restored to the Greek people.

As I pointed out a moment or two ago, the only means available to the Senate to express its disapproval is to lay this nomination over for a short period of time. Then when we come back early in January, we could quickly confirm the nomination of this man, who is fully capable of pursuing the course the Senator from New York has suggested he should pursue and that, hopefully, he will. If he was not so inclined, I think, after reading the debate and being informed, he certainly will be. I appreciate, however, the unusual nature of this procedure and so I shall not press the matter.

Mr. President, would it be in order to address a parliamentary inquiry at this time?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It is in order.

Mr. BAYH. As part of the advice and consent authority that is set forth in the Constitution, is it possible, in confirming the nomination of an ambassador, for the Senate to fix a time certain on which the confirmation of the nomination would take place?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair would be of the opinion that that would not be within the province of the

Senate. The Senate has the duty at this time of passing on the confirmation, yes or no.

Mr. BAYH. May I address a further parliamentary inquiry?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A parliamentary inquiry is in order.

Mr. BAYH. Is it possible for the Senate to fix any condition, such as a time at which the Ambassador would present his credentials? In other words, would it be possible for us to advise and consent with the stipulation that the credentials would not be presented before January 15, for example, as a display of our displeasure with the Greek regime?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is advised that that would not be in order. The Senate has the right to confirm or reject. If it wishes to postpone consideration, it has that authority; but as long as it acts on a confirmation affirmatively, then it is within the province of the State Department to give the nominee his assignment.

Mr. BAYH. I appreciate the Chair's clarifying this point.

I realize that it would be possible for the Senate to move to defer consideration. After listening to the discussion between the Senator from New York and the Senator from Utah, though, the Senator from Indiana is inclined to follow the course of action expressed by the Senator from New York. I do not want it to appear that the Senate is refusing to cooperate with President Nixon in the formulation of his traditional foreign policy prerogatives. I wish it were possible for us to cooperate with the President and still indicate our displeasure with the Greek regime. It is not possible according to the Chair's ruling.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, it is tragic that on the same day that Greece was forced out of the Council of Europe for its repressive policies and its practice of torture, the Senate voted to continue the authorization of military assistance to that unhappy country.

It was argued here on the Senate floor that we should not interfere in the domestic affairs of a friendly nation—and the definition of not interfering is that we should continue the authorizing of many millions of dollars of military support and weapons for that country.

My definition of not interfering is "doing nothing." But, I guess what we have now is the new Alice in Wonderland look—not to interfere means to have a massive aid program—to interfere is not to have such a massive aid program. Be that as it may, the net result of the actions of the Council of Europe and of our Senate is that the Greek people now realize that the Greek regime is abhorrent to the Western European democracies, but the object of acceptance and support by our own Nation.

From reactions I have already received, I understand that the United States is now, more than ever, identified by the Greek people as a supporter and an advocate of the junta. One immediate result of this action is the statement by Col. George Papadopoulos, the present Greek chief of government, to the effect that no elections will be held in the foreseeable future.

What a slap in the face to the United States is this announcement coming as it does, immediately after our action in the Senate that specifically authorized the continuation of military assistance, by knocking out my provision specifically denying continuation of such assistance in the committee bill. Now let it not be thought that we are turning the other cheek when, in a very few moments, we confirm the nomination of Henry Tasca as our Ambassador to Greece.

I am confident he will make a fine ambassador, but he certainly will have a difficult mission.

The Pentagon approves of the Greek Government as an efficient government and one which provides agreeable ports of call for our military forces. The executive branch of our Government has never vigorously expressed itself; as a whole it really has a "no policy" policy. Our Senate is divided as shown by the 45-to-38 vote last week. And our people as a whole have a justified revulsion to the Greek regime.

In voting for the nomination of Henry Tasca, I wish him luck in an exceedingly difficult position. May he have success in relaying the abhorrence of the American people for the practices of the recalcitrant Greek regime and in nudging it back onto the path of civilization, democracy, and freedom. And may he particularly succeed in reducing or—and this would be truly wonderful—in eliminating the use of torture by the junta as a matter of administrative practice.

Finally, in voting for the confirmation of Henry Tasca's nomination, I am following what I have always believed is the correct policy when it comes to having diplomatic relations with a foreign government: The more abhorrent the regime, the more we dislike the regime, the more we disapprove of the regime, the more important it is to have top level representation at that regime's capital.

If we want to tangibly express our disapproval, let us not do so just in word, but let us off our aid, because by doing that, we hurt that regime; but by not having top level representation, we are simply cutting off our nose to spite our face, and I do not think this serves our national interest.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the news story from Athens, headlined, "Greece's Premier Bars Early Vote: Defies Europeans," written by Alvin Shuster and published in the New York Times of December 16, 1959.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Dec. 16, 1959]  
GREECE'S PREMIER BARS EARLY VOTE; DEFIES EUROPEANS; HE BRUSHES ASIDE COUNCIL'S CONCERN—SAYS REGIME WILL RULE INDEFINITELY

(By Alvin Shuster)

ATHENS, December 15.—Premier George Papadopoulos tonight ruled out any possibility of early elections in Greece and insisted that the aims of the army-backed Government must be met first.

In an unyielding speech, which made no mention of any new liberalizing measures, the 51-year-old Premier said that the Govern-

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ment would continue indefinitely to exercise all executive and legislative powers of the country. He said this was because "the people will it, because it is in their interest and because it is history's command."

Brushing aside the concern in the Council of Europe about the failure to announce an election date, Mr. Papadopoulos said: "This is a matter that concerns only us because it concerns our life and the life of our nation."

## HE WARNS ALLIES

He warned Greece's Western allies to beware of the threat of democracy in their own nations. He said that Greece with drew from the Council of Europe last Friday rather than be suspended because she could not take orders on how to run her affairs. Greece has become accustomed to bitterness from her allies, he added.

Mr. Papadopoulos, who led the army coup d'état on April 21, 1967, spoke to the nation on radio and television from the chamber once used by Greece's Parliament. It was an emotional address, delivered in high-pitched tones before an audience of about 500, including Aristotle S. Onassis, the multimillionaire shipowner.

The Premier insisted that Greece now had a form of government that "in substance insures total freedom to the individual, except those working against public order and security." The people gave a mandate to the Government by their approval in September, 1968, of a new Constitution he said.

## PREMIER LISTS GOALS

Most of the provisions of the Constitution dealing with civil and personal liberties remain suspended under existing martial law. The Government is now preparing a series of special laws aimed at eventual implementation of the constitutional provisions.

In discussing national elections, Mr. Papadopoulos said the Government would give one year's notice before elections were held to enable new political parties to be formed. He said that national elections would follow local elections, but he offered no timetable for local elections either.

As necessary requirements for elections, the Premier listed a series of goals. Among them was the reorganization of Government machinery, the "cleansing of social institutions" and improvements in the economic, social and political areas.

"Unless these are achieved and the country becomes healthy and capable of accepting the constitutional reforms, we shall not proceed to elections," Mr. Papadopoulos said.

## HE TERMS REGIME A SAVIOR

Throughout the speech, Mr. Papadopoulos likened Greece to a ship whose "crew had become cowardly in a storm" and had turned to the armed forces for help. His Government merely wants to lead Greece to a safe harbor, he said.

"Yet some of our friends are treating us like pirates rather than saviors of a ship, either because they want to impose their will or out of solidarity with the old deposed crew," he said. "But the Greek people have always shouted 'hands off us' whenever foreign powers try to impose their will."

The Premier urged Greeks to buy fewer foreign goods in favor of more Greek products "as a sign of faith in your country." He also said that businessmen should be content to hold their prices.

"Public order and security," he said, "shall be preserved at the present level."

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I commend the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island for his remarks. He has expressed my views so much better than I could express them that I simply associate myself with the address he has just made.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, what is the pending business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The pending question, in executive session, is whether the Senate shall advise and consent to the nomination of Henry J. Tasca as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States to Greece.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, I quite agree with the statement of the Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. PELL) with reference to the qualifications of the nominee, Mr. Tasca. I am sure that he is a man who will bring good qualifications to the appointment. But I should like the Senate to know that I was one of the Senators who joined with the Senator from Utah (Mr. Moss), the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. BURDICK) and others in asking the leadership to hold up on this nomination for a period of time, not because I was interested in blocking the nomination, but simply to signify to the people of Greece and, indeed, to world public opinion, the concern that many of us have about the Greek military dictatorship that has, at least temporarily, destroyed democracy in Greece.

I think it is a great loss to the cause of freedom around the world that Greece, which has symbolized throughout history so much of the spirit of freedom and human dignity, has fallen under the control of the group of military dictators who brutally seized power some time ago.

I regret very much what I regard as a serious mistake by the Senate, a few days ago, in approving the amendment offered by the senior Senator from Connecticut (Mr. DONN) which in effect lends American approval to this undemocratic military regime in Athens, by extending American military aid. I do not know of anything that we could have done that would have been more unwise than using American military power and the moral endorsement behind that resolution to signify to the world that, somehow, we are interested in preserving this regime that is now in control in Athens.

I very frankly hope that regime will be swiftly replaced, that it will be a short-lived experience for the people of Greece, and that a more democratic system can be restored in that part of the world. It is the sheerest kind of hypocrisy for this great country of ours to talk about advancing the cause of freedom, and then use the tax funds of the people of this country to maintain in power the kind of undemocratic, unfree, and unrepresentative regime that now holds the people of Greece in its grip.

I very earnestly hope that this Ambassador whose nomination we are about to confirm will use whatever influence he has to keep our Government fully informed on the realities of what is taking place in Greek politics today, so that we will not make the kind of tragic errors in the future that we made on this floor a few days ago when we called for the extension of American military support to that kind of a government. What we did is a defeat for freedom; and I vote for this ambassadorial nomination only on the grounds that I hope that by maintaining diplomatic relations we will come to a better understanding of the tragic

forces that are now in play in what was once a free nation.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. McGOVERN. I yield.

Mr. PELL. Was the Senator as struck as I was, in the course of that short debate, by the weird argument I have just cited, wherein one of our colleagues said we ought to be very reluctant to appear to be dictating to or meddling in the internal affairs of other governments of the world? Apparently his definition of not interfering or meddling is that we should continue this huge military assistance program to Greece.

However, if we stop this military assistance, then we are meddling and interfering. What can we do to let the American people know that we are interfering by sending military assistance?

This is the point that the press and the country has lost sight of, that we have a new Alice in Wonderland definition of interfere. And under this new definition, to interfere is not to send massive support but to let a nation alone, and not to interfere is to send massive support.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, I could not agree with the Senator more.

It is an indication of how far we have come in assuming that military aid to right-wing governments represents an investment in freedom. It does not represent an investment in freedom. It represents a setback for it.

It does not represent an investment in the cause of self-determination.

The same logic that the Senator has brought out here so well is one of the things that has concerned me for many years about our involvement in Southeast Asia.

We talk about our interference there as advancing the cause of self-determination. The truth of the matter is that the presence of American military might in such overwhelming force in Vietnam is the very factor that is preventing the process of self-determination from asserting itself. It is preventing the local indigenous political force from asserting itself in South Vietnam.

And that is true with reference to the point the Senator makes in Greece. I commend him for making what seems to me to be a valuable contribution to our understanding.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McGOVERN. I yield.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, does not the Senator feel that our policy toward Greece is a rather frightening example of how close we are coming to the use of "doublethink" as described in Orwell's "1984." The language we use to label our policies is the very opposite of their reality. This is true of Greece and, as the Senator points out, the same tendency is to be found in our semantic treatment of our massive intervention in Vietnam.

More and more, we use words that are, in fact, the opposite of reality. And this was the very phenomenon forecast by Orwell in projecting the kind of totalitarian state he anticipated would overtake us by 1984.

Sometimes I think we are halfway

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there, and moving ever more rapidly in that direction.

Mr. McGOVERN. I think the Senator's point is well taken with reference to double think.

We have seen the same kind of phenomena with reference to our domestic situation here in terms of national priorities.

The Senator from Rhode Island and the Senator from Idaho know that we have just come from a discussion as to what should be the proper response to the President's statement that he is going to veto the appropriation bill on health, education, and welfare on the ground that it is inflationary.

Congress, as I understand it, has increased by \$1.5 billion the amount of appropriations for these various programs that relate to the health, education, and welfare of the American people. And that is said to be inflationary. Yet, when we come to the military sector of the budget, the Congress of the United States has reduced the amount requested by the President by more than \$5 billion.

Presumably, that is an anti-inflationary effort on the part of Congress. We have reduced and taken out of circulation some \$5 billion that would otherwise have been spent for military purposes. Yet, we are accused of adding to the inflationary pressures in the country because we have added a modest amount to the programs designed to improve the health, education, and welfare of the American people.

This relates directly again to the point that the Senator from Rhode Island and the Senator from Idaho have been making, that we have come to the viewpoint where we think a military investment of any kind, if it is an investment in a military dictatorship that suppresses the freedom of its own people, represents an investment in the cause of freedom and that money spent to improve the quality of our own people is dangerous and inflationary. That is double thinking.

Mr. CHURCH. I concur wholeheartedly.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, is it not the responsibility of a free press to express clearly what the thought is? And when we use "Alice in Wonderland" looking glass talk, it seems to me that there is an obligation to tell the taxpayers exactly what is meant so that when someone says, "We shall not interfere or meddle in the affairs of another nation," the story should say, "By not interfering is meant sending massive military assistance to that nation."

I think the people as a whole, if they knew the Alice in Wonderland chatter that we sometimes engage in would laugh at us. And that would bring us back to using the words we should use.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, that would show that foreign aid is getting "curiouser and curiouser every day."

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I would make that point that we in public office are opinion formers and that those who interpret our words have a responsibility to clarify some of the doubletalk.

## THREATENED VETO OF AN APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, as in legislative session, I would like to say a few words about the President's threat to veto the HEW appropriation bill and also to veto the tax reform bill.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, I believe I have the floor. I did not yield it for that purpose. If the Senator wants me to yield for a question, I will be glad to do so.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Oklahoma yield to the Senator from Kansas for the purpose of making a parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, do I understand that we are in executive session?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. We are in executive session. A Senator can speak as in legislative session on request.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, may I inquire as to the pending business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The pending business is the confirmation of the nomination of Mr. Henry J. Tasca to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Greece.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, the consumer price index for November was just announced. It showed the steepest jump in consumer prices since last June.

The actual increase was 0.5 percent. The seasonally adjusted annual rate for November was 7.2 percent.

Mr. President, the steepest increase was in food. The food increase was 0.7 percent, with particularly high increases in the consumer price index for vegetables, eggs, clothing, home ownership costs, and services.

Also, the wholesale price index has just been announced. And it shows that in the wholesale price index we have just seen the biggest jump in 6 months.

It includes a 3-percent increase in food costs. Eggs, for example, went up 23 percent. Turkeys, just in time for Christmas, went up 6.7 percent. Vegetables went up 34 percent on the wholesale price index.

There is no question that inflation is a tremendous worry for this country. It is one thing which should concern every one of us. However, I do not think that the President of the United States has properly placed the issue before the people of the United States.

The Congress of the United States has been fiscally responsible. It has lowered the total appropriations on all appropriation bills which have been sent to it by more than \$5 billion less than the President's budget. More importantly, this Congress has decided to begin to get the priorities of this country straight by reducing by more than \$5 billion the amount of money the President asked for military appropriations, and it decided that it wanted to do more for the people of this country in health and education by raising that appropriation by approximately \$1.5 billion.

I say that if the President of the United States wants to veto that bill, then Congress ought to override his veto, either now or when we return after the first of the year.

I am proud that the conference committee on the tax bill, according to this morning's report, has that bill about in balance in revenue raised and revenue spent with the bill which came to us from the House of Representatives and to the Senate floor from the Finance Committee, of which I am a member.

I am proud, too, that the conference committee on the tax bill has decided to raise the personal exemption and has decided to raise social security by 15 percent.

In his recent press conference, the President said that if those two items were in the bill, he would veto it. I say it should be sent to him. If he does veto it, that veto should be overridden by Congress.

Mr. President, I hope the President will use the influence of his office, as he has not done up to this moment, in wage and price decisions. I hope he will at long last use the influence of his office to bring down these scandalously high interest rates.

We will have a conference report before us today, handled by the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. PROXMIER), which will provide the President additional power to hold down interest rates—powers similar to those which were given to the President during the Korean war. The President of the United States, unfortunately, has opposed those additional powers for himself. I hope that once we give him those powers, as I think we will do today, he will use them to bring interest rates down—interest rates which have risen to the highest level in 100 years and which themselves are the greatest fuel for the fires of inflation that presently exist.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HARRIS. I yield.

Mr. DOLE. First, I commend the Senator for recognizing that we do have inflation. We have had it, as the Senator knows, for several years.

Mr. HARRIS. May I say that I have spoken on this issue practically every day, and I am glad that the Senator from Kansas also is concerned about inflation. I do not recall how he voted on every amendment when the tax bill was before the Senate. Most of his colleagues rather overwhelmingly voted against additional tax reforms which would have increased the revenue raised by that bill and for most of the measures which lost revenue and were adopted.

But I am glad to say that it seems from this morning's press reports that the conference has gotten that bill back in about the same kind of revenue spent-revenue lost balance that existed when it came from the Finance Committee.

Mr. DOLE. Let me pursue my question. I recognize that the Senator from Oklahoma may be speaking now as a Senator and also as the chairman of the National Democratic Party. I conclude, therefore,



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with a number of different management philosophies.

Even today, there are some twenty-eight individual railroads which provide some type of inter-city service. While this is a dramatically fewer number of railroads than existed previously, it still represents the regional characteristic of our railroads. Each railroad, as you can see from these examples, has its own parameters of track. The whole network is a total of its components—in this case not something efficient by itself. A through-train run by more than one railroad is subject to the individual vagaries of each management. So basic a process as check-through baggage, for instance, may be challenged by a carrier more interested in commuter service. Furthermore, equipment procurement loses economics of scale when each road purchases a small lot with widely varying specifications. Even two or three discontinuance proceedings involved in individual sections of one train reflect the highly regionalized nature of the inter-city system.

Historically the highmark in rail passenger service came just after World War II, with the decline beginning in the 1950's. It was during that period that the competitive effects from other modes began to be reflected in fewer number of passengers and lower revenues. As losses attributable to inter-city trains increased, the common reaction was to reduce those losses by reducing costs. This was accomplished by the singularly narrow method of eliminating one train at a time. Each whole train discontinued under Section 13-A was a reduction in total costs equal to the cost of that train.

Of course, the ancillary result was a rapid decline in the number of trains and level of service. It also precipitated a more than proportionate decline in the volume of equipment ordered and delivered, and provided the impetus for a trend to the repair of equipment aimed at preserving safety often to the abandonment of comfort. A continually deteriorating financial situation simply inhibited continued investment in passenger equipment.

The twenty year decline in inter-city service developed in lieu of a national transportation policy. Each competing mode developed in response to many demands, especially in relation to public activity in its behalf. The highway trust fund bolstered the Interstate Highway System and the Federal Government has the responsibility for building and operating commercial airports. Rail passenger service, throughout, remain independent of the changing factors which affected its position.

The decline in intercity equipment has more than proportionately reflected the decline in the service itself. The fleet is old and generally tends to be deteriorating at least from the viewpoint of comfort. The last significant orders were delivered in 1956—fourteen years ago. This creates the situation where, even if there is a surplus of equipment for current operations, its age and condition is questionable. Obviously, a public investment program would require a census of equipment using a standard classification schedule.

Our basic objective was to create a desirable level of service, while correcting existing mistakes. We then determined the minimal number of cars which would be needed for this basic system. For the purpose of determining the costs of a program for rehabilitating and replacing the inter-city fleet, we super-imposed existing equipment on the equipment which would be necessary for a basic, desirable level of service. Because it would take up to ten years to completely replace the existing fleet, we assumed a phased five-year program in which to begin rejuvenating inter-city service.

The difficulty in measuring inter-city passengers is carried through in attempting to determine which equipment is used for inter-city travel. Our research, for example,

showed a 5% to 15% difference in the number of inter-city cars derived from two reliable sources—AAR Statistics and the Official Rail Equipment Register. Regardless of the overlapping in counting, it was determined that a sufficient volume of equipment exists to begin a rehabilitation/replacement program.

We assumed that the present level of service, including existing equipment, would be the beginning of a comprehensive upgrading program over an extended period of time. On this basis we established two distinct types of service, depending on the unique demand for each.

Conceptually, short-haul service is based on a deviation from existing inter-city service. The key factor was to avoid extended transportation services connecting a series of cities over long distances. It is based on the concept that rail transportation is more competitive in providing frequent service between two discrete points. Such intensive short-haul services involves creation of city-pair links or routes. It creates a shuttle-type effect, with at least one daily-pair of trains between each city pair.

In order to determine economic demand for the high level of investment required, we assumed a short-haul network based on population concentrations, or Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas with populations in excess of 500,000. Axiomatically, a large proportion of the demand for inter-city travel will come from these areas.

Of approximately fifty-five population centers, excluding Intra-Northeast Corridors, there are some 75 pairs of cities generally 300 miles or less from each other which form the basic passenger network which can be expected to generate competitive demand for train service.

This short-haul intensive service will require at least one daily pair of trains between each city grouping. Since this is the beginning of a rejuvenated network, it may be anticipated that other city-pairs will generate demand for additional daily trains.

The long-haul network is primarily designed for those routes for which there is a unique demand. The New York to Florida route, for instance, can operate daily at a profit. Some of the Western routes, which are operated at higher capacity during the summer months, may require only three-times-a-week service during the winter.

The smallest number of cars required for the basic intensive service networks is 700 coaches, 100 lounges, 300 foodservice and 100 sleepers; totaling 1,200.

(Throughout, we were concerned with main line coaches, diners, lounges, and sleepers. It was assumed there were enough locomotives available and declining mail and baggage uses obviates the need for more headend cars. We also excluded the Northeast corridor because of the existing level of investment.)

Regardless of the source of information, it is obvious there are sufficient numbers of cars in existence—between 4,500 and 5,000 coaches, diners, lounges, and sleepers. Their usable condition, however, is one of the most speculative questions to be asked.

We arbitrarily determined that to be serviceable, some would require light rehabilitation and the majority medium to heavy rehabilitation.

Absolute cost data for inter-city equipment is extremely ambiguous. Existing equipment is anywhere from 15 to 60 years old. Even the newest equipment would likely require \$10,000 to \$70,000 each to rehabilitate. While these costs are low relative to new car costs, after rebuilding it would still be aging equipment. An accelerated applied research program may provide significant improvements in design and facilities for new equipment. Further, it is widely assumed that most equipment physically lasts less than the 25-30 years depreciation allowed for accounting purposes.

With the 1,200 cars needed, and cost of light rehabilitation and medium to heavy rehabilitation, it would require \$50.2 million to rehabilitate only 1,200 cars in the existing fleet.

However, if there is an alternative investment possibility, and there was only total replacement required, assuming 1,200 cars to begin rehabilitating the network, it would take \$345 million to build the new equipment, and we have estimated somewhere approximately \$4 million for a one-year research program.

New equipment costs can only be estimated on the basis of the few coaches built in the last ten years and by comparison with commuter cars now being built. While new cars would be expensive, they would be new and incorporate new configurations developed during the applied research program. In addition, it may be assumed that new equipment would reduce maintenance costs.

We should like to emphasize the perspective both of these cost charts are to be put in. In the first case, they are to form the nucleus of a rejuvenated system and do not represent the total of all passenger equipment which will be necessary over a long-range program.

They are designed for a five year period and are constructed to be alternative, as either individually or in an evolving program where some cars are rehabilitated while new cars are ordered and delivered. This will give the government the option of phasing programs as events develop. Because short-haul intensive service is a departure from existing concepts, we assume the need for departure from complementary components of inter-city service. Short trains incorporating new technologies will probably reduce manpower demands per individual train.

New technologies will also be required if the system is to be rejuvenated. The most current events point to a change in railroad research and development methods. The preponderance of thought in this country has been towards such exotic developments as the tracked air cushion vehicle. A consortium of three North American companies, conversely, recently acquired the rights to a British process which would permit speeds up to 150 m.p.h. on existing track. The important aspect is that it allows high speeds with existing basic configurations.

For these same reasons we suggest an intense one year, \$4 million applied research program.

**TEN CONGRESSMEN JOIN IN  
STATEMENT ON GREECE**

**HON. DON EDWARDS**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, the military dictatorship of Greece stands convicted today before the world by its own action in withdrawing from the Council of Europe. The leaders of that dictatorship, minutes before it faced a verdict by 17 European nations on its acts of torture and oppression, pleaded guilty to those charges by fleeing the scene and the council. Let there be no mistake, the dictatorship recognized it could not afford a verdict from honest men and honest nations.

It is becoming increasingly obvious that the days of this dictatorship are numbered. The earlier worldwide condemnation of its oppressive rule by the European Commission on Human Rights, as well as by the resolution of the NATO

basic mistake to attempt to solve the transportation passenger problems of this country by any single mode. Dr. Nelson, formerly of DOT, has said, "There cannot be effective coordination of transportation at the Federal level so long as the Bureau of Public Roads counts up benefits and costs of highway systems only, and allocates funds for highway construction on that basis; so long as the Federal Aviation Administration reckons benefits and costs of air systems only, and grants funds for airport construction on that basis; so long as the Federal Railroad Administration considers rail systems only and acts on that basis, and so long as the Corps of Engineers totals up benefits and costs of waterway systems only, and expends waterway construction funds on that basis. . . ."

Obviously, development of a national policy is a long range requirement for passenger problems that face us today. Conditions encouraging air and highway travel over the past 20 years have changed considerably in the recent past. Expanding requirements for individual travel have caused a saturation of many of our larger airports and clogged highway access to larger cities during critical periods. Highway accidents and aircraft near misses have caused concern across the country. Real estate in and around our expanding larger cities is either astronomically expensive or not available to meet requirements for future air and highway travel. In the meantime, rail passenger capacity has been drastically curtailed in the past 2 years.

An objective look at all modes of passenger transportation is required as soon as possible so that this nation can meet its requirements for transporting people by establishing a total system which includes all modes and in which each mode complements each other mode without duplication effort. Such a system would provide for meeting all passenger requirements at least cost to the government. It would require an objective reallocation of governmental transportation funds to support the capacity required of each mode. Without the long range objectives of a national policy, problems are handled only on a piecemeal basis and on the basis of solving the problems of each mode separately. This is not to say that all action should be suspended by the government pending an ideal solution to the problem. Some constructive emergency treatment is needed now.

Passenger movement problems are not static. At a point in time where highways and air terminals are facing saturation with projections of increased passenger traffic in the years ahead, we stand at a threshold where rail passenger service is about to be phased out as a future capability if not supported by the government. We should not wait for the ultimate solution of the long range studies which must be made if we are to have any rail passenger service left. Virginia Mae Brown, chairman of the ICC, stated in a letter to Senator Magnuson on 16 July 1969, "The past year has only substantiated our opinion that significant segments of the remaining intercity passenger service, except for service in high density population corridors such as the northeast corridor will not survive the next few years without a major change in Federal or carrier policies."

The causes of deterioration of rail passenger service have been many:

1. Government support of airports and highways with very little to the railroads encouraged movement by air and highway.

2. Declining revenues caused many railroads to lose interest in carrying passengers and resulted in a deterioration of service.

3. The high cost of acquisition of new equipment and the cost of improvement of roadbeds resulted in declining expenditures for capital improvements.

4. Lack of planning by many railroads and lack of a national transportation policy for the movement of people caused deterioration in rail service and diversions to other modes.

5. Approval of discontinuances in isolation without an assessment of the impact of each discontinuance on other rail schedules on a national basis resulted in poor service.

As a result of our three month study, we believe it is the consensus of knowledgeable people in and out of the railroad business that if rail passenger traffic in this country is to continue at all with a level of service acceptable to the public, some kind of public support is required now. An excellent study made by the ICC "Investigation of costs of intercity rail passenger service" published on 16 July 1969 indicates the seriousness of current passenger losses to the railroad industry. Of eight railroads studied, carrying 40 percent of the passenger load, the average loss was fourteen and three-quarter million dollars in 1968. The highest loss for a single railroad was almost 22 million dollars. As a result, railroads cannot be expected to make large capital investments in passenger operations at this time.

Unless our Government embarks on a realistic and immediate solution to the current intercity passenger movement problem, the movement of people will soon become the bottleneck of our expanding economy. Air and road traffic will be super-saturated; rail traffic will be non-existent.

Realistically, the rail mode appears to provide the most promising immediate solution to intercity passenger movement. The railroads do not need more real estate. Their rights of way already provide access to the centers of most cities. Improvement to roadbeds provide freight as well as passenger advantages. They can move masses of people. Resulting air pollution is minimal. The Metroliners already have shown that the public will patronize trains with decent cars and service rather than be subject to the increasingly frequent delays of air traffic on short runs.

If intercity rail passenger traffic is to survive at all, action by this Congress is highly desirable. The rail passenger system needs an immediate transfusion of support if complete collapse is to be circumvented. It is essential that Congress reverse the current trend of discontinuances by providing guidance to the Interstate Commerce Commission, Department of Transportation and the railroads this year and by setting up within the DOT initial funds and an implementing organization which can carry out the desires of the Congress now and in the future.

To that end and to provide a yardstick for your decisions, our study proposes for the first time we believe a basic intercity network which can be used for development of equipment costs now and for an expanded system as needs arise. Historically, each railroad is an island and operates accordingly. We recommend considering all rail passenger traffic as part of a balanced national system. To that end, we hope that our suggestions will provide the Congress with a basis for concrete action this year which will be well within the parameters which long range studies may develop for future action. Any action by you would be a first step in rescuing this important national asset from further deterioration. A national asset for which I am certain there will be increasing demands in the future.

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD D. UNGER, PRESIDENT, FEDERATED CONSULTANTS, INC., WASHINGTON, D.C.

We would like to summarize the results of the study we recently performed for the RAIL Foundation of Washington, D.C.—*A Preliminary Plan for Up-grading the U.S. Inter-City Rail Passenger Fleet*. The study generally

concerned with the current and future status of inter-city rail passenger service in the United States. Specifically, we directed our attention to determining the amount of money that would be required to begin rehabilitating and/or replacing the existing fleet, as the basis of a longer-range program of up-grading the entire fleet.

In view of the many bills before this Congress dealing with inter-city rail passenger service, we would like to direct pertinent parts of our findings to the possibility that there may be public investment in the industry. Such public investment should be approached with the fullest knowledge available and in consideration of all alternatives. To this objective we directed our efforts at examining the major historical mistakes which helped create the present situation, how, if those mistakes are rectified it would set the stage for rejuvenating competitive inter-city service, and the number and cost of equipment for an alternative five-year program to begin up-grading the passenger car fleet.

The decline of inter-city service has taken some twenty years to reach its present low level. Virtually all of the data reflecting this period indicates declines in inter-city service. There are, though, a number of identifiable reasons for the decline; some were induced internally within the industry and some were created externally; it all took place, however, in lieu of a national transportation policy.

The basic cause for the current situation is that inter-city passenger service was not responsive to a shift in demand for it. For some seventy-five years trains were the dominant force of public transportation in this country. Its function varied from trans-continental runs to shorter-haul inter-city runs. Regardless of distance most trains developed as extended, continuous path transport modes, beginning at one point and continuing through a number of other points until it arrived at the end of its journey. Each train was a journey by itself, a process that worked well in the absence of competition.

Over-all, the growth of air and highway travel caused a change in the demand for rail travel. Geographical factors in the West and population in the East combined with competing technologies to precipitate the change. At a time when piston planes then jets were providing trans-continental transportation in hours, trains were still operating every day over six routes to the West Coast. Rigid adherence to daily service in face of declining demand resulted in polarized ridership patterns. Transcontinental routes to the West Coast, for instance, now are most heavily travelled in the summer months, showing 75% capacity utilization for three or four months and 30-40% capacity for the remaining months.

Inter-city service in the more densely populated eastern part of the country declined for more complex reasons. Population became concentrated into metropolitan groupings in all regional subsections of the eastern half of the country. Not only did air and highway travel between these metropolitan areas provide competitively substitutable modes in speed and technology but most importantly did they compete in concept and function. Daily trains still left one city, stopped at numerous others and terminated at another city hundreds of miles away. In the meantime demographic activity was generating a demand for transportation between large metropolitan areas. An increasing volume of travel developed back and forth between the population centers.

At the same time the nation was crisscrossed with standard-gauge tracks. The total number of railroads operating over these tracks, however, was substantial. Railroad passengers, while physically being able to travel virtually anywhere by rail, were faced

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Assembly, had isolated the Greek dictatorship. Within Greece, political leaders of all tendencies have defied the dictatorship's threats of prison and exile to demand the restoration of free elections, democratic rights, and the rule of law. Even that small part of the population which once supported the junta has been alienated by its cruelties and its pervasive corruption, which surfaced so blatantly in the maneuvers surrounding the Onassis-Niarchos competition for an oil refinery. At the same time the incompetence of the dictatorship has undermined the foundations of the Greek economy. Commerce and industry have stagnated, while the country has gone deeper and deeper into debt. The balance-of-payments deficit for the first 7 months of 1969 exceeds that for any previous full year.

The claims of the dictatorship that anarchy and a Communist takeover led it to overthrow the legal government of Greece has been disproven before the nations of the world. But now, through the actions, corruption, oppression, and torture of that dictatorship, anarchy does threaten.

The question today is not whether the dictatorship will fall, but when and how, and what will happen after its departure. For if the fall of the present dictatorship is significantly delayed, and if the dictatorship, by bribes and promises, should still retain enough support in the armed forces to conduct a last ditch resistance, the results could be tragic. Despite the best efforts of Greek democratic leaders to assure the reestablishment of full legal guarantees for all, the pent-up anger of the Greek people at the dictatorship's atrocities might overflow the channels of legality. At the same time, military resistance by the dictatorship would produce large-scale bloodshed as well as horrible destruction to Greece.

To assure a swift and bloodless restoration of democracy and legality, constructive U.S. action at this point is necessary. Above all, it is essential that the United States take steps that will leave no doubt in the minds either of the Greek people or the dictatorship of where this country stands.

In order to convince even those military elements who still back the dictatorship because of the favors they have received and expect from it, the United States should stop immediately the shipment of all military aid, and join with other countries to bar the dictatorship's acquisition of weapons through commercial channels. The United States should recognize the stand of the Council of Europe and should support efforts to suspend Greek membership in NATO until Greece restores the democratic rites which NATO was founded to defend. The suspension of arms deliveries and rapid action by the United States also are necessary because of Papadopoulos' threat to apply for admission to the Warsaw Pact.

The friendship of the Greek people for the United States has been traditional. Today the United States should act because of its friendship and kinship to the Greek people, act by denying the oppressors of Greece arms and support.

In addition to making it clear in these ways that we are the allies of the Greek people and not of their oppressors, the United States could help to effect a peaceful transition from dictatorship to democracy by offering to arrange for the removal to exile of members of the present dictatorship. Such an offer would make it possible for the dictatorship to leave without widespread bloodshed and without facing the penalties it deserves for its crimes. Such an offer should remain open only for a short period of time, for if the transition is to be peaceful it must also be swift. A continuation of the dictatorship can only lead to further bloodshed. The safe removal of the leaders of the dictatorship should be arranged only if it is to avoid bloodshed.

The nightmare in Greece may be coming to an end. The decision on whether it is going to end lies both in Greece and in the United States. Firm action by the United States can help now.

Joining me in this statement are GEORGE BROWN, JR., PHILLIP BURTON, JOHN CONYERS, JR., BOB ECKHARDT, DONALD M. FRASER, ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER, ABNER J. MIKVA, BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL, and WILLIAM F. RYAN.

#### EFFECTS OF WATERSHED PROJECTS ON WILDLIFE

### HON. BENJAMIN B. BLACKBURN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. BLACKBURN. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago all Members of the House received a letter from me concerning the channelization of the Alcovy River in the State of Georgia. At that time, I presented the Members of this House with an article which I wrote for *Field & Stream* magazine showing the adverse effects that channelization has upon wildlife.

Since that time a number of Members have requested additional information concerning the adverse effects of watershed projects upon wildlife. For the information of my colleagues, I am hereby inserting several articles which have come to my attention which I believe will answer any questions on this subject:

STATEMENT ON SMALL WATERSHED PROJECTS BEFORE THE GEORGIA GAME AND FISH COMMISSION, ATLANTA, GA., MARCH 20, 1969

(By C. Edward Carlsen, regional director, Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, Atlanta, Ga.)

Gentlemen, I am honored to sit with you today to discuss a matter of mutual concern, the continuing despoliation of fish and wildlife habitat. This is but one example of environmental degradation which is going on at an ever-accelerating pace all around us. Air pollution, water pollution, estuarine destruction, urban sprawl are the prices we pay for the cultural developments accompanying our burgeoning human population.

Some are inclined to condone all our abuses of the planet as the cost of *Progress*. I disagree with that philosophy and so does everyone who has taken time to analyze the situation. An awakening public is beginning to appreciate that a check-rein on racehorse

exploitation and growth is both a good and a necessary thing, for we have come to realize that conservative management of our environment is essential to the survival of the human race.

Conservation of the fish and wildlife resource is a significant element of the whole. Fish and wildlife are part of the web of life. They are indicators of a healthy environment which grows a healthy people. That, gentlemen, pinpoints our role and responsibility in the scheme of things.

I remember with fondness the waterfowl and squirrel hunting the Alcovy supplied 10 and more years ago, but in the year and a half I have been back in Georgia I have not had the opportunity to become reacquainted with the area. Therefore, I am not going to talk about the Alcovy project per se. I am not adequately familiar with it. I do, however, wish to support Director Bagby's statement concerning the time schedule as it relates to the project. My record shows that we received the watershed data sheets on July 12, 1968. And I do desire to apprise the honorable Representative Sorrels that streambottom hardwoods are indeed choice waterfowl habitat. There are two broad groups of ducks, diving ducks and puddle ducks. The diving ducks are the ones he was referring to which require a "runway" for take-off. The puddle ducks take off like quail and I am sure you are familiar with them.

I wish to spend the few available minutes in talking about stream manipulation projects, and in particular channelization and drainage features which destroy or set the stage for the destruction of fish and wildlife habitat.

Stream modification projects have destroyed between three and four million acres of bottomland hardwoods of significance to waterfowl in the last 20 years in the Southeast alone. In contrast, gentlemen, we have acquired only 158,751 acres of wintering ground habitat for waterfowl from 1948 to 1968 in Region 4 and it has cost \$12,043,325 from our Duck Stamp Funds in the process.

Let me say immediately that not all of these losses have been caused by P.L. 566 projects. Public Works activities authorized by the Congress have also been involved. In some cases these and P.L. 566 projects have been intermeshed on the same stream, one complementing the other. However, the net result has been the same, alteration of fish and wildlife habitat.

[From *Economic Geography*, Vol. 29, No. 3, July 1953]

SETTLEMENT CONTROL BEATS FLOOD CONTROL (Presented before the Association of American Geographers at Cleveland, March 31, 1953, by Walter M. Kollmorgen, chairman of the Department of Geography, University of Kansas)

In the Kansas River Basin, as well as in many other river basins, there is an urgent need for alternative plans dealing with flood problems. Such plans should be submitted to the public for acceptance or rejection, and they should be submitted with revealing price tags. Under present procedure, the public is confronted with a one-or-nothing program and the proposed program is likely to be extravagant in financial cost as well as in land cost, i.e., land destroyed by permanent flooding. Geographers and other technicians could be very helpful to engineers with a dam-building complex by exploring alternative arrangements to reduce flood losses and translating these various arrangements into plans for public consideration.

#### FLOODPLAIN CANNIBALISM

Present programs for bringing some measure of flood protection to the Kansas River Basin—and also certain other basins—by the construction of a multiplicity of dams repre-



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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—Extensions of Remarks December 12, 1969

sent an interesting form of floodplain cannibalism. This cannibalism results in part from the common misconception that flood control means control of floods. Since no scheme yet devised will control floods in the Midwest, the tantalizing mirage of "flood control" must lead to a multiplication of dam structures until major portions of our prized alluvial valleys lie buried under a stair-step series of lakes.

Equally interesting is the fact that irreplaceable farm land is being cannibalized by replaceable sites for urban developments. During the 1951 flood, according to the Corps of Engineers, about 90 per cent (\$479,000,000) of the damages experienced along the main stem of the Kansas River occurred in urban areas. It is this large urban loss which is now cited to justify the greatly expanded dam-building program in the Kansas River Basin. To bring a greater measure of protection to these urban areas it is proposed to flood permanently from 150,000 to 200,000 acres of the best agricultural lands in eastern Kansas or in lowlands adjacent to the Kansas River. Flooding these large tracts of lowlands will also blight the economy of many miles of adjacent uplands which are or should be in grass. These lowlands supply large amounts of concentrated feeds to supplement the forage of the uplands. It follows that the present plan of controlling floods is nothing less than a Rube Goldberg dream and one with a frightful price tag.

Let us try to gauge the nature of the appetite of the carnivore many propose to liberate in our floodplains. In 1944 the Pick Plan recommended an expenditure of somewhat less than one billion dollars to bring a reasonable measure of flood protection to the entire Missouri Basin (House Document No. 475). Since then and particularly since 1951 the flood control plans for the Kansas River Basin alone have been so extended and elaborated that in extent, with the result that much of the hill land and slope land has a thin veneer of soil. The Flint Hills of Kansas extending north-south of Topeka and Manhattan are an extreme example of this kind of land. Here lie thousands of acres of land with only a few inches of soil and soil material on a very shallow bedrock. Much of the remaining land has a hardpan within a foot of the surface and bedrock at a depth of two to three feet. This land already presents a serious problem in management because of the tendency to overplow and overgraze. Flooding a third of the floodplain lying in this area will create an almost insoluble problem in soil conservation. Many hundreds of upland grazing units within the area will lose a dependable supply of concentrated feeds. In combination, these changes mean more overgrazing, more overplowing, more small, uneconomic farming units, and, most of all, more devastating erosion. These geographic changes seem to be completely ignored by the Army Engineers and also big city pressure groups, who seem to be totally ignorant of where their food comes from and what gives them employment. It is urgent and even imperative that in the problem we face, structural engineering become the handmaiden of geographic engineering if we are to go forward rather than backward in a resource conservation effort. The tragedy of the Pick-Sloan Plan is that it destroys more wealth than it creates, and it achieves this by squandering several billions of dollars of public money.

## COST-BENEFIT CLARIFICATION AND RECTIFICATION

It is submitted that geographers and other technicians can make a basic contribution to all water-control and water-management programs by scrutinizing and rectifying a weird structure of fairyland economics generally referred to as cost-benefits ratios. This structure has become particularly complicated with the advent of the multiple bene-

fits concept. By magnifying one or several real or imagined benefits, almost any kind of engineering monuments can now be justified. This is particularly true of non-reimbursable benefits because beneficiaries make no special payments for projects developed and so no account can go into the red. If beneficiaries would be required to reimburse the federal Treasury for many of or most of the benefits listed on water-control programs, the entire program would shrink to size and sense overnight.

From the standpoint of landforms and soils, floods have a constructive as well as a destructive side. This should be, but is not, reflected in flood-loss estimates. Consider, for example, the major and unusual flood in the Kansas River Basin in 1951. Some alluvium deposits improved terrain and drainage; other deposits made for an improved soil structure after shallow or deep plowing. Still other deposits of proper texture will prove of value in that they increase the inventory of certain plant foods. Let us briefly consider some of these constructive processes.

Prior to the flood, some floodplain farmland was uneven in elevation, possibly with pockets of water, wet spots or seepage spots. Drainage problems may have made for some waste land or land marginal for farming. The fill or deposits left by the flood obliterated some of the uneven terrain and greatly improved the drainage. Examples of this are not difficult to find. A friend of mine remarked that before the flood he valued his land at \$300 per acre, but after the flood he valued it at \$400 per acre because fill of proper textured material had solved all drainage problems and removed all waste land. Here is an example of where an inventory of flood losses should also include an inventory of flood gain.

Another flood gain that was not uncommon was the deposit of sandy material of limited depth over fine-textured gumbo land. Gumbo land presents problems in management, drainage, and crop production. Several inches of sand deposits can readily be plowed into a gumbo soil, and in combination this mixture greatly improves the working qualities and productivity of the soil. Even deposits of sandy material from 12 to about 24 inches deep were mixed with formerly exposed soil material by deep plowing, that is, plowing three to four feet deep. Plowing at a depth of about three feet cost about \$30 per acre. This expense was associated with the flood loss and was therefore largely paid for by the government. Now it develops that these deep-plowed fields yielded about 20 bushels more corn per acre than the shallow-plowed fields which had little or no fill or deposits. The result is that plans are now underway to deep-plow other fields with little or no deposits to rejuvenate them or to increase their productivity. In other words, increased yields from many deep-plowed fields in one year paid for this special operation and there are those who believe that deep plowing may become a standard practice in the floodplain to increase soil productivity. Here is another benefit that was not listed to partly offset the flood losses.

It is not necessary here to dwell on the value of new alluvium of proper texture. For several thousands of years these new deposits made a garden spot of the Nile Valley. Now that dams are regulating more and more the flow of that stream and the silt remains behind the dams, Egypt is rapidly approaching productivity and fertilizer problems. Cotton also yields a shorter staple and a more brittle fiber. Closer to home we have the example of the Missouri River floodplain between St. Joseph, Mo., and Sioux City, Iowa. In 1952 farmers in that floodplain boasted some of the best corn and soybean yields they ever experienced—early in the year

their lands were flooded and new alluvium was deposited. The flood losses were given wide publicity; the high yields that followed have hardly been noted. Here again, only the losses are stressed and magnified, partly to justify big engineering works.

That too much stress has been given to land destruction is well indicated in news releases by agricultural specialists at Kansas State College, Manhattan. Under the date of Sept. 11, 1951, Manhattan, Kansas, comes this news item:

"Flood a Soil Aid—K-State Scientist Says Most of the Kaw Valley Will Produce Better as a Result—Can Build Up the Sand—Only Loamy Earth Is Damaged by Deposits—Some Drainage Problems Erased.

"A Kansas State College soil scientist says a large part of the land flooded by the Kansas river in July will produce better crops in the future because of the flood.

"Describing the popular conception of soil damage as 'grossly exaggerated,' Harry C. Atkinson, associate professor of soils, said the sandy soil many persons think is ruined will be the best sweet potato and watermelon land in the valley within a short time.

"Atkinson and W. A. Badgley, USDA soil scientist, have been surveying the north side of the Kansas river from Wamego to Lawrence since April. They have run a spot survey of the north valley from Wamego to Lawrence, but will not complete their detailed survey until 1952.

"Atkinson said it is too early to give figures, but he estimated that only 10 to 20 per cent of the severely flooded land on which all crops were lost has been damaged by the flood.

"The other 80 to 90 per cent, he said, eventually will yield better crops.

"Pictures the college has of sand deposits after the 1903 flood show they now are part of land that is selling for \$400 to \$600 an acre, Atkinson said.

"Once the sandy soil is built up with organic material it will produce alfalfa, sweet potatoes, corn and other crops—the same as the 1903 sandbars have been doing consistently, he said.

"Sand deposits on loam soil are detrimental, he continued, but sand on sand makes no change in the ability of the soil to produce. Sand on clay is beneficial so far as workability of the land is concerned.

"We've heard nothing but bad news from the flood," he said. "Besides enriching a large part of the river valley land, it filled in some low spots that were formerly drainage problems. Now they will drain off."

"Where raging water scoured and cut away top soil, it definitely lowered the productivity and the value of the soil, he said, but those washed away spots are not completely sterile and will produce lighter crops.

"Atkinson's survey shows much of the flooded land is richer with elements needed for crop production than it was before the flood. There is little or no need for fertilizers except on land with heavy sand deposits, he said, and they need nitrogen added." (Kansas City Times, Sept. 12, 1951.)

The foregoing estimate, it should be noted, comes from a soil scientist who was in the process of studying the flooded lands.

Present methods of figuring cost benefits also do not make allowances for the disturbed hydrological conditions which follow the impounding of large bodies of water in floodplains. Suppose a dam about 100 feet high is thrown across a floodplain and impounds a lake with a depth somewhat less than 100 feet. Ground-water conditions will be disturbed for many miles above the upper part of the lake and deterioration of land will follow. Moreover, the stream debauching into the lake will have its gradient disturbed, will drop part of its sediment before it reaches the lake, and will experience a rapid process of aggradation. Before long it

December 11, 1969

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE

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U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND  
CIVIL SERVICE,  
Washington, D.C., December 8, 1969.

HON. ARNOLD OLSEN,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I am enclosing a report from Mr. Dulski which I complied at his instructions and which deals with your voting record on the matter of postal rates from the time you began service on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee. Chairman Dulski has reviewed this report and approved it in its entirety.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES E. JOHNSON,  
Chief Counsel and Staff Director.

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND  
CIVIL SERVICE,  
Washington, D.C., December 8, 1969.

## MEMORANDUM

To: Chairman Thaddeus J. Dulski.  
From: Charles E. Johnson, Chief Counsel and Staff Director.

Subject: Record of Representative Arnold Olsen on Postal Rates Applicable to Third-Class (Advertising) Mail.

The official records of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service disclose that Representative Olsen, throughout his tenure in the Congress, has voted consistently in support of legislation to increase postage charges for the mailing of bulk third-class (advertising) mail matter.

The official records of the House of Representatives, as contained in the Congressional Record, disclose similar support by Mr. Olsen in votes in the House of Representatives.

## THE 1961 POSTAL RATE INCREASE BILL

During the Committee executive sessions on the official recommendation of former Postmaster General J. Edward Day for general postal rate adjustments in August and September of 1961, the Committee had before it for official consideration H.R. 7927, in accordance with unanimous agreement shown in the minutes of Executive Session No. 13, August 17, 1961.

H.R. 7927 included, among other matters, an increase from 2½ cents to 3 cents in the minimum charge per piece for regular bulk third-class (advertising) mailings.

In Executive Session No. 17, on September 6, 1961, Mr. Lesinski offered, as a general amendment to H.R. 7927, the provisions of H.R. 9052. H.R. 9052 included, among other matters, provision for continuing the then-existing minimum charge per piece of 2½ cents for regular bulk third-class mailings, with only two exceptions. The minimum charge was to be 3 cents for any bulk third-class mail on which "time value" (preferential) service was requested by the mailer and on any such mail that was not addressed to a specific individual address.

The effect of this provision in H.R. 9052, therefore, was to provide no minimum per piece increase in a very large proportion of third-class bulk mailings.

The official Committee minutes of Executive Session No. 18, on September 7, 1961, disclose that, on the record vote on adoption of the Lesinski Amendment (including the softened bulk third-class minimum charge per piece), Representative Olsen voted *No*.

A no vote, of course, was in support of the original provision of H.R. 7927, to fix the minimum charge per piece for all regular bulk third-class mailings at 3 cents, as recommended by former Chairman Tom Murray.

H.R. 7927, as amended, was reported by the Committee to the House of Representatives.

## H.R. 7927 IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The Congressional Record discloses the following with respect to consideration of the Rule (H. Res. 464)—which, had it been adopted, would have provided for House con-

sideration of H.R. 7927 as reported from the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

On September 15, 1961, a Member of the House Committee on Rules, by direction of that Committee, called up House Resolution 464 and asked for its immediate consideration.

House Resolution 464 provided for the consideration of H.R. 7927 under a *closed rule*, waiving points of order, with two hours of general debate.

The effect of the proposed closed rule was that H.R. 7927, as reported from the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, would be subject to no amendments and, therefore, would have to be voted up or down.

At the conclusion of debate on H. Res. 464, the previous question was ordered and, on a record vote, Representative Olsen voted *No*.

The effect of a no vote in that case was to kill the proposed "closed rule," and open the way for presentation of an "open rule," under which H.R. 7927 would be open for amendments.

Immediately thereafter, a Member of the Committee on Rules offered an amendment to House Resolution 464 to provide for consideration of H.R. 7927 under an "open rule." The open rule was agreed to on a voice vote.

On January 23, 1962, H.R. 7927 was called up in the House of Representatives and Chairman Tom Murray offered a substitute to restore all major provisions of the bill as originally introduced.

During the debate on the Murray substitute, Representative Olsen said:

"Now, I think that \* \* \* the bill now before us [the Murray substitute] does not increase second or third class as much as perhaps it ought to." (Congressional Record January 23, 1962, Page H646)

The Murray substitute proposed raising the 2½ cent bulk third-class minimum per piece charge from 2½ cents to 3 cents. It was amended by the House to raise the rate to 3½ cents (Congressional Record January 23, 1962, Page H664). This amendment was adopted on a voice vote. It was not opposed by Mr. Olsen under the five minute rule.

## THE 1967 POSTAL RATE INCREASE BILL

Representative Olsen was elected Chairman of the standing Subcommittee on Postal Rates for the 90th Congress.

The former Postmaster General on April 5, 1967, submitted Executive Communication No. 610, a general postal rate increase proposal.

Chairman Dulski on the same date introduced H.R. 7977, to carry out the Postmaster General's proposal.

Subcommittee Chairman Olsen held public hearings on 21 separate hearing dates, during the period May 9 to June 28, 1967, and heard more than 100 witnesses.

The Olsen Subcommittee then held 7 executive sessions during the period July 12 to July 27, and voted to report H.R. 7977 with a number of major improvements made by the Olsen substitute, offered in the first executive session.

The general effect of the Olsen substitute was to provide substantially greater revenues than would have resulted from the Postmaster General's official recommendation. The Olsen substitute specifically included increases in all third-class mailing rates as recommended by the Postmaster General.

At the conclusion of the Subcommittee executive sessions, the Subcommittee unanimously approved a formal motion by the Ranking Minority Member commending Chairman Olsen on his extremely able and fair handling of this legislation in the public interest.

The full Post Office and Civil Service Committee took up the Olsen Subcommittee general rate increase bill, H.R. 7977, and completed action on it after 17 executive sessions,

extending over the period from August 9 to September 21, 1967.

The first official action in the first such executive session was a motion by Mr. Olsen that the full Committee report H.R. 7977, as reported by his Subcommittee—including all third-class rate adjustments requested by the Postmaster General.

At one session (August 16) Mr. Olsen successfully opposed an amendment that would have struck out of his Subcommittee bill a requirement that "bills and statements of account produced by electronic data processing equipment" must pay first-class postage. Mr. Olsen offered a substitute to that amendment, specifying that all bills and statements of account must pay first-class postage when mailed, regardless of how they are produced. The Olsen substitute carried on a close record vote.

H.R. 7977, after being perfected by the Olsen subcommittee and the full Committee, provided for gross annual postal revenue increases totaling \$884.1 million—\$59.2 million more than the \$824.9 million requested by the Postmaster General.

H.R. 7977 was called up in the House of Representatives October 10, 1967. Mr. Olsen strongly supported the bill, including the entire third-class mail recommendations of the Postmaster General, during the debate (Congressional Record October 10, 1967, Pages H13131-H13133).

An amendment was offered by Mr. Hechler (Page H13153) to increase the regular bulk third-class minimum charge per piece from 3.8 cents, as provided in the Committee bill, to 4.5 cents. During the debate under the five minute rule, Mr. Hechler asked unanimous consent to proceed for an additional five minutes. He was supported in this request by Mr. Olsen (Page H13217, Congressional Record October 11, 1967).

A substitute amendment by Mr. Anderson of Illinois (Page H13219) to provide a three-phase increase in the minimum charge per piece—3.2 cents, 3.6 cents, and 3.8 cents in three successive years—was opposed by Mr. Olsen (Pages H13220-H13221) and he strongly supported the Committee bill.

The Anderson substitute was defeated, 69 to 145, on a teller vote (Page H13230). The amendment by Mr. Hechler was defeated, 64 to 147, on a division (Page H13230).

CHARLES E. JOHNSON,  
Chief Counsel and Staff Director.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. MILLER) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. MILLER of Ohio asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

[Mr. MILLER of Ohio addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

ME

## REPORT ON TRIP TO GREECE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WILLIAMS) is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, during the August 1969 recess of the House, my wife, and I, in company with other Congressmen and their wives, attended the annual convention of the Pan-Arcadian Federation of America in Athens, Greece. Our visit to Athens also gave us the opportunity of visiting other parts of Greece.

Prior to our departure for Greece we were familiar with the takeover of the

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Greek Government by the military junta. We had read about alleged atrocities and torture of the Greek people by the present Government under the military junta, and we had read about bombings in some public places in Greece. We were generally under the impression that the country of Greece was in a rather vise-like grip of a military government.

We flew directly to Athens from John F. Kennedy Airport in New York and landed in Athens at approximately 2 p.m. in the afternoon, Athens' time. We were expedited through customs at the beautiful new Athens Airport and we were directed to the restaurant area for a reception in our honor. Assistant Prime Minister Constantine Yovollinis was our host at the reception and the reception was adequately covered by the various news media.

Subsequent to the reception we proceeded to the Grand Bretagne Hotel on Constitution Square. We stayed at this hotel during our entire time in Greece and we found the accommodations to be excellent and this hotel had a most gracious atmosphere with excellent service.

During our stay in Greece we visited all of the historical spots in and around Athens. We found the Acropolis to be most interesting and informative. We were surprised to learn for the first time that the Parthenon had survived in excellent condition until the latter part of the 18th century when, at a time when Greece was occupied by the Turks, the Turks used the Parthenon as a storage place for gun powder. The Venetians were attacking the Turks and a Venetian artillery shell went through the roof of the Parthenon and exploded the gun powder. Thus, more damage was caused to the Parthenon in a few seconds than had occurred down through the centuries.

We found the Greek people to be extremely friendly, industrious, and courteous, and we made many friends in Greece. Mr. Christ Mitchell, president of the Pan-Arcadian Federation of America, made certain that our visit to Greece was most enjoyable.

We all had complete freedom of movement in Greece and no members or units of the military were in evidence, other than a few servicemen on leave. This was, of course, exactly the contrary to what we had been led to believe. Also, there is no section of Athens in which people cannot move with complete safety at any hour of the day or night.

We spent 1 day on the island of Crete and visited Khania and a NATO base in the immediate vicinity of Khania. We also visited Iraklion and the Minoan archeological site immediately south of Iraklion. It is at the Minoan archeological site that the palace of the Minos kings has been excavated and partially restored. This palace dates back to approximately 1400 B.C. and is reputed to be the birthplace of modern civilization.

We also spent some time visiting the various Greek islands, such as Idra and Spetse, and we traveled by hydrofoil boat and cruise ship. We found the islands to be beautiful and picturesque. The Greek people use these islands as resort and vacation areas.

During our stay in Greece we had an opportunity to talk to hundreds of Greek people. Many of these people spoke English and we were even able to converse with Greeks who did not speak English as two of the Congressmen who accompanied us spoke Greek and we always had some Pan-Arcadian Federation members with us who also spoke Greek. We found the overwhelming opinion to be that the present Greek Government is doing an excellent job for the people of that country. The lot of the people of Greece is steadily improving and the present Greek Government has instituted some long-needed reforms. The progress in Greece is readily apparent through the large amount of construction that is taking place in every section of Greece that we visited.

Also, during our stay in Greece we had an opportunity to talk to George Papadopoulos, Prime Minister; Stylianos Pattakos, First Deputy Prime Minister; and Nickolas Makarezos, Minister of Economic Coordination. These men are the former Greek Army colonels who formed the military junta which took over the Greek Government in 1967.

We spent approximately 1½ hours discussing conditions in Greece with Prime Minister Papadopoulos. From our frank discussion with him we learned of the steps that the Greek Government is taking to strengthen Greece and to maintain it as a free nation. The reforms which the Greek Government is effecting are as follows:

First, a complete reorganization of the administration with training courses to improve the ability of all civil servants;

Second, an acceleration of the economic and industrial growth in Greece and a better economic return to the farmers;

Third, a more fair distribution of the tax burden with high income families and companies paying, for the first time, their fair share of taxes;

Fourth, social services such as social insurance, welfare, and medical care are now being provided to all Greek citizens with the same retirement benefits for everyone. Prior to this reform, some Greek citizens were drawing an annual pension of 100,000 drachmas after only contributing one-half of 1 percent of their salaries. While other Greek workers had to pay 18 percent of their wages in order to get an annual pension of 2,000 drachmas. Also, hospital units and health stations are being established throughout Greece. Formerly, the hospitals and health stations were concentrated in the Athens area.

Fifth, the entire Greek educational system has been vastly improved.

Sixth, the debts owed to the Government by all farmers have been forgiven.

During our discussion with Prime Minister Papadopoulos he expressed his determination to have free elections in Greece at the earliest practical date. He stressed that the difficulties in Greece which his government is attempting to overcome developed over many years and had greatly weakened Greece. In order to see that Greece is maintained as a strong country the reforms which are being put into effect must be producing results be-

fore free elections can be held. Therefore, the Prime Minister stressed that he could not tell us exactly when free elections would be held in Greece.

When questioned about the reports of the torture of some Greek political prisoners, the Prime Minister vigorously denied them. I later learned that Congressman ROMAN PUCINSKI had visited the Island of Yaros where the prisoners were supposed to have been tortured and actually talked to the political prisoners through the Greek speaking U.S. consul. I checked with Congressman PUCINSKI upon my return to Washington and learned that he had found no evidence of any torture of prisoners, even though he had talked to the prisoners himself. Congressman PUCINSKI also informed me that the political prisoners had not even been subjected to any mistreatment at all.

While we were in Athens the U.S. 6th Fleet put into the harbor and we saw many American sailors enjoying the sights of Athens. It is interesting to note that Athens is the only port available to the U.S. 6th Fleet in the Western Mediterranean as the Turks will not permit our fleet to use the Turkish ports. This points up the fact that Greece is a most important NATO ally of this country and one of the few countries that we could rely on in that section of the world in case of any difficulty.

It is generally recognized that Greece is the cradle of democracy. However, the Greek Government that was overthrown in 1967 was anything but a democracy. Rather, it was a strong monarchy form of government.

King Constantine remained in Greece under the administration of the military junta with full pay and all other forms of remunerations for the entire royal family. Just before the referendum on the new Greek Constitution, King Constantine attempted a countercoup in an effort to overthrow the military junta. When the countercoup failed, King Constantine and his family fled to Rome where they are now living in self-imposed exile. The present Greek Government continues to pay the royal family, and King Constantine and his family have a standing invitation to return to Athens, in complete safety, at any time.

Under the old Greek Constitution the King was designated as "supreme head of the state." He was commander of the Armed Forces and had the power to declare war. Also, he was authorized to enter into most types of treaties without the consent of Parliament.

Under the old Constitution the King could appoint and dismiss his ministers as he saw fit, and the King could veto any law passed by the Parliament. The King's failure to publish any such law within 2 months from the end of a parliamentary session caused the law to become null and void.

The new Greek Constitution approved by referendum on September 29, 1968, provides that the Council of Ministers must propose a declaration of war and that the King's treaty-making power can be limited by law. The new Constitution provides that the King's veto of any law passed by the Parliament may be



overridden by a vote of the majority of Parliament and the King can only dismiss his government if it does not enjoy the confidence of Parliament.

This new Constitution also contains many other desirable provisions and can be the vehicle through which Greece will achieve a truly democratic form of government. Various sections of the new Constitution have already been placed into effect and the present Greek Government is constantly placing more sections of the new Constitution in effect.

Prior to the takeover of the Greek Government by the present regime, the strength of communism was steadily increasing in Greece. The reforms which the present government is placing in effect are strengthening Greece to a point where the people of Greece will be able to adequately govern themselves and have the ability to resist outside influences such as communism.

From my observations in Greece, I am confident that these conditions will be established in the near future and that the Government of Greece will become a true democracy.

In the meantime it is my considered opinion that we must be patient with the present Greek Government and make every effort to assist it in the accomplishment of its objectives.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. LUKENS) is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. LUKENS addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GONZALEZ) is recognized for 10 minutes.

[Mr. GONZALEZ addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

#### COLOMBIA COLLECTING MATERIAL TO DEFEND ITS INTERESTS IN PANAMA CANAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. FLOOD) is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, information of unquestionable reliability has been received that the Colombian Government has been, and still is, collecting authoritative books and documents relating to the Panama Canal, including statements in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Diplomats from other Latin American countries consider that this development is highly significant.

In the Thomson-Urrutia Treaty of 1914-22 Colombia, the sovereign of the isthmus before the Panama Revolution of 1903, recognized that the title of the Panama Canal and Railroad, is vested "entirely and absolutely" in the United States of America without any encumbrances or indemnities whatsoever. The United States, in return, granted in this treaty important rights to Colombia, in-

cluding toll-free transit of the Panama Canal for Colombian "troops, materials of war, and ships of war," and the use of the Panama Railroad in the event of interruption of ship transit.

In the negotiations between the United States and Panama following the 1964 Panamanian mob attacks on the Canal Zone for three recently proposed new canal treaties, which were never signed, the negotiators completely ignored the treaty rights of Colombia and that country has protested that it would defend its rights. Also the treaty interests of Great Britain under the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty were similarly disregarded. These are among the factors that led more than 100 Members of this body in the present session to introduce identical resolutions opposing any surrender by the United States of its sovereign rights over the Panama Canal to any other nation or to any international organization—House Resolution 592, 593, 594, and so forth.

In connection with the ignoring of U.S. treaty obligations, it is important to know that the Panama Canal Reorganization Act of 1950—Public Law 841, 81st Congress—included in section 12, subparagraph 412(d) the following:

The levy of tolls is subject to the provisions of Section 1 of Article III of the treaty between the United States of America and Great Britain concluded on November 18, 1901, of Articles XVIII and XIX of the convention between the United States of America and the Republic of Panama concluded on November 18, 1903, and of Article I of the Treaty between the United States of America and the Republic of Colombia proclaimed on March 30, 1922.

In view of the facts previously enumerated, it is clear that Colombia is preparing to defend its vital interests in the Panama Canal that were ignored in the recent treaty negotiations with Panama and, at the appropriate time, to enter the controversy.

The facts also emphasize the importance for the United States, in all its actions concerning the Panama Canal, to be legally correct and not to ignore or disregard the vital treaty rights of other nations or of interoceanic commerce. Anyone who thinks that Colombia will surrender its treaty rights as regards the Panama Canal and Railroad is a "babe in treaty land."

Because the terms of the Thomson-Urrutia Treaty between the United States and Colombia and the obligations of our country thereunder are not as well known as the provisions of the other two canal treaties, I quote the full text of the treaty with Colombia, together with the notice of its publication and protocol of exchange, as follows:

[Treaty series, No. 661]

#### TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND COLOMBIA: SETTLEMENT OF DIFFERENCES BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA—A PROCLAMATION

Whereas a Treaty between the United States of America and the Republic of Colombia, for the settlement of their differences arising out of the events which took place on the Isthmus of Panama in November, 1903, was concluded by their respective Plenipotentiaries at Bogota on the sixth day of April in the year one thousand nine hundred and

fourteen, which Treaty, in the English and Spanish languages, and as amended by the Senate of the United States, is word for word as follows:

Treaty between the United States of America and the Republic of Colombia for the settlement of their differences arising out of the events which took place on the Isthmus of Panama in November 1903.

The United States of America and the Republic of Colombia, being desirous to remove all the misunderstandings growing out of the political events in Panama in November 1903; to restore the cordial friendship that formerly characterized the relations between the two countries, and also to define and regulate their rights and interests in respect of the interoceanic canal which the Government of the United States has constructed across the Isthmus of Panama, have resolved for this purpose to conclude a Treaty and have accordingly appointed as their Plenipotentiaries:

His Excellency the President of the United States of America, Thaddeus Austin Thomson, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Government of the Republic of Colombia; and

His Excellency the President of the Republic of Colombia, Francisco José Urrutia, Minister for Foreign Affairs; Marco Fidel Suárez, First Designate to exercise the Executive Power; Nicolás Esguerra, Ex-Minister of State; José María González Valencia, Senator; Rafael Uribe Uribe, Senator; and Antonio José Uribe, President of the House of Representatives;

Who, after communicating to each other their respective full powers, which were found to be in due and proper form, have agreed upon the following:

#### Article I

The Republic of Colombia shall enjoy the following rights in respect to the interoceanic Canal and the Panama Railway, the title to which is now vested entirely and absolutely in the United States of America, without any incumbrances or indemnities whatever.

1.—The Republic of Colombia shall be at liberty at all times to transport through the interoceanic Canal its troops, materials of war and ships of war, without paying any charges to the United States.

2.—The products of the soil and industry of Colombia passing through the Canal, as well as the Colombian mails, shall be exempt from any charge or duty other than those to which the products and mails of the United States may be subject. The products of the soil and industry of Colombia, such as cattle, salt and provisions, shall be admitted to entry in the Canal Zone, and likewise in the Island and mainland occupied or which may be occupied by the United States as auxiliary and accessory thereto, without paying other duties or charges than those payable by similar products of the United States.

3.—Colombian citizens crossing the Canal Zone shall, upon production of proper proof of their nationality, be exempt from every toll, tax or duty to which citizens of the United States are not subject.

4.—Whenever traffic by the Canal is interrupted or whenever it shall be necessary for any other reason to use the railway, the troops, materials of war, products and mails of the Republic of Colombia, as above mentioned, shall, be transported on the Railway between Ancon and Cristobal or on any other Railway substituted therefor, paying only the same charges and duties as are imposed upon the troops, materials of war, products and mails of the United States. The officers, agents and employees of the Government of Colombia shall, upon production of proper proof of their official character or their employment, also be entitled to passage on the said Railway on the same terms as officers, agents and employees of the Government of the United States.

5.—Coal, petroleum and sea salt, being the products of Colombia, for Colombian consumption passing from the Atlantic coast of Colombia to any Colombian port on the Pacific coast, and vice-versa, shall, whenever traffic by the canal is interrupted, be transported over the aforesaid Railway free of any charge except the actual cost of handling and transportation, which shall not in any case exceed one half of the ordinary freight charges levied upon similar products of the United States passing over the Railway and in transit from one port to another of the United States.

#### Article II

The Government of the United States of America agrees to pay to the City of Washington to the Republic of Colombia the sum of twenty-five million dollars, gold, United States money, as follows: The sum of five million dollars shall be paid within six months after the exchange of ratifications of the present treaty, and reckoning from the date of that payment, the remaining twenty million dollars shall be paid in four annual installments of five million dollars each.

#### Article III

The Republic of Colombia recognizes Panama as an independent nation and, taking as a basis the Colombian Law of June 9, 1855, agrees that the boundary shall be the following: From Cape Tiburon to the headwaters of the Rio de la Miel and following the mountain chain by the ridge of Gardi to the Sierra de Chugargun and that of Mali going down by the ridges of Nigue to the heights of Aspave and from thence to a point on the Pacific half way between Cocalito and La Ardita.

In consideration of this recognition, the Government of the United States will, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present Treaty, take the necessary steps in order to obtain from the Government of Panama the despatch of a duly accredited agent to negotiate and conclude with the Government of Colombia a Treaty of Peace and Friendship, with a view to bring about both the establishment of regular diplomatic relations between Colombia and Panama and the adjustment of all questions of pecuniary liability between the two countries, in accordance with recognized principles of law and precedents.

#### Article IV

The present Treaty shall be approved and ratified by the High Contracting Parties in conformity with their respective laws, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged in the city of Bogota, as soon as may be possible.

In faith, whereof, the said Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty in duplicate and have hereunto affixed their respective seals.

Done at the city of Bogota, the sixth day of April in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and fourteen.

THADDEUS AUSTIN THOMSON.  
FRANCISCO JOSE URRUTIA.  
MARCO FIDEL SUAREZ.  
NICOLAS ESGUERRA.  
JOSE M. GONZALEZ VALENCIA.  
RAFAEL URIBE URIBE.  
ANTONIO JOSE URIBE.

And whereas the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States to the ratification of the said Treaty was given also with the "understanding, to be made a part of such treaty and ratification, that the provisions of section 1 of Article I of the treaty granting to the Republic of Colombia free passage through the Panama Canal for its troops, materials of war and ships of war, shall not apply in case of war between the Republic of Colombia and any other country";

And whereas the said Treaty as amended by the Senate and the above recited under-

standing of the Senate made a part of such Treaty have been duly ratified on both parts, and the ratifications of the two Governments were exchanged at Bogota on the first day of March, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two;

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Warren G. Harding, President of the United States of America, have caused the said Treaty, as amended, and the said understanding, made a part thereof, to be made public, to the end that the same and every article and clause thereof may be observed and fulfilled with good faith by the United States and the citizens thereof.

In Testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this thirtieth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-sixth.

WARREN G. HARDING.

By the President:

CHARLES E. HUGHES,  
Secretary of State.

#### PROTOCOL OF EXCHANGE

The undersigned Plenipotentiaries having met for the purpose of exchanging the ratifications of the Treaty signed at Bogota, on April 6, 1914, between the United States of America and Colombia, providing for the settlement of differences arising out of the events which took place on the Isthmus of Panama in November, 1903, and the ratifications of the Treaty aforesaid having been carefully compared and found exactly conformable to each other, the exchange took place this day in the usual form.

With reference to this exchange the following statement is incorporated in the present Protocol in accordance with instructions received:

1. In conformity with the final Resolution of the Senate of the United States in giving its consent to the ratification of the Treaty in question, the stipulation contained in the first clause of Article one by which there is ceded to the Republic of Colombia free passage of its troops, materials of war and ships of war through the Panama Canal, shall not be applicable in case of a state of war between the Republic of Colombia and any other country.

2. The said final Resolution of the Senate of the United States signifies, as the Secretary of State in effect stated in the note which he addressed to the Colombian Legation in Washington on the 3rd day of October, 1921, that the Republic of Colombia will not have the right of passage, free of tolls, for its troops, materials of war and ships of war, in case of war between Colombia and some other country, and consequently, the Republic of Colombia will be placed, when at war with another country, on the same footing as any other nation under similar conditions, as provided in the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty concluded in 1901; and that, therefore, the Republic of Colombia will not by operation of the declaration of the Senate of the United States above mentioned, be placed under any disadvantage as compared with the other belligerent or belligerents, in the Panama Canal, in case of war between Colombia and some other nation or nations. With this understanding the said Resolution has been accepted by the Colombian Congress in accordance with the dispositions contained in Article two of Law fifty-six of 1921, "by which is modified Law number fourteen of 1914" approving the Treaty.

In witness whereof, they have signed the present Protocol of Exchange and have affixed their seals thereto.

Done at Bogota, the first day of March, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two.

HOFFMAN PHILP.  
ANTONIO JOSE URIBE.

#### INVALIDATE INCREASE IN AIR FARES

(Mr. MOSS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, today 31 of my colleagues and I asked a Federal Court of Appeals to invalidate the increase in air fares that the Civil Aeronautics Board recently permitted all domestic airlines to put into effect.

In a petition and legal memorandum filed with the Federal Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia, we said that the Civil Aeronautics Board had acted improperly and illegally in approving the fare increases. We had earlier unsuccessfully petitioned the CAB not to grant the fare increases, but instead to hold an adequate hearing to determine what were the actual needs of the airline industry.

Our motion today asked that immediate relief be granted by the court to prevent irreparable injury to the traveling public by continuation of the higher fares. Specifically, we asked the court to enter a preliminary order to protect the public while the court decides the appeal which we are taking from the CAB action.

The preliminary order requested that: The court order the CAB to reinstate the airline fares that had prevailed prior to the recent increase;

Alternatively, the court enter a protective order requiring the airlines to make prompt refunds to passengers of all overcharges, should the court subsequently find that the present fares are illegal;

Or, as a final alternative, the court decide the challenge to the CAB's order on an expedited schedule.

The motion filed with the court today was accompanied by a 100-page memorandum, prepared by our counsel, detailing the legal arguments in support of the requests. We asked that the court hear oral argument on the motion on an expedited basis.

My colleagues who filed this motion are Hon. Glenn M. Anderson, Thomas L. Ashley, Walter S. Baring, George E. Brown, Jr., Phillip Burton, Daniel E. Button, Jeffery Cohelan, James C. Corman, John D. Dingell, Don Edwards, Richard T. Hanna, Augustus F. Hawkins, Chet Holifield, Harold T. Johnson, Robert L. Leggett, Joseph M. McDade, John McFall, Spark M. Matsunaga, George P. Miller, Joseph G. Minnish, Patsy T. Mink, Jerry L. Pettis, Thomas M. Rees, Peter W. Rodino, Jr., Edward R. Roybal, Bernie Sisk, Charles M. Teague, John Tunney, Lionel Van Derlin, Jerome R. Waldie, Charles H. Wilson, and myself.

The motion and supporting material which we filed follow:

[In the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit]

JOHN E. MOSS, ET AL., PETITIONERS, v. CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD, RESPONDENT—No. 23,627

Memorandum and support of petitioners' motion for interlocutory relief

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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

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also to build and man 21st century space and outer planetary stations and undersea colonies on the ocean floor?

## THE REAL LAG

Faster than automation eliminates some jobs, the development of science and technology creates new ones. *The employment "lag" is in trained people, not available jobs.*

As all this becomes more and more evident, there is a change even in the New York City educational attitude. On May 29, 1969, the *New York Times* headlined "Dispute Over Vocational Schools Here Revived," pointed out that city vocational schools "have been largely free of the student unrest that has troubled many academic schools," and went on to say that many youths in the vocational schools "are quick to express their satisfaction."

This student satisfaction in all vocational and technical schools is being expressed in most graduates' sincere desire to go on to higher education in their chosen fields of work. It is very difficult to stifle the eagerness to learn of a young person studying a subject of genuine interest well suited to his or her individual abilities. Very often, along with students' progress in manual or artistic skills there is born a keen desire for more academic achievement.

Since 99 per cent of young Americans between the ages of six and seventeen are in elementary and secondary schools, it is there that they should be able to find opportunities rescuing them from the variables and early vicissitudes of home environment. Children are not of one mold and they must not be cast into a school system of one mold.

The Founding Fathers who drafted our Educational Bill of Rights in the mid-19th century and created the land-grant colleges were aware of this truth when they revolutionized higher education in America. Now in 1969, we must have Founding Fathers with courage and foresight enough to revolutionize the elementary and secondary education, adapting it to the children's real needs and freeing it from the fetters of academic intellectual snobbery and the dictates of an academic hierarchy and bureaucracy.

## WE NEED NEW "IMMORTAL ACT"

In 1962, Allan Nevins, historian for the Civil War Centennial Commission, wrote a paper on "The Origins of the Land-Grant Colleges and State Universities, a Brief Account of the Morrill Act of 1862 and Its Results." Nevins began thus:

"It was an immortal moment in the history of higher education in America and the world when, on July 2, 1862, Abraham Lincoln lifted his pen and signed the College Land-Grant Act, of which Justin S. Morrill of Vermont was the principal author."

In 1862, when Morrill was asked why he had led the fight for the Act that bears his name, he replied, "Being myself the son of a hardfisted blacksmith . . . who felt his own deprivation of schools (never having spent but six weeks inside of a schoolhouse), I could not overlook mechanics in any measure intended to aid the industrial classes in the procurement of an education that might exalt their usefulness."

Now in our century, which is so full of good hope even while it manifests so many human disappointments and fears, can we deny a majority of our youth the opportunity to procure an education exalting their usefulness to themselves and to the society in which they live?

Webster's Dictionary defines the verb "to exalt" as "to raise high; elevate, raise in rank, power, or character; to elevate by praise or in estimation."

In 1862, Abraham Lincoln exalted American higher education by making it wider and better suited to the individual talents and needs of the people. Let us hope that by 1972, another American President will have lifted

his pen to exalt our elementary and secondary education by making it wider, by granting to vocational/technical schools both status and funds equal to those of academic schools, by according to vocational and technical education teachers with practical know-how the same degree of prestige enjoyed by academic teachers, and thus creating a 20th century education Bill of Rights for all of American's children.

## CRITICISM A TWO-WAY STREET

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I would not want to live in a country where officeholders could not be criticized. It is a two-way street, however. Unless officeholders can criticize the press, the public is deprived of a full discussion on the issues.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Fair Exchange," published in the *Norfolk (Nebr.) Daily News* of November 22, 1969.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

## FAIR EXCHANGE

Even before Vice President Spiro Agnew provided some "equal time" criticism for newspapers after dealing with the TV networks, a prominent editor rose to claim that the Nixon administration was trying to muzzle the media.

But when Spiro says that's not true, and Herb Klein and other administration spokesmen chime in, we do not allow our traditionally skeptical newspaper nature to disbelieve them. Many in private and public life would like to influence the news, to change it, to make it more responsive to a particular point of view, but there are few Americans with a dangerous disregard for the value of a free press.

Norman Isaacs, the executive editor of the *Louisville Courier-Journal* and Times, and also president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, accused the administration of undertaking a campaign for "some sort of covert control" of both newspapers and broadcast stations. It is an unfortunate reaction when critics of the media arise.

They are put in the position of attacking a free press, rather than criticizing what the free press does occasionally that one thinks is wrong.

Mr. Agnew has made it clear he believes in no censorship, no control; but he wants to criticize the press just as it criticizes politicians. That ought to be fair enough.

## ANNIVERSARY OF THE ADOPTION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTION ON GENOCIDE

Mr. PROXMIER. Mr. President, on December 11, 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Human Rights Convention on Genocide during its Paris session.

The text of the convention confirms that genocide is a crime under international law, whether committed in time of peace or war. Of even greater importance, the convention states that all persons committing genocide shall be punished, be they constitutionally responsible officials, or private individuals. Though genocidal crimes are not to be confused with political crimes, those guilty will be subject to the rulings of their competent national court, or, if

possible, an international penal tribunal.

Over 70 nations have ratified the Genocide Convention since 1948. The United States has not.

On June 16, 1949, the convention outlawing genocide was submitted to the Senate by President Truman. Public hearings on the convention were held by the Foreign Relations Committee in January and February of 1950. Although the subcommittee reported favorably on the convention, it became stalled in full committee and remained on the table at the time the 81st Congress adjourned.

On this day, the anniversary of the adoption of the Genocide Convention by the General Assembly of the United Nations, I once again ask this Chamber to recognize the importance of this matter. How can it be that this Nation, which is founded on the principle of life and liberty for all, not think it scandalous that we have not affirmed this principle for all peoples throughout the world? I urge the Senate to immediately consider and move toward ratification of this convention.

ME

## THE DICTATORIAL JUNTA IN GREECE

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, our tragic involvement in Vietnam and such explosive events as those taking place in the Middle East overshadow developments of great significance in other parts of the world. One such area is Greece, where a dictatorial junta continues to rule that brave and freedom-loving people.

A few days ago, I was visited by the former Greek Minister, Mr. Constantine Mitsotakis, one of the best-known personalities in the postwar history of Greece. Today he is engaged in the struggle to restore parliamentary democracy in his native land. A resistance fighter against the Germans in World War II, Constantine Mitsotakis was first elected M.P. for Chania at the age of 28. From then on he was continuously elected for the Centre Party. He has served in the Papandreou government as Economic Minister in 1965 and 1966. After the colonels' coup, he was arrested and imprisoned, but succeeded in escaping in 1968 and is living outside Greece.

In our discussion, Mr. Mitsotakis emphasized several points which he considers of particular significance concerning the situation in Greece today—points which I feel it is important for the Senate to understand.

First. Perhaps of major concern, Constantine Mitsotakis believes that the next few months—possibly 3—present the last opportunity for a restoration of a democratic government in Greece without a bloodbath. Moreover, he is certain that, given the history and character of the Greek people, a future attempt will be made to force out the colonels' government even if that means a bloody revolution.

Second. Also, he considers the present attitude of the United States to be one of the most powerful factors in maintaining the junta in office. Even the



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forts to keep students in school, 25 per cent are high school drop-outs. Furthermore, approximately two-thirds do not go on to college, yet their education is directed at college entrance.

Worse, of the third who do go to a four-year college, only half remain there and earn a degree. The other half drop out, mainly in the first and second years. And so the following comparison can be made.

In 1861, American higher education was geared to the real needs of only two per cent of youth; in 1969, American elementary and secondary education is geared to the needs of about 15 per cent of American youth.

FULFILLMENT MAKES FOR CLAIM

It is interesting to note that by far the biggest number of college dropouts is in the liberal arts and social sciences, not the professional schools. Also, the acute social unrest in colleges occurs mainly among students in the arts and social sciences, not in the professions.

In cities, almost all social unrest has been among students in academic high schools and colleges. The vocational and technical schools have been virtually free of it.

On October 18, 1968, the *London Sunday Times* reported in an article entitled "The Detonators" that all recent student rebellions in England had occurred in the academic colleges; none in the technical and vocational institutions. Everywhere, students are crying out for "relevance" in education.

Is the calm in vocational and technical schools due to students' inferior intelligence, or is it due to their receiving the kind of education that fulfills their individual needs, enables them to display their individual aptitudes, and furnishes them with definite practical goal?

FULFILLMENT MAKES FOR ACHIEVEMENT

Many theories are being advanced about the relative intelligence of children, and about the influence of environment and heredity on their intelligence. These theories are mainly guesswork; most of the same notions were advanced during the 1850's in the fight against the Land-Grant Colleges Act. Then, it was thought that only upper class "gentlemen" were mentally and morally fit for a higher education. It also was thought that only the "higher subjects" of classical studies were fit for scholarly degrees. Agriculture, mechanics, science and industry were considered to be lower subjects of study fit only for lesser intellects.

Few Americans today are aware that the great Massachusetts Institute of Technology, for example, is a land-grant college.

In 1931, when eminent American scholars assembled at the 45th Annual Convention of the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities in Chicago, Dr. W. J. Kerr said:

"Progress today is based on science. . . . The science first taught in the land-grant colleges was of the most objective and practical kind. These early beginnings led to larger and more intensified applications of science, producing cumulative results, which in turn gave fresh momentum to the movement."

The "practical science" in agriculture, pursued first at our land-grant colleges, is what led to the abundance of our present day agriculture, which enables us to avoid famine and feed half the world. Moreover, it was academic freedom at land-grant colleges that enabled individual scientists to make great discoveries and put them to good use under our free enterprise system.

And so we see that our nation was blessed with thousands upon thousands of gifted young people who pursued higher education at "poor boy" or "cow" colleges. They enriched not only America but the entire world.

REASON FOR DROPOUTS

When Chauncey M. Depew, celebrated his 93rd birthday in 1927, he said, "When I graduated from college, it was either the law, the ministry or medicine for the graduate. Today there are 3,000 occupations upon to the college graduate."

Now in 1969 there are many more than 3,000 occupations open to trained young people at the age of 18. But 88 per cent of them are untrained in elementary and secondary schools for any occupation except pursuit of an academic education which two-thirds do not pursue because they do not wish to, or cannot afford to, or are not mentally able to.

Obviously, our elementary and secondary public education system is out-of-kilter with most young people's callings, needs and desires. Obviously, that is why at least 25 per cent drop out of high school. That is a very high rate, one that our nation cannot afford. After all, if any business in America lost 25 per cent of its customers it would go broke.

Nevertheless, today, as we move into the 1970's, all classes of our citizenry, as in the 1850's, are contributing to an education system "securely entrenched in both public and private support that has no relation to the resources of the country and the objectives of the great mass of the people."

SPUTNIK SCARE

Our misfit public school system was snobbish and undemocratic enough in the early 1950's to guarantee a future social upheaval in our nation; but in 1957 it was made infinitely worse when the Soviet Union launched Sputnik into space. Hysterical over what was supposed to be Soviet superiority in science and education, many of our national leaders embarked on what might be called the Sputnikization of American public education. Immediately, there arose the demand that every boy and girl should go to college in order that our nation could meet a need for nuclear physicists and other advanced scientists.

MEANWHILE, ON EARTH

This Sputnikization took place at a time when masses of our agricultural workers left newly automated farms in the South, and flocked North to the cities to find employment. A large percentage of these farm workers were Negroes who spoke a dialect, had little basic education, and suffered from all the handicaps of new emigrés plus the problems of ethnic differences and political disadvantages. At the same time, in many urban communities, there was an influx of Spanish-speaking emigrés from Puerto Rico and Mexico. What the new minority groups in cities most needed was job training to become economically self-sustaining. What they received in public school was impractical, college-oriented academic training. And the law forced them to remain imprisoned in the academic schools until the age of 16 in 37 states, 17 and 18 in the others.

As captives, the children of the new emigrés became saddest victims of a misfit school system. The dropout rate soared; so did juvenile delinquency and crime rates.

Simultaneously, there occurred a wave of intellectual and emotional sentimentality that affirmed civil rights by pretending all children are alike except for differences in environment. Though no two blades of grass or petals on a rose are alike, it was preached and propagandized that all children could be taught in school, willy-nilly, to pass college entrance exams and go on to a higher academic education.

Because elementary and secondary public education in our big cities is largely irrelevant to the needs of at least 85 per cent of urban youth, there has arisen a social situa-

tion that threatens to bring the nation down. Our cities are rife with violence mostly brought on by the frustrations of rootless, goal-less, untrained young people easily misled by agitators.

The social, economic and intellectual pressures being exerted on masses of young people in overcrowded urban schools to acquire a college education are cruel and undemocratic in the extreme. Literally, they cannot take it. Dr. T. Campbell Goodwin, pediatrician and Assistant Commissioner for Children's Services in the New York State Department of Mental Hygiene, says that today state mental institutions are crowded with children falsely labeled as "retarded" or "problem cases."

On August 9, 1967, *The Christian Science Monitor* said in an editorial:

"What's wrong with a good vocational education and a technical high school diploma? Why should it be considered, as it so often is, inferior to a college preparatory course?"

"A survey made by an Ohio educator in his state found 75 per cent of parents and students desiring vocational education in the schools."

"Throughout the United States, and in some other industrialized countries, vocational education has long been a stepchild. Only the academic curriculum has had prestige. The boy (or girl) who turns away from college to train for a job too often loses status in the eyes of his teachers and companions. The high school which boasts of the high proportion of its graduates going to college is disappointed in him."

"The time has come to wipe out these snobberies. One way to do this is to provide much better vocational education than is now offered."

Yet, on December 5, 1967, the *New York Post* reported, "The Board of Education today imposed the death sentence on most of the city's [New York City's] vocational schools. The action, part of a change-over to four-year comprehensive (academic plus vocational) high schools, ends two years of bitter debate within the school system. . . . [Schools Superintendent] Donovan last spring urged the board to drop plans for a single system of comprehensive schools on grounds that they posed 'major difficulties' in terms of facilities, programs, equipment and personnel. The board, overruling Donovan's arguments and earlier threats of rebellion from principals' associations, said today that its 24 'multi-trade' vocational schools, housing 33,000 students, would be phased out or converted . . . within the next eight years."

EDUCATION FOR THE FUTURE

It is the opinion of the *Christian Science Monitor* that, "The era of upgraded vocational education for all who want it is overdue." That was the opinion of the Frontiers of Science Conference in Oklahoma City, January 1969, at which inventors and manufacturers of our space and oceanography technology, of the "picture-phone" and other great new scientific endeavors stressed the national need for trained technicians, mechanics and service personnel.

In July 1967, *Lloyd's Bank Review* carried an article by Gerard Colley, Senior Economist at the Battelle Memorial Institute, Geneva, Switzerland, who pointed out, "Tourism is today one of the fastest-growing sectors in the world economy."

Does anyone deny that with the advent of mass national and international air travel there is necessary a huge number of trained technical, mechanical and service personnel to fill jobs in airports, hotels, eating places, museums, parks, cultural and entertainment centers, banks, shops and markets? Does anyone doubt that service and technical personnel will be needed not only to foster tourism in the developed and developing nations, but

Greek military, he believes, does not favor the junta, but rather tolerates it from belief that it enjoys the support of the Pentagon.

Third. Mr. Mitsotakis believes that the initiative taken at the end of September by the former conservative Greek Prime Minister, Constantine Karamanlis, offering his personal cooperation for the restoration of normality and the safeguard of order and security, creates an opportunity for restoration of parliamentary rule. Mr. Mitsotakis was a liberal opponent of the conservative E.R.E. government—under Mr. Karamanlis—while free debate prevailed. But from the first moment of his escape from Greece, Mr. Mitsotakis placed his services at the disposal of Mr. Karamanlis and declared publicly the need for the political world to rally around Mr. Karamanlis and support his leadership. Mr. Mitsotakis told me he believes that such a movement can succeed only if the junta is denounced by the United States and other nations of the free world.

We can sympathize, I am sure, with the plight of the citizens of Greece, who endured so much during and after World War II to establish self-government. Tribulations of the more distant past resulted in the immigration of thousands of Greeks to the United States. Many went to my State of Utah—principally young men—to work on railroad construction gangs and in the mines. Substantial sums of money earned through this hard labor were sent back to the homeland to assist needy relatives. Homes, families, and business enterprises were begun. Today, the descendants of these immigrants are among our most respected families and are most active citizens of Utah.

It is now 2½ years since the colonels' regime crushed self-government in Greece. During that time, their government has apparently failed to gain even a minority of supporters. Repeated statements that the regime would be regularized by elections have not been redeemed and restoration of parliamentary rule in any form appears to be far off.

It must be remembered that America, applying the Truman doctrine, allotted some \$3 billion to Greece to counteract a Communist threat. Thus we succeeded, without the loss of a single soldier, in preventing Communist expansion in Europe. In this struggle, all Greeks were united and the bloody war was successfully prosecuted without even temporarily suspending parliamentary government.

As Senators may recall, December 12 will see a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of 18 nations of the Council of Europe. It appears that the Council will expel Greece, based upon a report of the European Commission for Human Rights, written after more than 2 years of investigation.

If the Council takes such action or if strong support for expulsion is at the meeting, the United States should surely reassess its position toward the Greek dictatorship. And such a review should take place soon—before the opportunities which appear to be present for the

restoration of a popularly based parliamentary regime have passed.

Mr. President, a number of editorials and news reports have been published in the press recently concerning the Greek situation. I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Nov. 26, 1969]

#### GREEKS EXTEND EXILE FOR 5

ATHENS.—Five former members of parliament considered security threats by the army-backed Greek government were committed to an additional year in exile under a government decision today, informed sources said here.

The five men have been in exile in remote villages and islands for more than two years. They were deported after the army seized power in Greece in April, 1967.

The sources named the five former members of the Center Union Party—a powerful party before the army takeover—as Ioannis Charalambopoulos, Ioannis Papaspyrou, Panayotis Katsikopoulos, Constantine Koniotakis and Ioannis Alevars.

[From the New York Times, Nov. 30, 1969]

#### ATHENS HERALDS POLITICAL REFORM—LAW IS DRAFTED ALLOWING FORMATION OF PARTIES

ATHENS.—The army-backed Greek Government announced today that it had drafted a law establishing rules for the formation of political parties, which are now banned under martial law.

The draft would be one of 18 "institutional laws" that are to take effect only when full constitutional rule, suspended since April, 1967, is restored.

The Government has pledged to have the 18 draft laws ready by the end of this year, but refuses to commit itself to a timetable for the restoration of the suspended articles of the Constitution and the lifting of martial law.

Today's announcement, which concerns one legal step in a lengthy procedure for the final ratification of the "institutional laws," was seen in part as an effort to placate Greece's critics abroad.

Criticism of the Greek authorities for their failure to restore democracy, more than two and one-half years after seizing power, is expected to reach a climax in the next two weeks when Western foreign ministers meet in Brussels for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization winter session and later in Paris for the meeting of the 18-nation Council of Europe.

#### FURTHER GESTURES EXPECTED

Diplomats here expected the Athens authorities to make further gestures to demonstrate their good faith, including the release of some of their 2,000 political prisoners.

These gestures were expected particularly before the Council of Europe meeting on Dec. 12, which is to vote on a motion for the suspension of Greece's membership.

The Athens leaders are eager to demonstrate their goodwill in view of the impression that will be created by the report of the European Commission on Human Rights which, after a two-year study, is said to have reached the conclusion that Greece had tolerated the torturing of political prisoners and that the danger of an imminent Communist take-over invoked by the military to seize power in April, 1967, did not really exist.

The report is still secret and the Council of Europe is bound by its statutes not to discuss it or take any action on it before a three-month cooling-off period has elapsed.

#### INQUIRY ON GREECE REPORTS TORTURES—EUROPE COUNCIL REPORT ALSO FINDS THE MILITARY REGIME BARS MANY BASIC RIGHTS (By Alvin Shuster)

LONDON.—The European Commission for Human Rights has concluded that Greece's military-backed Government allowed torture of political prisoners and denied many fundamental human rights.

Its 1,200-page report, the result of more than two years of investigation, found that torture and ill-treatment were "an administrative practice" that was "officially tolerated." It charged that Greek authorities had taken no effective steps to stop the practices.

The commission, an agency of the 18-nation Council of Europe, also found that, contrary to contentions of the Greek regime, there was no danger of a Communist takeover at the time the army colonels seized power on April 21, 1967, and imposed martial law. It is still in effect.

"There is evidence indicating that it [a Communist takeover] was neither planned at that time nor seriously anticipated by either the military or police authorities," the commission said.

Its still-confidential report, in four volumes, is likely to bolster the case of governments that will push for the expulsion of Greece when the ministers of the Council of Europe meet in Paris on Dec. 12. The council has postponed action awaiting the commission's findings, which have now been submitted to the member nations.

Apart from the blow to Athens' prestige, expulsion from the Council would also mean removal of Greece from the Parliament of Europe, which sits in Strasbourg and prepares social and economic programs for its members.

#### BRITAIN TO BACK EXPULSION

Britain has decided to vote against the regime at the meeting and is trying to influence others to do so. The United States, although not a member of the council, has indicated concern about Greece's expulsion, fearing, in part, that it might lead to pressure to expel her from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as well.

Some United States officials also worry that such council action might lead the colonels, out of pique, to withdraw from participation in NATO.

Greek leaders have sought to give the impression of movement toward democracy. They are expected to defend themselves at next month's meeting by citing steps they have taken, including recent talk of a still-vague timetable for the restoration of representative government.

But the regime will be presenting its argument against the background of the most detailed and official condemnation of its actions yet. The report represents the efforts of lawyers who took hundreds of hours of testimony and even traveled to Greece for on-the-scene investigation. Some have called their work the weightiest international legal inquiry since the Nuremberg trial of war criminals after World War II.

Technically, the council cannot take any steps on the basis of the report until three months after its submission. But such countries as Britain, Norway, Sweden and Denmark believe there are sufficient grounds for action now anyway.

#### CHARTER VIOLATION CHARGED

The conclusions—that the use of torture had been established "beyond doubt," that human freedoms are violated and that no Communist threat existed at the time of the coup—go to the heart of the case. The report concludes that the Greek regime has thus violated the conditions of membership, in particular Article 3.

That article in the charter of the council, founded 20 years ago, states that members

"must accept the principles of the rule of law and of the enjoyment by all persons within its jurisdiction of human rights and fundamental freedoms."

Such rights may be suspended under the charter in "time of peril of other public emergency threatening the life of the nation," but the commission found that these conditions did not exist at the time of the coup.

The report said that while there was a period of "political instability and tension" in Greece, this did not constitute a "public emergency." While there were demonstrations in the streets, it said, the situation did "not differ markedly from that in many other countries in Europe."

It also rejected the Greek Government's argument that continued suspension of rights was necessary because of bomb incidents and the growth of "illegal organizations."

"The commission does not find, on the evidence before it," it said, "that either factor is beyond the control of the public authorities using normal measures, or that they are on a scale threatening the life of the Greek nation."

#### CONFRONTED GREEK AUTHORITIES

The report said that competent Greek authorities, "confronted with numerous and substantial complaints and allegations of torture and ill-treatment," failed to take any effective steps to investigate them or to insure remedies for "any such complaints or allegations found to be true."

Moreover, the report said that Greeks were being denied such fundamental rights as freedom of expression, association, a fair trial, and free elections at regular intervals. Such rights, it noted, are required under the council's charter.

The report, prepared by a subcommittee of the Human Rights Commission, was adopted by the parent group earlier this month. It was submitted to the member countries nine days ago.

The council, primarily an advisory organization, was organized to further political, social and economic unity of Europe. Its other members are Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, France, West Germany, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Turkey.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post,  
Nov. 30, 1969]

AMBASSADOR TO ATHENS—CONTEMPTUOUS REMARKS ABOUT U.S. KEEPING AMERICAN ENVOY'S CHAIR VACANT IN ATHENS

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

Contemptuous remarks about the U.S. by a high Greek official are producing two wholly unexpected side effects: Keeping the American ambassador's chair in Athens vacant a bit longer and worsening relations between the State Department and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Moreover, the indiscretion of Panayiotis Pipinellis, Foreign Minister of the Greek military dictatorship, might just tip the balance against full resumption of U.S. military aid to Greece.

At issue is a top-secret briefing by Pipinellis for Greek ambassadors in Western Europe, delivered at Bad Schinznach, Switzerland, on Aug. 26. Two weeks ago, we reported from a verbatim account of that briefing that Pipinellis referred to the U.S. as a "so-called democracy" not to be trusted.

At that point, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was ready to recommend confirmation of Foreign Service officer Henry J. Tasca, nominated on Sept. 9 by President Nixon for the long vacant Athens post. But when Sen. J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas heard of the Pipinellis document he informed the State Department that his committee would not act on Tasca until it had a chance to study the Pipinellis document.

The State Department went into a classic diplomatic stall. In response to three separate telephone calls from Fulbright aides, it curiously pleaded inability to locate a copy of the briefing—curious because a copy was actually in the State Department's hands before we obtained ours. Vexed with the State Department, Fulbright finally obtained a copy through private channels.

That means Tasca may not get confirmed before the new year. More important, the effort of Sen. Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island to put a rider on the foreign aid bill barring military assistance to Greece is strengthened.

In addition to Pipinellis' assault on U.S. style democracy, he belittled Mr. Nixon's Vietnam and defense policies.

"We all thought that, after the Republican victory, there would be greater stress on rearmament and on strengthening the world's defenses," Pipinellis said. "But the real situation has proved quite different. Mr. Nixon went to the Far East without, as it seems, having decided any other concrete program than a declaration to all Asians that America is returning to a policy of failing back to home."

News of U.S. troop pullouts "has been heard with disbelief," Pipinellis said, sarcastically referring to a \$5 billion U.S. defense cutback as "good news."

#### NEW CAMPAIGN CHIEF

The easy victory of conservative Republican Crane in last Tuesday's special congressional election from Chicago's northern suburbs will give I. Lee Potter a graceful exit as staff director of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee—a move privately insisted upon by the White House.

Potter, Republican National Committee-man from Virginia, has been under criticism ever since the disappointing Republican showing in the 1968 congressional elections. That criticism swelled this year when the Republicans lost three seats and gained none in special congressional elections earlier this year.

Party pros grumbled that Potter spent too much time on business interests in northern Virginia and not enough on candidate selection. Over the past two years, the committee's once impressive staff has disintegrated.

These complaints, strongly disputed by Rep. Bob Wilson of California, the campaign committee chairman, found fertile soil in the White House (which hasn't forgotten Potter's preconvention coolness toward candidate Nixon in 1968). Accordingly, White House political aide Harry Dent has relayed the President's desire that a change be made.

James Allison, the sharp young Texas political pro now deputy chairman at the Republican National Committee, could have the job but won't take it. In the running are Gus Owens, a field man for the campaign committee; Tom Lias, who left the committee to work under Dent at the White House; and Robert Bradford, executive director of the Illinois Republican Party.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Nov. 29,  
1969]

#### KEEPING THE HEAT ON THE ATHENS JUNTA

The foreign ministers of 18 nations in the prestigious Council of Europe are to meet Dec. 12 to decide whether to throw Greece out. They should. The ruling junta in Athens has, as charged, violated human rights and blocked parliamentary rule. An organization of the council's idealistic purposes which countenanced the junta would forfeit public respect. As long as there seemed a chance that the colonels might pick their way back toward democracy, the council could reasonably suspend judgment. But the officers have made it plain they do not intend to relinquish power voluntarily. They are sapping the Greek economy and, by their clumsiness

and terror, turning the public's earlier apathy into opposition. Their isolation by the Council of Europe could add an important increment of pressure on their position at home.

After the April, 1967, coup, and especially after the King's abortive countercoup that December, Greek politicians were in disarray and many observers feared there was no real and acceptable alternative to military rule. This autumn, however, Constantine Caramanlis, a widely respected former premier who had gone into exile, managed to organize the responsible political elements into a standby coalition; he offered himself as head of a provisional government of national unity. Mr. Caramanlis called on the junta to step down; otherwise, he said, other officers should "appreciate their duty"—that is, oust them. For now, the colonels remain in power. But those who oppose them can work with confidence that constitutionalism, not chaos, lies beyond.

Though the United States has taken pains to stay at arm's length from the colonels, the 20-year record of deep American involvement in Athens has given wide currency in Greece to a curious myth. This myth holds that Washington sustains the junta and that, if it chose, Washington could bring it down. Bringing down the colonels is not Washington's duty, or right. But denying them crucial support is: military aid is one kind of crucial support.

Two administrations have withheld major military aid since the coup, except for a brief period last year when flitters about the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia took precedence over distaste for the Athens regime. By Senator Pell's calculation, as much as \$263 million in aid has backed up. In remarks not fully appreciated by the junta's American critics, the Nixon administration states that Greece has "scrupulously fulfilled" its NATO obligations—but without the military aid. The critics have been alarmed by a Pentagon chart listing Greece as having bought \$33 million worth of arms in 1969, as against \$24 million in the preceding six years. Inquiry reveals, however, that the \$33 million figure includes \$27 million for deals that fell through. The colonels are furious. The United States should do nothing to bring them joy.

#### JOBS NOW, INC.—LOUISVILLE, KY.

Mr. COOK. Mr. President, I invite the attention of Senators to the outstanding community relations work being done in my hometown of Louisville by a corporation called Action Now, Inc., under the able direction of George T. Underhill, Jr.

Action Now, Inc., represents the involvement of the private sector in the problems of the underprivileged. It does not in any way compete with Federal, State or local agencies. Rather it attempts to complement and aid them. Its primary purpose is to tap one of the city's largest resources—successful management. The directors of Action Now, Inc., are drawn from the Louisville business community, black and white. They have much to offer that cannot be duplicated in a Government agency: Their time is unstructured, they are familiar with their city's problems, they have a vested interest in those problems.

Action Now is a privately financed, nonprofit organization designed to function as its name implies—to stimulate jobs, housing, and business experience for the disadvantaged. Its three companies function in the areas of job procurement, Jobs Now; adequate housing,



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bill. In a heartening demonstration of firmness, President Thieu has asked to have it amended to its original strong version. Under Vietnamese law, the upper house amendments, if any, will prevail unless overridden by two-thirds of the total membership of the lower house. Even then President Thieu can amend and will prevail, unless his amendments are overridden by a majority of the joint membership of the two houses. Thus, for the moment, with President Thieu's continued exhibition of firmness, land reform is "up" again after its lower house drubbing.

But whether the upper house amends and—if not—whether President Thieu amends and is not overridden, now depend crucially on the credibility of the compensation to the landlords.

As this was written, pressures appeared to be building for a United States declaration of financial support for the program—consistent with President Richard Nixon's strong general statement of support for the program in the Midway communiqué of June, 1969. Whether such a statement is made may well be decisive in determining whether, as this is being read, the mass of South Vietnamese peasants are finally becoming owner-farmers, or whether the chance to achieve an impact during the 1969 main Delta harvest period (December to February) has been missed. If, finally, land reform goes "down" again, it may well be for the final count.

ME

## THE U.S. AMBASSADOR TO GREECE

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. President, I have requested Senate Majority Leader MANSFIELD to place a hold on the consideration of the nomination of Henry J. Tasca to be U.S. Ambassador to Greece.

My reason is that I believe this is not the propitious moment for the United States to send an ambassador to Greece—not that I have any reservations concerning Mr. Tasca's qualifications.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a statement I issued yesterday explaining the reasons for my action be printed in the RECORD, as well as an editorial on this subject which appeared in today's New York Times.

There being no objection, the statement and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

## GOODELL REQUESTS SENATE TO DEFER NOMINATION OF AMBASSADOR DESIGNATE TO GREEK MILITARY DICTATORSHIP

I have requested Senate Majority Leader Mansfield to hold up consideration of the nomination of Henry J. Tasca to be our Ambassador to Greece.

My reason is not that I have any reservations concerning Mr. Tasca's qualifications. He is, by all accounts, an able diplomat who is fully qualified to hold ambassadorial rank.

I have taken this action because I think it is not advisable at the present moment for the United States to send an ambassador to the Greek dictatorship.

I recognize that it is often desirable to have full representation in countries with whose policies we fundamentally disagree. Diplomatic communication is important between countries having different political systems.

This, however, is a delicate moment.

The Council of Europe is about to consider a motion to suspend or expel the Greek regime from membership because of its violations of the basic human rights of Greek citizens.

The Administration has been urging the Greek regime to adopt more democratic policies.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, I am pleased to note, has decided against authorizing any military aid to Greece.

There are signs that the forces behind the Greek junta might respond to these and other pressures for reform.

I am hopeful that the temporary withholding of an ambassador would be an additional signal of our displeasure with the dictatorship's present practices and might encourage responsible elements in Greece to press for more democratic and humane policies.

I am fearful that the dispatch of an ambassador at this time—two days before the Council of Europe meets to consider the suspension or expulsion of Greece—would be particularly ill-timed. It could be misconstrued in Europe as a gesture of support for the junta and its present course; and intrude ourselves gratuitously in a decision that should be made by the Europeans themselves.

I note also, that we have not even nominated an ambassador to Sweden. Many in that country apparently believe that we have not done so because we are displeased with the Swedish government's position on Vietnam. I do not know if this is the case. Whatever happens, we must certainly avoid giving the impression that we are more concerned over Swedish ailews on Vietnam than we are over totalitarian practices in Greece.

In summary, I am proposing a temporary hold on the nomination because I believe this is the wrong moment to send an ambassador; and also to emphasize our disapproval of the Greek junta's present policies and encourage responsible forces for change in Greece.

A police state now reigns in Greece, the birthplace of democracy. Government by terror and by torture rules in the land which first conceived of government by consent of the governed.

The Human Rights Commission of the Council of Europe, after extensive investigation, has found that torture and ill-treatment of political prisoners amounted to an "administrative practice" that has been "officially tolerated" by Greek government authorities. The Commission specifically reported 213 cases in which it had found evidence of torture—including a number of cases in which evidence of torture was found to be conclusive.

In addition to torture, the Commission found the Greek junta guilty of widespread abuses of civil and personal rights.

The Commission also exploded the fiction propagated by the junta that its seizure of power and subsequent rule was justified by the threat of a Communist takeover. After reviewing the evidence, it found there was no substance to the junta's claims that a Communist coup was imminent in 1967.

At this critical moment, it is imperative that we do nothing that can be misinterpreted by the Greek dictatorship and other nations as an endorsement of the junta's present policies.

[From the New York Times, Dec. 11, 1969]

## THE GREEK JUNTA ON TRIAL

Membership in the Council of Europe is restricted by its statute to countries that "accept the principles of the rule of law" and enjoyment by all citizens of "human rights and fundamental freedoms." Foreign ministers of the eighteen members vote in Paris tomorrow on a resolution adopted by a huge majority of the Council's Consultative Assembly demanding the ouster of Greece "for serious violations of the conditions of membership."

The ministers will have before them a 1,200-page report by the European Commission on Human Rights that details many cases of torture of political prisoners by the Greek junta. They will also doubtless consider the uncovering by a respected British reporter of what appears to be a top-secret document, signed by the Director-General of the Greek Foreign Ministry, involving Premier Papadopoulos himself in a right-wing plot to stage a military coup in Italy.

In these circumstances, Senator Goodell has acted responsibly in asking Majority Leader Mansfield to delay a vote on the confirmation of Henry J. Tasca as United States Ambassador to Athens. As Mr. Goodell makes clear, this is no reflection on Mr. Tasca; nor is it an effort to keep the ambassadorship in Athens vacant indefinitely because of disapproval of the junta.

It is simply that for the Senate to confirm Mr. Tasca on the eve of the Council's vote would be interpreted as an attempt by Washington to pressure undecided Governments to keep Greece in the fold. The United States is already being accused of trying to influence the Council's decision in favor of the junta. A brief delay will not damage Mr. Tasca's standing with the colonels; indeed, it may enhance his influence if the delay helps persuade them that the United States is genuinely concerned at their failure to move Greece back toward freedom and democracy.

## THE CALENDAR

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar Nos. 581, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, and 599.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

## PUBLIC HEALTH TRAINING

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2809), to amend the Health Service Act so as to extend for an additional period the authority to make formula grants to schools of public health, which had been reported from the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare with amendments, on page 2, after line 5, insert a new section, as follows:

SEC. 2. Section 309(a) of the Public Health Service Act is amended by striking out "and \$12,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971" and inserting in lieu thereof: "\$15,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, \$18,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972, \$21,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973, \$24,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, and \$27,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1975".

And, after line 13, insert a new section, as follows:

SEC. 3. Section 306(a) of the Public Health Service Act is amended by striking out "and \$14,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971" and inserting in lieu thereof: "\$14,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, \$18,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972, \$22,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973, \$26,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, and \$30,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1975".

So as to make the bill read:

S. 2809

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 309(c) of the Public Health Service Act is amended by striking out "\$5,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, \$6,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and \$7,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970" and inserting in lieu thereof: "\$7,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, \$9,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, \$12,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972, \$15,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973, \$18,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, and \$20,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1975".

Sec. 2. Section 309(a) of the Public Health

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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

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Service Act is amended by striking out "and \$12,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971" and inserting in lieu thereof: "\$15,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, \$18,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972, \$21,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973, \$24,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, and \$27,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1975".

SEC. 3. Section 306(a) of the Public Health Service Act is amended by striking out "and \$14,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971" and inserting in lieu thereof: "\$14,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, \$18,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972, \$22,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973, \$26,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, and \$30,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1975".

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, today a high rate of infant mortality is the major reason why the United States lags behind other major countries in longevity. Prenatal and infant care and nutrition education needed to reduce our infant mortality rate are essentially public health problems. So are the long-term chronic illnesses of age becoming a new domain for public health inquiry and control.

Increased urbanization and acceptance of public responsibility for new health services to the population have expanded the need for personnel trained in protecting the public health. For many years agencies concerned with community health problems have been faced by shortages of professional personnel with public health training, including physicians, nurses, and sanitarians.

Approximately 5,400 positions in State and local health departments are currently vacant or filled by individuals lacking appropriate training. This represents one-third of the total positions that require advanced training in public health. Many such jobs are also going unfilled in voluntary public health agencies and on university faculties. If the need for graduates with training in public health methods and specialties continued to expand at the same rate between now and the early 1970's as it did between 1962 and 1967, the current deficit in trained manpower will more than triple in size by 1975.

Thus, earlier this year I introduced S. 2809, to extend the program of formula grants to schools of public health. As reported by the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, S. 2809 would extend until June 30, 1975, three authorities of the Public Health Service that have as their objective the training of additional and better-prepared public health personnel. The provisions of this bill as amended by the committee have the support of the Association of Schools of Public Health, the American Public Health Association, and the Association of State and Territorial Health Officers.

The bill, as amended, would extend the existing programs of formula grants for schools of public health, section 309(c) of the Public Health Service Act; project grants for graduate training in public health, section 309(a) of the Public Health Service Act; and traineeships for professional public health personnel, section 306 of the Public Health Service Act.

These three programs are not new. The traineeships were authorized in 1957, the formula grants in 1958 and the project grants in 1960.

S. 2809, as reported, would authorize the following appropriations:

For traineeships, \$18 million for 1972; \$22 million for 1973; \$26 million for 1974; and \$30 million for 1975.

For project grants, \$15 million for 1971; \$18 million for 1972; \$21 million for 1973; \$24 million for 1974; and \$27 million for 1975.

For formula grants, \$9 million for 1971; \$12 million for 1972; \$15 million for 1973; \$18 million for 1974; and \$20 million for 1975.

Mr. President, the 16 schools of public health, nine of which are in State universities, have the responsibility for providing graduates capable of duty in the health services of all the 50 States, the territories, and the Federal Government, as well as for international activities. They are analogous to national service academies in that they must prepare students for public service anywhere in the country. Ninety percent of their graduates enter public service and hold key posts in local, city, State, National, and international agencies, and the character of professional leadership in the teaching of public health in the United States has been reflected in the frequency with which faculty members are called on for consultation abroad.

Mr. President, because this bill is vitally important to the training and better preparation of public health personnel, I recommend that this bill pass the Senate.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an excerpt from the report (No. 91-586), explaining the purposes of the measure.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

## SUMMARY

As reported by the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, S. 2809 would extend until June 30, 1975, three authorities of the Public Health Service that have as their objective the training of additional and better-prepared public health personnel. The provisions of this bill as amended by the committee have the support of the Association of Schools of Public Health, the American Public Health Association, and the Association of State and Territorial Health Officers.

The bill, as amended, would extend the existing programs of formula grants for schools of public health, section 309(c) of the Public Health Service Act, project grants for graduate training in public health, section 309(a) of the Public Health Service Act, and traineeships for professional public health personnel, section 306 of the Public Health Service Act.

These three programs are not new. The traineeships were authorized in 1957, the formula grants in 1958 and the project grants in 1960.

## AMENDMENTS

As introduced, S. 2809 would have extended and expanded the existing program of formula grants for graduate schools of public health under section 309(c) of the Public Health Service Act that is scheduled to expire on June 30, 1970.

These formula grants are one of three basic, closely related sources of support for

the training of public health personnel. The other two are section 306 of the Public Health Service Act that authorizes appropriations for traineeships for professional public health personnel and section 309(a) of the Public Health Service Act that authorizes appropriations for project grants for graduate training in public health. Both of the latter two authorizations expire June 30, 1971.

The common objective of these formula grants, project grants, and traineeships is to increase the supply of well-trained public health personnel. These sources of financial support are closely related.

It is recommended, therefore, that the formula grants, project grants, and traineeships be given a common expiration date of June 30, 1975.

## THE PROBLEM

Advancing urbanization and acceptance of public responsibility for new health services to the population have expanded the need for personnel trained in protecting the public health. For many years agencies concerned with community health programs have been faced by shortages of professional personnel with public health training—including physicians, nurses, and sanitarians.

In recent years the shortages have become more severe than ever before as new concepts of the role of public health have evolved. New responsibilities have been given State and local health departments. Some years ago the control of infectious diseases represented the major role of health departments. Today immunization programs are a relatively small but none the less important aspect of the activities of health departments and these activities require highly specialized and trained public health personnel. Among the new responsibilities are comprehensive health planning, health and medical care administration; environmental management in the areas of air, water, and land; population and family planning; chronic disease control; and licensure of health care facilities.

Approximately 5,400 positions in State and local health departments are currently vacant or filled by individuals lacking appropriate training. This represents one-third of the total positions that require advanced training in public health. Many such jobs are also going unfilled in voluntary public health agencies and on university faculties. If the need for graduates with training in public health methods and specialties continues to expand at the same rate between now and the early 1970's as it did between 1962 and 1967, the current deficit in trained manpower will more than triple in size by 1975.

To meet the need for training more public health personnel, many educational institutions—such as schools of public health, engineering, and nursing; departments of preventive medicine and dentistry; and other institutions which provide special public health training—must continue to expand their enrollment capacity. Such expansion will require additional highly specialized faculty and supportive staff.

## BACKGROUND

The formula grants for graduate schools of public health assist in providing comprehensive programs of graduate training in public health professions. These grants are awarded on a formula basis. The formula provides that one-third of the total appropriations be divided among the schools equally. The remaining two-thirds is divided among the schools according to the number of Federally sponsored students enrolled. Formula grants are entitlement grants available only to the accredited schools of public health which the schools can use for administrative and direct educational purposes. They reflect the unique situation of these schools as a national re-

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Circumstances could change. Adopting the projections of Consolidated Gold Fields, a few years of rising demand and dwindling supply could restore the markets and the bullion dealers to their former glory. That might equally well be achieved, though more drastically, if declining prices caused a shake-out of dispirited hoarders and returned gold to its floor. Life has been full of surprises for the bullion dealers. It is little wonder that in celebrating, this year, the fiftieth anniversary of the daily London "fixing," they have been anything but despondent.

### THE GREEK TRAGEDY

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 4, 1969

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, on November 18 I placed in the RECORD two articles detailing the attempts of the ruling colonels to stifle the Greek press. Another aspect of the colonels' campaign was reported on November 26, 1969, in the New York Times. The article follows:

#### GREEK PROVINCIAL POLICE BAN SOME ATHENS PAPERS

ATHENS, November 25.—Most of the daily newspapers of Athens were prevented today from circulating in north and central Greece.

The ban was apparently imposed by local security police Greece's military-backed government, which recently issued a new law attesting to "freedom of the press," had no official comment.

For the last six weeks, newspaper publishers and distributors have reported police obstruction in the provincial sales of Athens newspapers not actively friendly toward the Government.

It began with ban on the sale of specific issues of national newspapers. On an apparently haphazard basis, newspaper distributors in some provincial towns were ordered to ration the sales of Athens newspapers that did not support the regime. This was later changed to a system of quotas sometimes representing 20 percent of the newspapers' normal sales.

Today's measures were enforced differently and more drastically. Technically no newspapers were seized and no quotas were set. The police visited news vendors in the Thessaly area of central Greece and ordered that the bundles of all but three Athens dailies were to be returned unopened to the publishers. The sale of newspapers friendly to the regime, Eleftheros Kosmos, Nea Politela and Vradyni, was permitted.

The battle between the Government and the press started soon after Premier George Papadopoulos abolished preventive censorship on newspapers on Oct. 3.

The press reacted cautiously but with wit. There were cartoons ridiculing the Portuguese elections or of Spain that were easily translated by readers into comment on Greece.

Headlines were often calculated to irritate the Government, and two Athens dailies published series on the attempt of exiled King Constantine to topple the military-imposed regime.

Athens publishers were called in by Government officials and told to mend their ways. But officially the Government denied any attempt to harass the press.

Deputy Premier Stylianos Patakos said early this month: "What has happened is that readers are so disgusted with what

newspapers print that they naturally refuse to buy them."

Under the new press law, which goes into effect Jan. 1, any interference with newspaper distribution not authorized by judicial authorities is punishable by a minimum three-month prison term.

Nothing has been more characteristic of the junta than their attempt to end the free press in Greece unless it is the colonels' periodic announcements of reform timetables. The latest was reported by the Times on November 24. The following day an excellent editorial put the latest "reform" in its proper perspective:

#### GREECE REPORTS TIMETABLE FOR REFORM

ATHENS, November 23.—Greece's military-backed Government said today that it had set a firm timetable for the restoration of representative government, which was abolished in a coup d'état 31 months ago.

This assurance was given by Foreign Minister Panayotis Pipinelis in an article published today in the Athens newspaper Acropolis. In the article, which did not disclose any dates, Mr. Pipinelis said:

"I can assure the Greek people that the actual Government under its present leadership is in a position to carry out unflinchingly the program for a phased application of the whole Constitution within a predetermined time limit. Then the Greeks will be called upon to express their opinion on its accomplishments, in order to consolidate them or even smash them if so they wish."

The Foreign Minister's statement marked a step forward from earlier vague declarations that full constitutional rule would be restored "only when the revolution's goals have been accomplished." One of these goals is the civic re-education of the Greeks, which could last a generation.

#### ALLIES PRESSING GREECE

Most civil and political liberties of the Greeks have been in abeyance since the army coup in April, 1967.

Greece's Western allies have been pressing the leaders to commit themselves to a timetable for evolution toward democracy. The United States even "selectively suspended" military aid to Greece as leverage for political changes.

The Greek leaders have so far resisted this pressure on the ground that they alone "shall determine when the time is ripe for democratic evolution, bearing in mind the interests of the Greek people."

Mr. Pipinelis's statement that a timetable does exist comes at a time when most of Greece's allies and friends are reviewing their attitudes toward the Greek Government in view of the slow progress toward a return to democratic government.

A crucial decision is expected in Paris Dec. 12 when the 18 foreign minister of the Council of Europe meet to consider the motion to oust Greece for suspending democratic freedoms and parliamentary rule.

Earlier efforts to avert an ouster, by inducing Athens to pledge itself to an irrevocable timetable for democratization, failed last September when the three-phase program submitted by the Greek Government, covering the period to the end of 1970, fell short of promising either the lifting of martial law or the holdings of free elections.

#### CHANGE IN ATTITUDE IMPLIED

Mr. Pipinelis's statement implied a change of attitude. If a guaranteed timetable leading to elections were announced, Greece's expulsion from the Council of Europe might be averted.

The Scandinavian countries, Belgium and the Netherlands which have led the movement to expel Greece, were joined this week by Britain. Britain made it clear that unless definite proof of good faith were produced

by Athens at once Britain would support the ouster movement.

#### GREEK'S PREDICTABLE JUNTA

One thing can be said about the Greek junta: Its international political maneuvers are entirely predictable. It invariably begins to make noises about restoring freedoms or returning Greece to representative rule when it is facing the threat of international censure or condemnation.

Thus, almost on the eve of the meeting of Atlantic Alliance ministers in Washington last April, Colonel Papadopoulos proclaimed "restoration" of three articles of the 1968 Constitution relating to civil liberties. With this meaningless gesture he was trying to head off a threat of NATO action against Greece.

And thus, with a move to expel Greece from the Council of Europe coming up at the meeting of foreign ministers next month, Foreign Minister Pipinelis discloses that the junta has a definite timetable for elections and a return to representative government. Mr. Pipinelis gives no dates—just assurances that the regime will apply the Constitution in phases "within a predetermined time limit," and that the Greeks will then be given the opportunity "to express their opinion on its accomplishments." They can vote to consolidate those accomplishments "or even smash them if they so wish."

Mr. Pipinelis at seventy is a pathetic figure: the only political leader of any prominence to serve the colonels since King Constantine's abortive counter-coup of 1967; the only political name the junta has been able to flaunt abroad in the vain attempt to garner respectability.

Mr. Pipinelis is the foreign minister in name only, as he certainly discovered long ago; and not even he can really believe that Papadopoulos, Patakos and Company have a timetable for legitimate elections or any intention of submitting themselves to a free judgment of the Greek people.

Finally, the European Commission for Human Rights has concluded its study of the Greek regime. They reportedly have found that torture and ill-treatment are "an administrative practice" that is "officially tolerated." Those who defend the colonels' government should carefully consider this report and the effort which will be made later this month to expel Greece from the Council of Europe.

At this point I include in the RECORD news reports of these developments:

#### INQUIRY ON GREECE REPORTS TORTURES: EUROPE COUNCIL STUDY ALSO FINDS MANY FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS ARE BEING DENIED

(By Alvin Shuster)

LONDON, November 28.—The European Commission for Human Rights has concluded that Greece's military-backed Government allowed torture of political prisoners and denied many fundamental human rights.

Its 1,200-page report, the result of more than two years of investigation, found that torture and ill-treatment were "an administrative practice" that was "officially tolerated." It charged that Greek authorities had taken no effective steps to stop the practices.

The commission, an agency of the 18-nation Council of Europe, also found that, contrary to contentions of the Greek regime, there was no danger of a Communist takeover at the time the army colonels seized power on April 21, 1967, and imposed martial law, still in effect.

"There is evidence indicating that it [a Communist takeover] was neither planned at that time nor seriously anticipated by either the military or police authorities," the commission said.

Its still-confidential report, in four volumes, is likely to bolster the case of govern-



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ments that will push for the expulsion of Greece when the ministers of the Council of Europe meet in Paris on Dec. 12. The council has postponed action awaiting the commission's findings, which have now been submitted to the member nations.

Apart from the blow to Athens' prestige, expulsion from the Council would also mean removal of Greece from the Parliament of Europe, which sits in Strasbourg and prepares social and economic programs for its members.

## BRITAIN TO BACK EXPULSION

Britain has decided to vote against the regime at the meeting and is trying to influence others to do so. The United States, although not a member of the council, has indicated concern about Greece's expulsion, fearing, in part, that it might lead to pressure to expel her from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as well.

Some United States officials also worry that such council action might lead the colonels, out of pique, to withdraw from participation in NATO.

Greek leaders have sought to give the impression of movement toward democracy. They are expected to defend themselves at next month's meeting by citing steps they have taken, including recent talk of a still-vague timetable for the restoration of representative government.

But the regime will be presenting its arguments against the background of the most detailed and official condemnation of its actions yet. The report represents the efforts of lawyers who took hundreds of hours of testimony and even traveled to Greece for on-the-scene investigation. Some have called their work the weightiest international legal inquiry since the Nuremberg trial of war criminals after World War II.

Technically, the council cannot take any steps on the basis of the report until three months after its submission. But such countries as Britain, Norway, Sweden and Denmark believe there are sufficient grounds for action now anyway.

## CHARTER VIOLATION CHARGED

The conclusions—that the use of torture had been established “beyond doubt,” that human freedoms are violated and that no Communist threat existed at the time of the coup—go to the heart of the case. The report concludes that the Greek regime has thus violated the conditions of membership, in particular Article 3.

That article in the charter of the council, founded 20 years ago, states that members “must accept the principles of the rule of law and of the enjoyment by all persons within its jurisdiction of human rights and fundamental freedoms.”

Such rights may be suspended under the charter in “time of peril or other public emergency threatening the life of the nation,” but the commission found that these conditions did not exist at the time of the coup.

The report said that while there was a period of “political instability and tension” in Greece, this did not constitute a “public emergency.” While there were demonstrations in the streets, it said, the situation did “not differ markedly from that in many other countries in Europe.”

It also rejected the Greek Government's argument that continued suspension of rights was necessary because of bomb incidents and the growth of “illegal organizations.”

“The commission does not find, on the evidence before it,” it said, “that either factor is beyond the control of the public authorities using normal measures, or that they are on a scale threatening the life of the Greek nation.”

## CONFRONTED GREEK AUTHORITIES

The report said that competent Greek authorities, “confronted with numerous and

substantial complaints and allegations of torture and ill-treatment,” failed to take any effective steps to investigate them or to insure remedies for “any such complaints or allegations found to be true.”

Moreover, the report said that Greeks were being denied such fundamental rights as freedom of expression, association, a fair trial, and free elections at regular intervals, such rights, it noted, are required under the council's charter.

The report, prepared by a subcommission of the Human Rights Commission, was adopted by the parent group earlier this month. It was submitted to the member countries nine days ago.

The council, primarily an advisory organization, was organized to further political, social and economic unity of Europe. Its other members are Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, France, West Germany, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Turkey.

## GREECE: TROUBLE AHEAD FOR THE COLONELS

LONDON.—The regime of the colonels in Greece will shortly face one its more difficult diplomatic tests since the 1967 coup that brought it to power. The Council of Europe, meeting in Paris a week from this Friday, will consider suspending Greece from membership because of her undemocratic military government. The expectation here is that the council will vote for the suspension.

The move against Greece has more than the usual potential of mere name-calling motions in international organization. This action might have a real political effect in Greece. And it is also noteworthy because it has aroused a rare difference of diplomatic opinion between Britain and the United States.

Britain is going to vote against the colonels, and the Foreign Office is playing a leading part in trying to persuade others among the 18 council members to do so. The United States, which is not a member of the Council of Europe, has indicated to its European allies its uneasiness over the British move.

The American concern is with Greece's position in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The growing number of Soviet ships in the Mediterranean, the coup in Libya and the unending Arab-Israeli tension have all intensified the view in Washington that Greece is vital as a military ally.

## U.S. MILITARY AID

American military assistance, which was cut off after the colonels' revolution in 1967, was resumed in part after the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia last year. Some aircraft, minesweepers and other items especially useful for NATO support are now going to Greece. And the United States again has an ambassador in Athens.

What worries American officials is that the colonels, in pique at a slap from the Council of Europe, might suspend Greek participation in NATO's operations on the southern flank of Europe. Diplomats here report that various Greek sources have been voicing threats of that kind in an effort to prevent an adverse council vote.

British officials are skeptical at the notion of Greece's withdrawing from NATO in pique. They argue that the Athens regime needs NATO more than the alliance needs it—especially because the colonels depend for their power or support from the army, which greatly values the NATO role.

European sentiment against the colonels will doubtless be further stirred by a report of the European Human Rights Commission. A massive study of repression under the military regime, in four volumes, it began leaking out here over this weekend. The study concludes that the regime has made a practice of using torture and has denied most of the fundamental rights of man—of expression, association, fair trial and free elections.

The charter of the Council of Europe, an advisory body created in 1949, says that members “must accept the principles of the rule of law and of the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms.” It is because the council has that political basis that Michael Stewart, the British Foreign Secretary, has insisted on dealing with Greece.

At the last meeting of the Committee of Ministers, in May, Greece was in effect put on probation. A resolution warned that she would be suspended unless the Government took steps to restore democracy and the rule of law.

British officials see no sign that the colonels have rule since then. No date has been set for any elections. The press is still gagged. The colonels dismissed the President of their Council of State last summer when he found that they had gone beyond their powers in acting against some judges; for good measure the colonels exiled the lawyers who had handled the case.

American diplomats say the United States has persistently urged the colonels to get the country back to representative democracy. But the United States is plainly reluctant to apply direct pressure.

One American worry is that successful action against Greece in the Council of Europe would lead to demands for her expulsion from NATO. The British argue that NATO's purpose is altogether different. They also say that failure to do anything in the Council of Europe might bring pressure in three NATO countries—Norway, Denmark and the Netherlands—for a move against Greece in NATO.

The members of the Council of Europe are Austria, Belgium, Britain, Cyprus, Denmark, France, West Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and Turkey. At least 10 of the 18 must vote for expulsion for the motion to prevail.

The council's purpose is to further the political, economic and social unity of Europe. It has sponsored a large number of treaties on legal, social and practical communications questions. One of the treaties is the European Human Rights Convention, which is accepted by many European states and has a court to enforce its provisions.

Exclusion from the council would bother the Greek regime primarily as a symbol—a blow to the prestige that the colonels have carefully tried to foster. Loss of council membership would also deprive Greece of her seats in the Parliament of Europe, which sits in Strasbourg and acts as an advisory legislative body for Europe.

DR. WILLIAM MASON, OF TRUESDALE HOSPITAL

HON. MARGARET M. HECKLER

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 5, 1969

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, few human relationships are nobler and more endearing than that of the physician and the families he serves. In this day of the medical specialist, however, the traditional family physician has become a vanishing breed.

It is fitting, therefore, to pay high tribute to a man like Dr. William Mason, of Truesdale Hospital, in Fall River, Mass. He typifies the traditional family physician. I think for many of us this article, which I am inserting in the Record, will bring back “memories that bless and burn” of our own family doctors.

December 4, 1969

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S 15643

ration of the Colonies from the motherland, but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but I hope to the world, for all future time."

The man we are honoring this week is Walter Knott, former tenant farmer and founder of the famed Knott's Berry Farm, and the motivating spirit behind the creation of a second Independence Hall and Heritage House on the Knott grounds at Buena Park, California.

If you have been a listener to these weekly discourses on what has been happening to the American Dream, and how we may keep it from perishing, you will understand the thrill I experienced last month when I spent a day with Walter Knott, and learned how this tenant farmer who lived in a log cabin with a dirt floor, and without subsidies or security guarantees, built one of the great enterprises of the nation.

I learned that Mrs. Knott, now 80 and still supervising the serving of up to 6,000 chicken dinners on Sundays, had eight customers the first day she opened her house to paid guests. I learned why Walter Knott would want to build America's second Independence Hall—down to the thumb and finger prints on 140-thousand specially made bricks, to the chipping of the huge block and crack of the Liberty Bell, and on up to the gold plated weather vane 168-feet above the street.

After admiring the craftsmanship that recreated the great bell, Mrs. Wimmer and I were ushered into a little theatre where we witnessed a cineramic presentation of great paintings that vividly portrayed the centuries of man's struggle for freedom and independence, which prepared us for the next event that was to take place in an Assembly Room, the exact duplicate in every detail of the Assembly Room in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, where the debate on the Declaration was held.

We took our seats on the same kind of backless benches on which spectators and the press of olden days viewed the debates of the Colonies, and after a brief lecture, the lights were turned off, and from each of the thirteen tables candles began to burn and voices rose from each table as arguments over the Declaration began.

From the sound track there rose also the noise of the storm outside, and the sound of rain beating upon the roof could be heard, and above it all the protests, challenges, compromises and fears that marked one of the most memorable days in the history of man.

Some of the voices were heated. There was pleading: Soft, Passionate, Convincing, Challenging, and as a delegate walked across the Hall, making his point, the sound of footsteps and the voice moved with him.

These men were reminded that they were sealing their death warrant if the Declaration were adopted; if the Revolutionary War was lost, or if they were captured, but as one of the delegates said: "We are also deciding the fate of the Thirteen Colonies, and maybe the fate of generations untold."

In the end, they signed the Declaration, pledging their lives, fortunes, and sacred honor; knowing, as someone remarked, they "would have to hang together or hang separately."

As we emerged from the Assembly Room, Mrs. Wimmer remarked in a hushed voice, "we were there when it happened," and I understood for the first time what must have burned in the heart of Walter Knott, and in the hearts of those whose inspired help created such a colossal enterprise.

Of special interest, I think, was the need of putting the voices of the Signers on one strip of tape, which technicians had declared was impossible. A new machine and a new process had to be invented, and it was. The cracking of the Bell presented another problem, and it is a story unto itself. The inde-

pendent Lund Paint Company produced a paint formula the same as that used on the original Hall. Craftsmen at the Berry Farm performed the cabinet work and made the gorgeous chandeliers and the famed Rising Sun Chair used by the Speaker. Two 60-foot flag poles were donated by the Atlantic-Richfield Company before the company was taken over by the British. The four great clocks, with their ten-foot faces, were made by the skilled men of The American Sign & Indicator Corporation, and independent Don Koll Construction Company, builder of the great Hall, raised them to their lofty positions.

Yes, it was "We The People"—as Walter Knott would say it, who dug the raw materials from the earth; who molded them into bricks, copper and steel, and who fitted the work of hand and machine into place.

Listening to this unparalleled story of our rise as a free enterprise nation, and thinking back to those hours of indecision that must have haunted the Pilgrims, I recalled the words of William Bradford, the great Pilgrim Governor of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, that "great and honorable actions are accompanied by great difficulties, and must be both enterprised and overcome with answerable courage."

According to historical accounts, the crew and captain of the Speedwell, sister ship of the Mayflower, must have gotten faint heart because they managed to create delays that ended in a final count of 102 strong hearts being put aboard the Mayflower, to begin a voyage as immortal as life itself.

What fears they must have suffered. The sickness and death. The storms and fog. The unknown dangers that awaited them if they ever reached land, yet all we hear today, it seems, is "give the people this and give them that;" welfare, welfare, welfare, and what welfare is there to life if man is to lose the enterprise to overcome? If he stands in his ghetto and blames everyone but himself for his plight? If he shall run his own farm or business and look not to the threats against his country or his family until trouble is on his own doorstep?

Lowell wrote that the American Republic will endure only so long as the ideas of the men who founded it remain dominant, but has any generation ever drifted so far afield from the ideas, the dreams of the American Revolution, as the present generation?

I say to everyone, everywhere in America, that Jefferson was either right or wrong when he warned "it is not to the advantage of a Republic that a few should control the many, when nature has scattered so much talent through the conditions of men;" and that James Madison was either right or wrong when he warned: "Hold fast to programs, both rational and moral, that have as their central goal a constant diffusion of power."

Both these men feared too much power in too few hands. Both spoke constantly of moral values being basic to social, economic and political values, and they knew if safeguards were not erected that every step of the people would be away from a free Republic and toward great concentrations of power now seen in holding companies, conglomerates, giant labor unions, powerful chain store systems, and all-embracing government.

All trends today—everywhere—are away from the self-determination, self-reliance, independent enterprise, local control over local affairs in government that is basic to the philosophy upon which our nation was founded, but despite a clamor of voices raised against this change in our society, voices such as our own National Federation of Independent Business now reaching millions of people weekly, the task of turning the tide is shirked or ignored by so many who have so much to lose.

I believe there are people in this audience from all walks of life who see the America of yesterday as a kind of Messiah among the

nations of the world, and our youth today are asking that she fulfill this role. They know little of how to fill their part of the role or what it really is. They ask only for a cause—not knowing that the TIMES are their cause, and it is so with older Americans, in all walks of life.

And so I say to all of you in radio land, the debate that took place in Independence Hall must begin all over again, for only on the battlefields of the minds of men will such great ideas as those which founded our nation be revived. We need to say My Country "Tis of Thee, Sweet Land of Liberty in the way it ran through the minds of the poor, uneducated immigrants who knelt on the decks of ships that emerged from the fog and into sight of the Statute of Liberty, weeping when they saw the great Torch of Freedom held high in the heavens over New York harbor.

No other people in the world were ever so blessed with so many opportunities to serve their nation and the world, for what hopes would there be for people anywhere who love liberty, if America should lose her hold on the traditions and wealth with which she is now possessed?

George Washington wrote: "The fate of the Republic is in the hands of God," but he called upon all Americans, both then and now, to "raise a standard to which the good and wise can repair;" saying in effect that if God gives all things to man, if he neglects, forgets or misuses his freedom, all things will someday be taken from him.

Let us set our course with the zeal, courage and dreams which motivated those who took to pathless seas, to find a land where they could sow their seeds and reap their harvests, free from the tyrannies of the old world.

Their dreams came true, and later generations called it The American Dream . . . a dream that took Walter Knott from a humble tenant farm to the builder of a second Hall of American Independence, to help make the first one live.

From an address by Abraham Lincoln (Cincinnati, 1858): "Let us appeal to the sense and patriotism of the people, not to their prejudices; let us spread the floods of enthusiasm here aroused all over these vast prairies so suggestive of freedom. There is both a power and a magic in popular opinion. To that let us now appeal."

## ME TORTURE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS BY THE GREEK GOVERNMENT

Mr. PELL, Mr. President, the European Commission on Human Rights has been working for almost 2 years on a report accusing the Greek Government of torturing political prisoners as a matter of policy.

While this report must remain confidential until it has been fully considered by the Council, the London Sunday Times has secured a copy of it, an abstract of which appeared in the Washington Post of today.

I ask unanimous consent that this abstract be inserted in the Record following my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.  
(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. PELL. If this report of the European Commission on Human Rights does result in the expulsion or suspension of Greece from the Council of Europe I believe this would be a very good thing in that it might be the dash of cold water needed to jolt the Colonels' junta in putting its foot down on the use of torture and might even push them along on the road toward elections.

S15644

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

December 4, 1969

## EXHIBIT 1

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post,  
Dec. 4, 1969]GREEK REGIME SAYS TO TORTURE JAIL  
OPPONENTS

LONDON.—A secret report prepared by the European Commission on Human Rights accuses the Greek government of torturing political prisoners as a matter of policy.

Almost certainly the findings of the report will lead to Greece being expelled from the Council of Europe this month.

The Sunday Times has examined a copy of the report, which lists 213 cases in which there is prima facie evidence of torture. And the report produces evidence suggesting that five men, all named, have died as a result of the policy of torture.

The chief method employed was beating on the soles of the feet, which is extremely painful but leaves little or no trace.

The report alleges that a member of the ruling junta, Ioannis Ladas, personally tortured one prisoner.

But perhaps more important than the details of brutality is the fact that the commission deals in detail with the defense which the Greek government has given for its admitted suspension of civil liberties.

The Greeks have always claimed that there was a Communist, or "Leftist" plan to seize power averted only by the colonels' own coup in 1967.

The 15 international lawyers of the Commission reject the Greek evidence that there was any such plot, and accuse the junta of producing forged evidence.

In September 1967, Sweden, Denmark, Norway and the Netherlands charged the Greek regime, fellow-member with themselves of the Council of Europe, with having violated certain fundamental rights of the Greek people. Six months later, the four protesting governments extended their indictment.

They accused the Greek government of torture—not merely random cases of arbitrary police brutality, but of a state of affairs where "high officials within the hierarchy of state authorities or with their permission or knowledge . . . permit or even systematically make use of torture."

A nation cannot remain a member of the Council unless it is a parliamentary democracy. So the charge made against Greece implied at once the sanction of expulsion.

The task of examining the case was given to the Commission on Human Rights, based like the council itself in Strasbourg. Eight international lawyers have spent the intervening two years on the investigation, interrogating eighty-seven witnesses, including officials of the Greek junta, political prisoners still in jail in Greece, politicians in exile, journalists, doctors, workers for Amnesty International, and even at one stage a waiter in Liverpool.

Another seven lawyers joined in the evaluation of the evidence. The result is that the Greek junta has been found guilty precisely as charged. Almost inevitably, this means that Greece will be expelled from the Council of Europe this month.

The 1,200-page report of the commission remains a secret document. There is no present official intention to publish it. However, the Sunday Times has been able to obtain a copy, and extracts are published on the grounds that it presents perhaps the nearest possible approach to a definitive account of the condition of liberty in Greece.

The commission mentions 213 cases in which there is prima facie evidence of torture—some can be more thoroughly documented than others. And it produces evidence to suggest that at least five people may have died as a result of torture inflicted.

These are named as Costas Paleologos, Ioannis Chalkidis, George Tsarouchas, Panayiotis Ellis and Nikiforos Mandilaras.

Torture is only one aspect of the suspension of civil liberties laid to the junta's ac-

count. In defense, the Greek government claimed before the Commission that the suspension of civil liberties was justified by the existence of a danger to the State. The commission devotes about half its report to the matter of this defense; this is, perhaps, the most detailed examination of the well-known allegation that leftwing groups were planning violent revolution before the coup which brought the junta to power in 1967.

The commission finds that there is considerable evidence that no such plans existed for the overthrow of the state.

The junta also produced a letter which purported to show that the late George Papandreu, the leader of the Center Party, had been negotiating with the Communists. The commissioner found that one of the junta's own witnesses, a Dr. Kapsaskis, had proved this document to be a forgery five years previously.

In the 430-page section on torture, the Commission lists and analyses the evidence it heard from 38 witnesses in Athens and Strasbourg. Sixteen of these claimed to be victims of torture; 25 were accused police officers and others in official positions under the regime.

Then the commission gives its conclusions—reached by majorities of 10 to 13. "The commission has found it established beyond doubt that torture or ill-treatment . . . has been inflicted in a number of cases."

This has been a sustained policy: "There has since April, 1967, been a practice of torture and ill-treatment by the Athens Security Police, in Bouboulinas Street, or persons arrested for political offenses. This torture and ill-treatment has most often consisted of the application of 'falanga,' or severe beatings to all parts of the body. Its purpose has been the extraction of information including confessions concerning the political activities and associations of the victims and other persons considered to be subversive."

Moreover, the junta has condoned this to the point at which torture has become "administrative practice." "The competent Greek authorities, confronted with numerous and substantial complaints and allegations of torture and ill-treatment, have failed to take any effective steps to investigate them or to ensure remedies for such complaints or allegations found to be true."

The Commission devotes one entire volume of its report simply to listing 213 people who are alleged to have been tortured, and the evidence available in each case.

This, the commission agrees, does not provide proof. But the report points out: "The commission cannot ignore the sheer number of complaints . . . It is not able to reject the whole as a conspiracy by Communist and antigovernment groups to discredit the government and the police . . . It cannot but regard the actual number of complaints brought before it as strong indication that acts of torture or ill-treatment are not isolated or exceptional, nor limited to one place."

Faced with this mass of cases to examine the commission decided to take a sort of random sample and focus on selected cases throughout Greece. "The . . . commission has investigated 30 cases to a substantial degree and expressed some conclusion with regard to 28 of them. With regard to these cases the Commission finds it established that: torture or ill-treatment has been inflicted in 11 individual cases (it then lists the cases) . . . the evidence before the commission of torture or ill-treatment having been inflicted on 17 other individuals demands further investigation . . . the commission was in effect prevented directly or indirectly by the respondent government (Greece) from completing its investigation of these cases . . ."

The junta refused to allow the commission to see 21 witnesses. Among those 21 were the

alleged victims most reliably reported to bear still the physical marks of their experiences.

In most cases, however, a method of torture, *falanga*, had been chosen which does not leave marks. The report describes it: "Falanga or bastinado has been a method of torture known for centuries. It is the beating of the feet with a wooden or metal stick or bar which, if skillfully done, breaks no bones, makes no skin lesions, and leaves no permanent and recognizable marks, but causes intense pain and swelling of the feet . . ."

Lacking simple medical evidence, the Commission spent months cross-checking witnesses' stories. The 30 cases the Commission examined in this detail are a recital of horror.

On one page are details of the beating which Ioannis Ladas, then Secretary-General of the Ministry of Public Order, personally gave to a journalist of whom he disapproved—"He struck me with his fist . . . and started pouring out insults . . ."

"You are a pany, a Bulgar. You shall die. I shall kill you with my bare hands . . ."

On other pages is the tragedy of Anastasia Tsirka—Police came to her house on the night of September 23, 1967 and found three leaflets of a banned organization. Tsirka was tortured to discover who had given them to her. The beatings of the Security police in Bouboulinas Street killed her unborn child. The doctors think she is now probably sterile.

The junta maintained it had conducted an inquiry into Mrs. Tsirka's allegations and disproved them. The commission found that the inquiry had omitted even to question doctors at the hospital to which she was taken after her miscarriage.

RANDOM DRAFT SELECTION—  
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

MR. STENNIS. Mr. President, a great number of inquiries have come from Members of the Senate, as well as from the people of the Nation, about the drawing under the new Selective Service Act. Selective Service has prepared a number of questions and answers that are most commonly asked about this subject, and I ask unanimous consent that, for the information of the membership and the public, the questions and answers which have been prepared be inserted in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the questions and answers were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

## RANDOM SELECTION QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Question. Explain the drawing under the recently amended Selective Service Act.

Answer. On December 1, there was a drawing in Washington of 366 closed capsules in each of which was a slip of paper on which was written a month and day of the year, for example, May 2, June 1, etc. The order in which these capsules were drawn determines the relative position in the national random sequence of registrants born on all the dates of the year including February 29. As September 14 was drawn first, all men born on September 14 are No. 1 in the national random sequence. As June 8 was drawn last, all men with that birthday are No. 366 in the national random sequence.

Question. How will this sequence be used by local boards?

Answer. Each local board will assign numbers to its registrants who are in I-A or who become I-A in accord with the national sequence. Some local boards may not have at any one time men with birthdays on every day. In such a case the local board



S15006

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

November 25, 1969

## THE NIXON-SATO COMMUNIQUE

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, during the weekend, I had an opportunity to study the communique issued Friday by the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Japan.

It was cordial in tone, as it should have been. It is important, I feel, that there be a close and friendly relationship between Japan and the United States.

Prime Minister Sato's visit to the United States, as President Nixon made clear, should help achieve a better understanding between the two countries.

The text of the communique is three columns of newspaper type. It is divided into 15 brief sections.

The key section is number 6.

This is the section which deals specifically with Okinawa. In this section, the Prime Minister emphasized his view that the time had come to respond to the strong desire of the people of Japan to return Okinawa to Japanese control. President Nixon expressed appreciation of the Prime Minister's view:

Now we come to the key sentences:

They (President Nixon and Prime Minister Sato) therefore agreed that the two governments would immediately enter into consultations regarding specific arrangements for accomplishing the early reversion of Okinawa without detriment to the security of the Far East, including Japan.

They further agreed to expedite the consultations with a view to accomplishing the reversion during 1972, subject to the conclusion of these specific arrangements with the necessary legislative support.

Now, let us analyze the above language.

Just what agreement was reached by Mr. Nixon and Mr. Sato.

First. They agreed that the two governments would immediately enter into consultations regarding specific arrangements for accomplishing the early reversion of Okinawa, and,

Second. Such consultations would be subject to the conclusion of these specific arrangements with the necessary legislative support.

So, it seems clear that the only agreement made by President Nixon is one of principle; namely, an early reversion of Okinawa.

But no details have been agreed to.

No specific arrangements have been agreed to.

The agreement, to cite the text of the communique, is to "enter into consultations regarding specific arrangements."

As one who feels that the United States must have the unrestricted use of Okinawa, our greatest military complex in the far Pacific, if we are to continue our widespread commitments in Asia, I frankly am relieved since reading the text of the communique.

The text does not bear out the newspaper headlines concerning the communique.

The only agreement President Nixon made was to "immediately enter into consultations regarding specific arrangements."

And then that was followed by the two leaders of government specifying that any specific arrangements would be subject to legislative support which, insofar

as the United States is concerned, means approval by the Senate.

I am glad to state to the Senate that I support this communique. It should help Prime Minister Sato in Japan without forfeiture by the United States of any control over Okinawa other than agreeing to enter "into consultations regarding specific arrangements."

I am especially pleased that the Senate's role in any final arrangements affecting Okinawa is specifically recognized in the text of the communique.

The fact that this is so clearly spelled out in the communique results, I feel, from the action taken by the Senate of the United States on November 5, 1969.

On that date, the Senate, by a recorded vote of 63 to 14, specified that any change in the Treaty of Peace with Japan must come to the Senate for approval or disapproval.

In the Nixon/Sato communique 16 days later, both leaders recognized that any "specific arrangements" affecting Okinawa would be subject to Senate approval.

In my judgment, this establishes a historic precedent and one which is of vital importance both to the Senate and to the Nation.

President Johnson, last year, unilaterally returned to Japan the Bonin Islands, which included Iwo Jima, without submitting his action to the Senate for ratification.

The Senate was not aware of President Johnson's action until the deed had been accomplished.

But the Senate on November 5 of this year served notice that any changes in treaties previously ratified by the Senate must be submitted to the Senate for approval.

This action of the Senate on November 5, followed by the Nixon/Sato communique of November 21, makes clear that both the Senate and President Nixon are aware that no change may be made in the present status of Okinawa without Senate approval.

It is difficult to predict what the Senate will do in regard to Okinawa—and I do not intend to try.

The leadership of the Senate favors an early return of Okinawa to Japan, but I have talked with a great many Senators who do not agree with that viewpoint.

I have the feeling that the United States will be retaining the free and unrestricted use of Okinawa until such time as we reduce our commitments to defend so many Asian nations. It is my hope that we will soon begin to reduce our Asian commitments.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the text of the Nixon-Sato communique be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the communique was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

## THE NIXON-SATO COMMUNIQUE

WASHINGTON, November 21.—Following is the text of the joint communique issued today by President Nixon and Premier Eisaku Sato of Japan:

[1]

President Nixon and Prime Minister Sato met in Washington on Nov. 19, 20 and 21, 1969, to exchange views on the present inter-

national situation and on other matters of mutual interest to the United States and Japan.

[2]

The President and the Prime Minister recognized that both the United States and Japan have greatly benefited from their close association in a variety of fields, and they declared that guided by their common principles of democracy and liberty, the two countries would maintain and strengthen their fruitful cooperation in the continuing search for world peace and prosperity and in particular for the relaxation of international tensions. The President expressed his and his Government's deep interest in Asia and stated his belief that the United States and Japan should cooperate in contributing to the peace and prosperity of the region. The Prime Minister stated that Japan would make further active contributions to the peace and prosperity of Asia.

[3]

The President and the Prime Minister exchanged frank views on the current international situation, with particular attention to developments in the Far East. The President, while emphasizing that the countries in the area were expected to make their own efforts for the stability of the area, gave assurance that the United States would continue to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security in the Far East by honoring its defense treaty obligations in the area. The Prime Minister, appreciating the determination of the United States, stressed that it was important for the peace and security of the Far East that the United States should be in a position to carry out fully its obligations referred to by the President. He further expressed his recognition that, in the light of the present situation, the presence of United States forces in the Far East constituted a mainstay for the stability of the area.

[4]

The President and the Prime Minister specifically noted the continuing tension over the Korean peninsula. The Prime Minister deeply appreciated the peace-keeping efforts of the United Nations in the area and stated that the security of the Republic of Korea was essential to Japan's own security. The President and the Prime Minister shared the hope that Communist China would adopt a more cooperative and constructive attitude in its external relations. The President referred to the treaty obligations of his country to the Republic of China which the United States would uphold. The Prime Minister said that the maintenance of peace and security in the Taiwan area was also a most important factor for the security of Japan. The President described the earnest efforts made by the United States for a peaceful and just settlement of the Vietnam problem. The President and the Prime Minister expressed the strong hope that the war in Vietnam would be concluded before return of the administrative rights over Okinawa to Japan. In this connection, they agreed that, should peace in Vietnam not have been realized, the time reversion of Okinawa is scheduled to take place, the two Governments would fully consult with each other in the light of the situation at that time so that reversion would be accomplished without affecting the United States efforts to assure the South Vietnamese people the opportunity to determine their own political future without outside interference. The Prime Minister stated that Japan was exploring what role she could play in bringing about stability in the Indochina area.

[5]

In light of the current situation and the prospects in the Far East, the President and the Prime Minister agreed that they highly valued the role played by the Treaty of Mu-

November 25, 1969

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE

S15005

OHIO STATE TOTAL—Continued

B SERIES—SYSTEMS WITH AT LEAST 1 SCHOOL WITH MINORITY GROUP ENROLLMENT OVER 80 PERCENT—Continued

DISTRICT: AKRON. NUMBER OF SCHOOLS: 71. REPRESENTING: 71. CITY: AKRON. COUNTY: 77 SUMMIT—Continued

	Students—							Weight: 1.0— grades	Teachers—						
	American Indians	Negro	Oriental	Spanish- American	Minority total	Other	Total		American Indians	Negro	Oriental	Spanish- American	Minority total	Other	Total
Highland Park (43).....	0	1	3	1	5	737	742	011111110000000 (0.7)	0	2	0	0	2	26	28
Smith (67).....	0	1	2	0	3	519	522	011111110000000 (0.6)	0	0	0	0	0	15	15
Windemere (70).....	0	0	3	0	3	565	563	011111110000000 (0.5)	0	0	0	0	0	18	18
King (49).....	0	3	0	0	3	660	663	011111110000000 (0.5)	0	1	0	0	1	21	22
Firestone (6).....	0	3	0	1	4	1,340	1,344	000000000001110 (0.3)	0	2	0	0	2	50	52
Hatton (40).....	0	2	0	0	2	981	983	011111110000000 (0.2)	0	2	0	0	2	28	30
Ellet (4).....	0	2	0	0	2	1,132	1,134	000000000001110 (0.2)	0	1	0	0	1	45	46
Ritzman (63).....	0	0	1	0	1	797	798	011111110000000 (0.1)	0	2	0	0	2	24	26
Fairlawn (31).....	0	0	1	0	1	834	835	011111110000000 (0.1)	0	1	0	0	1	24	25
Hyre (14).....	0	1	0	0	1	1,369	1,370	000000001110000 (0.1)	0	1	0	0	1	49	50
Betty Jane (24).....	0	0	0	0	0	1,111	1,111	011111110000000 (0.0)	0	2	0	0	2	37	39
Hillwood (45).....	0	0	0	0	0	101	101	010000000000000 (0.0)	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Firestone Park (33).....	0	0	0	0	0	1,057	1,057	011111110000000 (0.0)	0	2	0	0	2	29	31
Guinther (38).....	0	0	0	0	0	289	289	011100000000000 (0.0)	0	0	0	0	0	8	8
Voris (59).....	0	0	0	0	0	596	596	011111110000000 (0.0)	0	0	0	0	0	27	27
Thomastown (68).....	0	0	0	0	0	298	298	011111110000000 (0.0)	0	0	0	0	0	10	10
Lawndale (51).....	0	0	0	0	0	421	421	011111110000000 (0.0)	0	1	0	0	1	13	14

DISTRICT: WARREN CITY. NUMBER OF SCHOOLS: 24. REPRESENTING: 24. CITY: WARREN. COUNTY: 78 TRUMBULL. ASSURANCE: 441

Number Percent	0	3,206 22.4	10 .1	11 .1	3,227 22.6	11,083 77.4	14,310 100		0	26 4.6	0	1 .2	27 4.8	536 95.2	563 100
First Street (10).....	0	493	0	0	493	15	508	101111110000001 (97.0)	0	6	0	0	6	16	22
Washington (22).....	0	242	0	0	242	33	275	101111110000001 (98.0)	0	2	0	0	2	11	13
JeGerson (12).....	0	412	1	0	413	116	529	111111110000000 (78.1)	0	2	0	0	2	19	21
Tod Avenue Element- ary (20).....	0	102	0	0	102	52	154	011111110000001 (66.2)	0	0	0	0	0	8	8
Willard (24).....	0	305	1	1	307	158	465	111111110000000 (66.0)	0	1	0	0	1	19	20
Market (2).....	0	159	0	0	159	96	255	000000001111110 (62.4)	0	5	0	0	5	11	16
Roosevelt (18).....	0	117	0	1	118	367	485	011111110000000 (24.3)	0	0	0	0	0	16	16
West (23).....	0	165	1	0	166	547	713	000000011000000 (23.3)	0	0	0	0	0	32	32
Last (7).....	0	156	0	0	156	556	712	000000011000000 (21.9)	0	1	0	0	1	31	32
Turner (21).....	0	121	1	0	122	517	639	000000011000000 (19.1)	0	0	0	0	0	24	24
Warren Western Re- serve (3).....	0	358	3	1	362	1,577	1,939	000000000111110 (18.7)	0	3	0	0	3	82	85
Mann (15).....	0	125	0	0	125	580	705	011111110000001 (17.7)	0	0	0	0	0	22	22
Harding (1).....	0	294	1	5	300	1,546	1,946	000000000111110 (15.4)	0	3	0	1	4	84	88
Alden (4).....	0	56	1	0	57	383	440	011111110000000 (13.0)	0	0	0	0	0	15	15
Elm Road (8).....	0	32	1	0	33	320	353	011111110000000 (9.3)	0	2	0	0	2	11	13
Laird Avenue (13).....	0	40	0	0	40	427	467	111111110000000 (8.6)	0	1	0	0	1	14	15
Dickey Avenue (6).....	0	12	0	2	14	413	427	011111110000000 (3.3)	0	0	0	0	0	15	15
McKinley (17).....	0	8	0	0	8	498	506	011111110000000 (1.6)	0	0	0	0	0	16	16
Emerson (9).....	0	6	0	0	6	672	678	011111110000000 (0.9)	0	0	0	0	0	22	22
Garfield (11).....	0	2	0	1	3	452	455	011111110000000 (0.7)	0	0	0	0	0	15	15
McGuffey (16).....	0	1	0	0	1	554	555	011111110000000 (0.2)	0	0	0	0	0	19	19
Lincoln (14).....	0	0	0	0	0	168	168	011111110000000 (0)	0	0	0	0	0	7	7
Secrest (19).....	0	0	0	0	0	516	516	011111110000000 (0)	0	0	0	0	0	14	14
Devon (5).....	0	0	0	0	0	420	420	011111110000000 (0)	0	0	0	0	0	13	13

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

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tual Cooperation and Security in maintaining the peace and security of the Far East including Japan, and they affirmed the intention of the two Governments firmly to maintain the treaty on the basis of mutual trust and common evaluation of the international situation. They further agreed that the two Governments should maintain close contact with each other on matters affecting the peace and security of the Far East, including Japan, and on the implementation of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security.

[6]

The Prime Minister emphasized his view that the time had come to respond to the strong desire of the people of Japan, of both the mainland and Okinawa, to have the administrative rights over Okinawa returned to Japan on the basis of the friendly relations between the United States and Japan and thereby to restore Okinawa to its normal status. The President expressed appreciation of the Prime Minister's view. The President and the Prime Minister also recognized the vital role played by United States forces in Okinawa in the present situation in the Far East. As a result of their discussion it was agreed that the mutual security interests of the United States and Japan could be accommodated within arrangements for the return of the administrative rights over Okinawa to Japan. They therefore agreed that the two Governments would immediately enter into consultations regarding specific arrangements for accomplishing the early reversion of Okinawa without detriment to the security of the Far East including Japan. They further agreed to expedite the consultations with a view to accomplishing the reversion during 1972, subject to the conclusion of these specific arrangements with the necessary legislative support. In this connection, the Prime Minister made clear the intention of his Government, following reversion, to assume gradually the responsibility for the immediate defense of Okinawa as part of Japan's defense efforts for her own territories. The President and the Prime Minister agreed also that the United States would retain, under the terms of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security, such military facilities and areas in Okinawa as required in the mutual security of both countries.

[7]

The President and the Prime Minister agreed that, upon return of the administrative rights, the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security and its related arrangements would apply to Okinawa without modification thereof. In this connection, the Prime Minister affirmed the recognition of his Government that the security of Japan could not be adequately maintained without international peace and security in the Far East and, therefore, the security of countries in the Far East was a matter of serious concern for Japan. The Prime Minister was of the view that, in the light of such recognition on the part of the Japanese Government, the return of the administrative rights over Okinawa in the manner agreed above should not hinder the effective discharge of the international obligations assumed by the United States for the defense of countries in the Far East, including Japan. The President replied that he shared the Prime Minister's view.

[8]

The Prime Minister described in detail the particular sentiment of the Japanese people against nuclear weapons and the policy of the Japanese Government reflecting such sentiment. The President expressed his deep understanding and assured the Prime Minister that, without prejudice to the position of the United States Government with respect to the prior consultation

system under the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security, the reversion of Okinawa would be carried out in a manner consistent with the policy of the Japanese Government as described by the Prime Minister.

[9]

The President and the Prime Minister took note of the fact that there would be a number of financial and economic problems, including those concerning United States business interests in Okinawa, to be solved between the two countries in connection with the transfer of the administrative rights over Okinawa to Japan and agreed that detailed discussions relative to their solution would be initiated promptly.

[10]

The President and the Prime Minister, recognizing the complexity of the problems involved in the reversion of Okinawa, agreed that the two Governments should consult closely and cooperate on the measures necessary to assure a smooth transfer of administrative rights to the Japanese Government, in accordance with reversion arrangements to be agreed to by both Governments. They agreed that the United States-Japan Consultative Committee in Tokyo should undertake over-all responsibility for this preparatory work. The President and the Prime Minister decided to establish in Okinawa a preparation commission in place of the existing advisory committee to the High Commissioner of the Ryukyu Islands for the purpose of consulting and coordinating locally on measures relating to preparation for the transfer of administrative rights, including necessary assistance to the government of the Ryukyu Islands. The preparatory commission will be composed of a representative of the Japanese Government with ambassadorial rank and the High Commissioner of the Ryukyu Islands, with the chief executive of the government of the Ryukyu Islands acting as adviser to the commission. The commission will report and make recommendations to the two Governments through the United States-Japan Consultative Committee.

[11]

The President and the Prime Minister expressed their conviction that a mutually satisfactory solution of the question of the return of the administrative rights over Okinawa to Japan, which is the last of the major issues between the two countries arising from World War II, would further strengthen United States-Japan relations, which are based on friendship and mutual trust and would make a major contribution to the peace and security of the Far East.

[12]

In their discussion of economic matters, the president and the Prime Minister noted the marked growth in economic relations between the two countries. They also acknowledged that the leading positions which their countries occupy in the world economy impose important responsibilities on each for the maintenance and strengthening of the international trade and monetary system, especially in the light of the current large imbalances in trade and payments. In this regard, the President stressed his determination to bring inflation in the United States under control. He also reaffirmed the commitment of the United States to the principle of promoting freer trade. The Prime Minister indicated the intention of the Japanese Government to accelerate rapidly the reduction of Japan's trade and capital restrictions. Specifically, he stated the intention of the Japanese Government to remove Japan's residual import quota restrictions over a broad range of products by the end of 1971 and to make maximum efforts to accelerate the liberalization of the remaining items. He added that the Japanese Government intends to make periodic reviews of its liberalization program with a view to implementing

trade liberalization at a more accelerated pace than hitherto. The President and the Prime Minister agreed that their respective actions would further solidify the foundation of over-all U.S.-Japan relations.

[13]

The President and the Prime Minister agreed that attention to the economic needs of the developing countries was essential to the development of international peace and stability. The Prime Minister stated the intention of the Japanese Government to expand and improve its aid programs in Asia, commensurate with the economic growth of Japan. The President welcomed this statement and confirmed that the United States would continue to contribute to the economic development of Asia. The President and Prime Minister recognized that there would be major requirements for the post-war rehabilitation of Vietnam and elsewhere in Southeast Asia. The Prime Minister stated the intention of the Japanese Government to make a substantial contribution to this end.

[14]

The Prime Minister congratulated the President on the successful moon landing of Apollo 12, and expressed the hope for a safe journey back to earth for the astronauts. The President and the Prime Minister agreed that the exploration of space offers great opportunities for expanding cooperation in peaceful scientific projects among all nations. In this connection, the Prime Minister noted with pleasure that the United States and Japan last summer had concluded an agreement on space cooperation. The President and the Prime Minister agreed that implementation of this unique program is of importance to both countries.

[15]

The President and the Prime Minister discussed prospects for the promotion of arms control and the slowing down of the arms race. The President outlined his Government's efforts to initiate the strategic arms limitations talks with the Soviet Union that have recently started in Helsinki. The Prime Minister expressed his Government's strong hopes for the success of these talks. The Prime Minister pointed out his country's strong and traditional interest in effective disarmament measures with a view to achievement of general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, I commend our distinguished colleague from Virginia for emphasizing the importance of the Okinawa question to the security of the free world, and its disposition to the interest and participation of the U.S. Senate, as concerns the so-called agreement or communique between President Nixon and Prime Minister Sato.

I do not necessarily enjoy the same comfort as the Senator, but I hope he is right. I do not necessarily enjoy the same assurance that this communique is crystal clear. Having just gone through a 3-month ordeal of headline and substance, and having had the headline prevail after having read the substance over and over again, and lost, and there being no education in the second kick of a mule, I would like to read some of the headlines and show what I believe Prime Minister Sato had in mind as to this particular communique.

The headline in the Japan Times on Tuesday, November 11, was as follows: "Sato Tells Opposition U.S. Will O.K. Reversion Under 1972 Formula." That is the headline.

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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

November 25, 1969

It so happened that the Interparliamentary Union group from the U.S. Senate was in Japan on that day, and visiting in the home of the Prime Minister. It was at practically that same time that the sense of the Senate resolution of the distinguished Senator from Virginia was under consideration here. I would have joined in support of what the Senator from Virginia presented in that resolution. But Mr. Sato received that resolution in the context that it had no bearing whatsoever, and he said so very clearly. He said if he had misunderstood it, he did not believe he would have been invited to the United States to continue with discussions.

He cited the matter that under no circumstance, for example, would the textile talks be confused with the Okinawa question. Now, Mr. President, this is the one section of the article with which I agree. I believe our international security and our commitments in the Far East transcend a singular economic problem like textile jobs, and certainly no one has been more attentive to that particular problem than I.

Some have said that we are going to swap Okinawa for textiles with Japan, and I do not agree with that approach in any way whatsoever. I do not think they should be confused, because this is far, far more important to world peace than fulfilling our commitments in the Far East.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask consent that I be permitted to continue for an additional 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, I thought the Senator from Virginia has yielded the floor. I will be glad to ask the Senator a question.

I do not necessarily wish to join the Senator from Virginia with my particular thoughts. However, I will continue, if the Senator will permit me.

I think there has been some confusion. First, certainly we should not confuse textiles with Okinawa. Second, I deplore the confusion of the Mutual Security Pact of 1964 with the rights of Okinawa.

I am fully aware of the statement of former Secretary of State Foster Dulles and of the ultimate sovereignty. We do not want countries. We did not want the Philippines. We did not want Cuba. We did not want Vietnam. We do not want territorial gain. Everyone knows that.

We do not want the responsibility that has been thrust upon us, but having had it thrust upon us, we should not confuse the mutual security pact with the internal affairs of Japan.

Okinawa is so fundamental in carrying out—at this particular time or any other time—our commitment in the Far East.

It is only, in my judgment, as I see it from listening to Japan itself, the domestic political concern with the reelection of the Prime Minister in January that brings about this confusion. They want to have him reelected. That is fine with me. However, if it comes to filling the commitment or getting him reelected,

I think we should bring it clearly to the attention of the people of Japan that they should assume some of the responsibilities.

I do not think that we should confuse this with legislating the demonstrators when we tell it like it is. And there has been activity engaged in concerning our responsibility or role as Senators. And I am not sure that is appreciated yet by the executive.

I hope that the Senator is correct. I believe that ultimately Okinawa should go back. I think that if we could make an agreement to continue our responsibility and operations in Japan with the unquestioned right of launching combat operations, to use the expression employed in Japan—not just nuclear, but also combat operations—without having to check with the Japanese Government, that is all we would need.

Under the 1972 formula, we have to check with them. This is what Mr. Sato understands. If we could only buy a subscription to the Japanese Times for the Members of the Senate between now and the election in January, we would understand better what has been and is being published in the headlines instead of what is in the actual agreement. I think this is an important agreement.

The Senator from Virginia interprets the Senate's clear language as conveyed in the Byrd resolution as reaffirming the obligation and right of the Senate with respect to treaty obligation. I would wish that if the executive disagrees with the Senator's version, he would so state.

I think that the Senator from Virginia has brought about a very important understanding and brought it to the light of truth.

Getting behind the headlines and to the substance of the matter, I can see where the substance of the Senator's interpretation is founded. However, unfortunately, that has not been my experience.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished and able Senator from South Carolina. I associate myself with his statements for the most part.

In regard to what Mr. Sato may feel about what should happen to Okinawa, that is his own personal view. However, I am taking the language of the communique signed by the President of the United States and by the Prime Minister of Japan at face value.

I am assuming that they are being fair with the American people and with the Japanese people and with the Senate of the United States, and that the executive branch of the Government will do what the communique says it will do, and that is, submit any proposal affecting Okinawa to the Senate of the United States.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be recognized for an additional 3 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, if that is done, I am convinced that there are enough Senators who feel that

Okinawa is vital to the United States if our country is to continue to guarantee the freedom of so many Asian nations.

I have no doubt that Prime Minister Sato will endeavor to use his discussions with the President to his political advantage in Japan. And like the Senator from South Carolina, I see no particular objection to that. He is entitled to put whatever interpretations he wishes on it.

However, what we in the Senate have a right to rely upon is the statement of the President of the United States which is inserted as a major part of the communique—that any action must receive legislative support.

I think, as does the Senator from South Carolina, that this is a vitally important matter.

This Nation is deeply committed all over the world.

We have mutual defense agreements with 44 different nations.

We have committed ourselves to defend Japan, Vietnam, Thailand, Laos, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, and many other places, the names of which do not come to mind at the moment.

If we are going to adhere to all of these commitments, I submit that we had best keep our greatest military complex in the far Pacific, which is Okinawa. And I think the action the Senate took on November 5 of this year in the sense-of-the-Senate resolution will be extremely important in protecting the Okinawa bases for the United States and will also be extremely important in reasserting the Senate's role in foreign policy.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, I, too, agree with the Senator from Virginia that now is not the time to return Okinawa under our present commitments and under the present circumstances with world peace being in jeopardy in the Far East.

I am not ready to withdraw from the Far East. I, too, as does the Senator from Virginia, take the communique at its face value. I read the same words:

They further agree to expedite the consultations with a view to accomplishing the reversion during 1972 subject to the conclusion of these specific arrangements with the necessary legislative support.

It does not guarantee the accomplishment of it. And the word "support" does not necessarily mean advice and consent.

I believe the President wanted to put it clearly in light of the sense of the Senate resolution which advised that we felt that the advice and consent to confirm the treaty ratification was necessary and that the actual exclusion of the word "ratification" is significant in itself. And their use of the word "support," rather than "ratification," is what is disturbing to me.

I hope the Senator is correct. We have the same sentiment, I believe, with respect to our commitments and the vital nature of Okinawa at this time to the fulfillment of the obligations of the United States in the Far East and in the maintenance of world peace.

Norris remarked that on Tuesday, November 11, the Student Senate would hold a joint meeting with the Faculty Senate, open to the student body, in the small ballroom at Squires Student Center. The purpose of the meeting is to discuss the name change.

## RULING COLONELS STIFLE GREEK NEWSPAPERS

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 18, 1969

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, ham-handed efforts by the Greek colonels to stifle the Greek press continue. The junta's most recent moves are clearly described in two recent New York Times dispatches from Athens. In its last two paragraphs, the second of these reports, which appears in this morning's Times, characterizes the new press code:

It is widely believed here that the Government will soon announce the reactivation of Article 14 of the Constitution, safeguarding press freedom, to prove its intention to restore constitutional rule.

But the enactment of the press code heavily qualifies that freedom down to such minute detail that Greek journalists feel that in effect, they will be forced to consult their lawyers whenever they plan to write the latest sports roundup.

Mr. Speaker, I introduce these articles into the RECORD at this point. The colonels advocate severity as the mother of justice and freedom. The recent Greek experience proves otherwise. The articles follow:

[From the New York Times, Nov. 16, 1969]  
GREECE ABOLISHES PRESS PRIVILEGES—DUTY-FREE IMPORTS OF PAPER SCALED DOWN—TAX RAISED

ATHENS, November 15.—The military-backed government of Greece today abolished major financial concessions enjoyed for decades by Greek newspapers. The move was described as a measure to "cleanse and discipline" the press.

A new press law ended some duty exemptions for imported newsprint. The privilege, granted in 1938, was designed to facilitate freedom of the press.

John Agathangelou, Alternate Minister to the Premier's office said at a news conference that the new press law sought "to protect society and the state from an abuse of press freedom," an abuse that, he said, was "the main cause for the decline of democracy in Greece" before the military coup of April, 1967.

The Minister refused to disclose the full contents of the news laws, which also specify penalties for press offenses. He also refused to answer all questions about the law, and said technical reasons made it necessary for the texts to be distributed Monday.

### FINANCIAL RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED

The press law also imposed strict controls on the finances of all Greek newspapers, he said, to insure "they cannot be bribed, bought off, or engage in illicit transactions that are not in the interests of the Greek people."

Mr. Agathangelou refused to clarify, in view of the suspension of constitutional guarantees for press, whether press offenses would still be tried by special military tribunals under the current martial law.

He said that the duty-free newsprint privilege would now be scaled in this way: Newspapers with circulations up to 25,000 daily

will still enjoy the privilege; dailies with circulations up to 50,000 will pay 50 per cent of the import duty for newsprint, which amounts to 70 per cent of its cost—the duty on a ton of newsprint costing \$166 would be \$116.

The exemption rate will drop to 25 per cent for circulations to 75,000 and to 5 per cent for daily circulations of 100,000 or more. The rates are to be applicable to all the newsprint used by each paper.

### THREE LARGE DAILIES AFFECTED

Three of the nine Athens dailies have a circulation of over 100,000—the morning Acropolis and its afternoon edition Apogevmatini, and the evening Ta Nea.

All three were accused by the Government recently of abusing the qualified press freedom granted on Oct. 3 after the abolition of censorship.

Their publishers were warned action would be taken against them if they did not quit printing "provocative" headlines and cartoons implying hostility to the Government.

All three, particularly "Acropolis," have since suffered severe financial losses in the countryside, where local authorities forbid local distribution agents to sell the usual number. "Acropolis" estimates that its circulation outside Athens has been cut down by one-third, or by about 20,000 copies.

### PROTEST IS UNAVAILING

When its publisher protested to the Government, he was told that no restrictive orders had been issued, but that the readers "disgusted by the contents" of his paper had decided overnight to stop buying it.

At today's news conference, Mr. Agathangelou also disclosed in order to offset newspaper losses from the abolition of the duty exemption, increases in the newsstand price of newspapers—now frozen at 5 cents—would be allowed. Larger sizes will also be allowed, in order to make more space available for advertising.

A second new law requires press enterprises to pay taxes on profits, as do other Greek businesses, although newspapers with circulations under 15,000 will retain their tax exemption.

Two of the three Athens dailies that support the Government circulate 12,000 to 15,000 copies a day, meaning they will retain their privilege of importing newsprint duty-free and will pay no taxes.

Mr. Agathangelou, in explaining the new tax system, said that one newspaper with a circulation of 50,000 had been taxed \$9,870 last year on profits of \$140,000, for example. Under the new law it would pay \$64,000 on the same income.

He said the steps were to aid freedom of the press "by equalizing the opportunity for competition between large and small newspapers."

[From the New York Times, Nov. 18, 1969]

### GREEK PRESS CODE LISTS NEW PENALTIES

ATHENS, November 17.—Prison terms and fines for press offenses were decreed today by the Greek Government in a law that goes into effect Jan. 1.

The 101-article press code, officials said, was designed to "cleanse and discipline" the Greek press. They charged that the press had been "responsible for the decadence of Greek democracy" before the military takeover 30 months ago.

Deputy Premier Stylianos Patakos, asked why the new law was so severe, said tonight: "Severity is the mother of justice and freedom."

The military-backed Government has promised since the April, 1967, coup to restore genuine democracy after reforming institutions, but has been faced by the delicate problem of allowing freedom of the press without incurring the risks that a totally free press might pose.

After 30 months of strict censorship, the Government said on Oct. 3 that it was lifting

restrictions, in an apparent attempt to demonstrate its good faith. However, editors were given a two-page list of banned topics.

The code issued today is considered to be another move in the Government's search for a method of dealing with the press.

### SUSPENSION POSSIBLE

Under the code, courts must suspend the publication of a newspaper if, within five years, it twice commits certain offenses. These include any articles that are deemed to insult the king, or the state religion, to disclose military secrets, to incite sedition, to propagate the views of outlawed parties or to commit libel.

Publishers, editors and reporters will be collectively responsible for the accuracy of their publications and will be jointly indicted in case of an offense.

Under the new code, incitement to sedition may involve prison terms ranging from five years to life. The publication of an article considered likely to shake the public trust in the economy can bring imprisonment for at least six months and a fine of at least \$3,330.

Articles or cartoons judged to have rekindled political passions can result in a jail term of at least a month and a fine of at least \$330.

Sentences of press offenses cannot be suspended.

### POINTS MADE IN HEADLINES

The new law also provides punishment for misleading headlines, which have been used recently to show hostility to the military-backed Government and to the suspension of 10 constitutional guarantees since the coup in April, 1967.

Late last month, for example, an Athens daily had a 3-inch-high headline saying "More Democracy." In smaller letters, it added: "—Brandt Promises."

The press code says: "The use of headlines, pictures or drawings that do not reflect accurately the relevant text or deliberately mislead the public is punishable by a minimum jail term of six months, a \$3,330 fine and suspension of the right to cut-rate duty newsprint."

Also made punishable, press offenses under the new rules were distortion or misinterpretation of parliamentary reports, defamation, out-of-context reference to documents or statements, descriptions of criminal acts or suicides and references to trial cases before an irrevocable verdict.

Libel regulations were also tightened. Penalties for insult, defamation and libel were increased to a minimum of three months in jail plus a minimum \$660 fine.

Provisions of the new code announced last Saturday abolished major financial concessions that Greek newspapers had enjoyed for decades. Among other actions, the code ended some duty exemptions for imported newsprint and required some newspapers for the first time to pay taxes on profits, as do other businesses.

The new law establishes a commission of senior judges and governmental officials who are authorized to control the finances of all newspapers to prevent bribery, blackmail and foreign financing. Publishers must be Greek citizens.

All press offenses will be tried by the civil courts after Jan. 1. Until then, the press regulations issued under martial law, after the abolition of preventive censorship in October, remain in force and violations come under the jurisdiction of special military courts.

After the abolition, publishers discovered that an anti-Government attitude increased their sales. They devised a method of handling headlines and cartoons that clearly implied hostility to the military without violating the regulations.

To discourage this attitude, an erratic pattern of obstruction of unfriendly newspapers was established. The Government denied that it had given any orders, but said that

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readers had become "disgusted" by opposition newspapers and no longer bought them.

This resulted in severe financial losses for some leading Athens dailies, and they quickly ended their critical practices. The new law will make these practices punishable by prison terms and fines.

While the new code tries to discourage responsibility of the press, which had been rampant before the coup, the penalties it imposes on a broad range of topics is likely to inhibit journalists.

It is widely believed here that the Government will soon announce the reactivation of Article 14 of the Constitution, safeguarding press freedom, to prove its intention to restore constitutional rule.

But the enactment of the press code heavily qualifies that freedom down to such minute detail that Greek journalists feel that in effect, they will be forced to consult their lawyers whenever they plan to write the latest sports roundup.

## PESTICIDES ARE KILLING OUR HONEY INDUSTRY

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 18, 1969

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, recently Secretary Finch publicly announced an HEW directive to terminate the use and sale of DDT over the next 2 years. In light of this decision and the reasons given for such action, I feel it is time for the House to take a careful look at H.R. 10749, legislation introduced by the gentlewoman from Washington (Mrs. MAY) to indemnify our Nation's beekeepers for losses sustained from the use of pesticides on adjacent farmlands. In a letter to Secretary Hardin outlining the problems now facing the honey industry, Mr. Roy Weaver, of Navasota, Tex., stated 500,000 of our 5 million bee colonies were destroyed or heavily damaged by pesticides in 1967. It is important for the membership to read and understand the significance of Mr. Weaver's letter, which follows:

NAVASOTA, TEX.,  
September 18, 1969.

SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE,  
U.S. Department of Agriculture,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I am Roy S. Weaver, Jr., a commercial beekeeper in Texas operating about 5500 colonies of honey bees in partnership with my father and one brother. I am chairman of the Legislative Committee of The American Beekeeping Federation, and chairman of the Government Relations Committee of the Honey Industry Council of America. During my beekeeping career I have served as president of the American Beekeeping Federation, president of the American Bee Breeders Association, and president of the Texas Beekeepers Association.

The honeybee is of great value to agriculture as a pollinator, and is the only known pollinator which can be moved into an area in great numbers when desired. However, the beekeeping industry in the United States is in poor condition. For the last 22 years the number of colonies of honeybees in the U.S. has declined steadily at the rate of 1% per year. Many operators are finding it an unprofitable enterprise and are going out of business. If the abundant agricultural production of the United States is to continue, ways must be found to reverse the decline

in the number of colonies of honeybees. There are two obvious sources for increased income to beekeepers. The first is through the sale of the traditional cash crop, honey, at profitable prices. The second is through the rental of honeybee colonies for the pollination of agricultural crops.

Briefly, I recommend that the United States Department of Agriculture aid the beekeepers in selling their honey at a profit, and aid beekeepers and farmers to a better understanding as to the value of honeybees as pollinators with the thought that eventually fees for pollination services will be on the main sources of income for beekeepers.

About 90 crops grown in the United States, valued at more than a billion dollars, are considered to be dependent upon insect pollination. In addition, other crops valued at about 4 billion dollars are benefitted by insect pollination. The honeybee is the only insect which can be moved into the vicinity of these crops in large numbers to perform the pollination service at the time it is required.

The primary purpose of the beekeeper has generally been the production of honey as his cash crop. Little has been understood by beekeepers or farmers as to the value of honeybees as pollinators. Much of the pollination is done incidentally while the beekeeper is trying to produce a crop of honey. Communications between beekeepers and farmers has been poor. As a result most pollination fees are "starvation wages" for beekeepers.

It is imperative for agriculture that honey become a stronger competitor with other food commodities. Although there are about 200,000 beekeepers in the United States, only about 1,200 are full-time commercial operators with 400 or more colonies. However, they produce about one-third of the honey crop and provide most of the colonies used in commercial pollination. There are about 12,000 part-time beekeepers who own 25 to 400 colonies each and produce another third of the honey. The remaining 187,000 are hobbyists who own less than 25 colonies each.

These beekeepers encounter many problems. Some of these are: low prices of honey and low pollination fees in relation to the high cost of operation; decreasing bee pasture due to changing agricultural practices and urbanization; losses caused by bee diseases; and losses due to pesticides.

While the cost of operating a beekeeping enterprise has been spiralling upward the price of honey has remained almost static. Honey is not holding its own in the marketplace. Even though it is our only natural unrefined sweet, the per-capita consumption is slowly declining.

The price support program on honey has operated quite well in that it has prevented disastrously low prices and at the same time has provided honey for school lunches at a very low cost to the government. However, the support price has not been high enough to prevent a decline in the number of colonies of bees. I recommend that the support program be continued, and that the support rate be gradually raised until it approaches parity.

For a long time to come beekeepers will continue to produce honey as their cash crop. As a permanent solution to the problem of low honey prices we need to increase the per-capita consumption of honey. In order to do this the beekeepers of the United States have devised a self-help promotion and research program on honey which requires enabling legislation. This proposed legislation is now before the 91st Congress in H.R. 955, S 1851, and similar bills. I request that the USDA strongly recommend passage of this act and assist the beekeeping industry in implementing it as rapidly as possible.

If the price of honey rises due to increased supports or increased demand it is possible that low priced foreign honey will come into the country in large quantities. The import

tariff on honey is only 1 cent per pound. H.R. 374 and similar bills before the 91st Congress would increase the tariff to 3 cents per pound and require the USDA to set quotas on honey to be imported. I am working for the passage of this bill.

If neither increased support prices or increased demand for honey caused by the promotion of this delicious and healthful sweet serve to reverse the decline in the numbers of honeybees available for pollination of our crops then direct subsidy payments to beekeepers may become necessary. Our country must have enough honeybees to fill their vital role in our abundant agricultural production.

In 1967, an estimated 500,000 colonies of honeybees out of the 5 million in existence in this country were destroyed or heavily damaged by pesticides. Thousands more were damaged or destroyed by diseases. The total damage to the beekeeping industry by pesticides and disease is estimated to be \$7.5 million annually, while the income from the production of honey and beeswax is less than \$40 million. Changing agricultural practices and urbanization are destroying many wild plants which honeybees depend on for pollen and nectar for building strong colonies. Operating a beekeeping enterprise requires much expensive hand labor and complex management decisions.

The solutions to these and other problems can be found only through research, both on the scientific level and on the practical level by beekeepers and others who have the incentive to try to progress. The USDA can be of great help in this. I recommend a thorough study and implementation of "A National Program of Research for Bees and other Pollinating Insects and Insects Affecting Man" prepared by a joint task force of the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the State Universities and Land Grant Colleges. This is a good outline of some of the research that is sorely needed.

Respectfully submitted.

ROY S. WEAVER, JR.

## LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 716, 82 Stat. 1250).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 703, 82 Stat. 1247).

## RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

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11-10936

Demonstrations such as we have witnessed for too long now, contribute to the breakdown of this system. I bitterly oppose those who would turn democracy into a street fight with the strongest deciding what is right and what is wrong. We saw this happen in Germany before the war, and those who are in the streets, abusing the name of democracy, should give careful thought to the implications of their actions.

Revolution, hiding under the cloak of democracy will not be tolerated by those who have learned its true meaning by shedding their blood in its defense.

#### GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the subject of my special order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

#### ME ISRAEL IS DANGEROUSLY CLOSE TO BECOMING ANOTHER VIETNAM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. PUCINSKI) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the situation in the Middle East is deteriorating very rapidly and unless the United States makes a bold move toward supplying Israel with at least 200 Phantom jet fighters immediately, this gallant and brave nation may find herself in great peril of her very survival.

I have recently returned from a personal visit to Israel and there is no question in my mind about the determination and profound ability of the Israelis to defend their nation.

The will and the spirit of the Israel soldiers make up for whatever deficiency this gallant nation may have in armor.

But spirit alone is not enough when a nation like Israel is now confronted on all of her borders with the full force and fury of Arab terrorism and Arab aggression made possible by the Soviet Union's total rearming of the Arab States.

The United States and the free world can no longer ignore the fact that the Soviet Union has given Egypt 960 jet fighters since the 6-day war of 1967.

The Soviet Union has given Syria another 430 jet fighters.

The Soviet Union has given countless trucks, tanks, field artillery pieces, and every other military weapon that the Arab states need to wage aggression against Israel.

Mr. Speaker, the situation in the Middle East is more serious today than ever before and the great tragedy of our times is that Israel does not want anything from her friends—and in particular, the United States—except the military hardware with which to protect herself.

Israel does not want American soldiers. She does not want American mechanics to service whatever airplanes we give her. She does not want any official intervention by the United States,

nor is she seeking any assistance from the U.S. 6th Fleet now in the Mediterranean.

The Israelis firmly believe they are fully capable of defending themselves if they can have, above all, the necessary aircraft for in that part of the world it is the effectiveness of the air force that spells the difference between survival and defeat.

It is inconceivable, in my judgment, for the free world to idly sit by and watch the Soviet Union totally rearm all of the Arab States and train Arab armies for meaningful aggression against Israel.

I believe that America can avoid involvement in the Middle East and I am encouraged by the fact that the Israelis do not seek our involvement.

But I believe the United States could take a lesson from the Soviet Union and adopt a new policy of providing our friends with maximum military hardware and minimum U.S. troops.

There is no Soviet soldier dying in Vietnam, in the Middle East, or in Korea. Yet, every enemy soldier who has been captured in either of these three theaters of operation is heavily armed with Soviet-made equipment.

Every one of these prisoners has Soviet-made rifles, uniforms, messkits, bullets, binoculars, shoes, and whatever other military needs he may have.

In Lebanon where the terrorist groups recently negotiated an agreement for new raids into Israel, they openly used Soviet trucks to move their forces and equipment to the Israel border.

If we really want to avoid a major war in the Middle East, we must help Israel become strong enough to defend herself against Nasser's public pronouncement that he and his Arab allies will drive Israel into the sea.

Mr. Speaker, five American Presidents have assured Israel that she will not be driven into the sea. I say to you that the United States need not be involved militarily in any Middle East conflict if we will have the presence of mind and the courage to help Israel set up a sufficient deterrent to Arab aggression.

Why is it that the Soviet Union has no qualm or compunction about openly rearming all of the Arab States? Why is it that the Soviet Union does not fear world reaction or a loss of any of her interests by openly training Arab forces for aggression in the Middle East?

What is it about the American State Department and the Defense Department which puts us into this facetious role of some sort of "parity" in arms in the Middle East?

This policy of parity—giving the Arabs the same degree of help that we give the Israelis—might have been valid prior to the Soviet Union's entry into the Middle East. But surely such a policy at this time is not only tragic, but totally ignores the fact that while the Arab States have unlimited access to arms and ammunition from Russia, we continue to keep Israel totally constrained in her ability to defend herself.

I respectfully submit, Mr. Speaker, that a continuation of this folly is the surest way to war in the Middle East.

It is of no comfort to me to know that the 6th Fleet is in the Mediterranean

and could immediately respond to the help of the Israel if an all-out Arab assault is waged against that country. We are now trying to extricate ourselves from our tragic involvement in Vietnam and I believe it is safe to predict that there are few Americans, if any, who want to see our Nation involved in yet another conflict. But I submit, Mr. Speaker, that the United States is not limited to one of only two alternatives—either helping Israel militarily or watching her go down to tragic defeat.

I submit there is a third alternative and one that we ought to adopt. This is the alternative of giving Israel whatever she needs to provide an effective deterrent to Arab aggression.

There is no question in my mind that once the Arab States realize that any attacks on Israel will prove futile and once the Arabs realize that they are not going to drive this gallant nation into the sea, perhaps then the Arabs and Israelis can get together and work out a lasting peace in the Middle East.

I think that the height of indignity is for the United States to insist that Israel shall only receive the kind of military aid from the United States that she can afford to pay for when the Arab States have a blank check from the Soviet Union to draw on for whatever possible conceivable military aid they need.

We cannot ignore the fact that Russia has given Egypt 960 jet fighters and Syria another 430.

The pilots of these fighters are now being trained by Soviet military experts and I say to you, Mr. Speaker, that it is only a matter of time before the full fury of this Soviet military aid to the Arab States is unleashed on the people of Israel.

Nor can we ignore the fact that the same terror tactics which have been so thoroughly tested by the Vietcong against innocent people in South Vietnam are now being used by Arab terrorists against the Israeli in Israel.

The world cannot remain oblivious to this growing use of terrorism as an instrument of aggression. The mayor of Tel Aviv told me of the great difficulties his administration is experiencing in dealing with these terrorists because most of the manpower of Tel Aviv is engaged in border guard duty with the Israeli Army.

This whole technique of terrorism is something that the free world must learn to live with. We are now beginning to witness it in our own country. Do not dismiss the bombings of office buildings in New York as the work of cranks or sick minds.

Mr. Speaker, it is not my intention to either exaggerate or deal in hysteria. The people of Israel are calm and resolute and life goes on in the big cities fully mindful of the dangers that lie in the borders.

We have every reason to believe that Israel is fully capable of protecting herself and her nation but she needs military aid.

We must realize as Americans that there never again will be a ticker-tape parade down Wall Street marking the end of a huge conflict.

weekend—the morale was very good in spite of the many times they have to come out to the Armory and prepare themselves to meet a situation such as last weekend. I might say that most of these guardsmen are Government employees and college students. Your officers and NCO's and some of your enlisted men work for the Government, but 30 to 40 percent of your guardsmen in the District of Columbia are made up of college students who go to different colleges in the District of Columbia area.

Some commanders in the Washington National Guard have told me that in some cases the departments of Government are less cooperative in letting a guardsman off to come to drill than some employers in private enterprise. In other words, some of the department heads in Government give the commanders and the men in the National Guard a harder time than a man who runs a service station and who has only one attendant. Oftentimes a private businessman is more willing to let his employee go than some of these Government department heads. I say that this is wrong and that when a situation like this comes up, these department heads should cooperate.

In the callup for this weekend, 95 percent of the District of Columbia guardsmen reported for duty which is certainly commendable. The 5 percent that did not show up were too far away to come back over the weekend or were sick or some of them were not able to be contacted. But 95 percent out of a possible 100 percent is a very good average. It is about 5 percent over what was expected to show up this last weekend.

Now speaking of the antiwar demonstrators, I would like to give my estimate of the crowd. I would say that the number of people in Washington between Friday and early Sunday morning was between 250,000 and 300,000 people. It was certainly not as high as 800,000, as I have heard.

I might comment that I noticed some of these groups walking around and I talked to some of them. They came in pairs—a boy and a girl. They came mainly from colleges in this part of the country. For some reason, a large group of them were strangely dressed. Their dress was different from what we usually see. They almost had on costumes. Some of these young people, the ones I talked to, really do not know completely what the cause was—they heard a bus was coming and they had a friend and they paid their roundtrip and so they came to Washington.

We have talked about these groups and the damage done.

I certainly do not agree with any of the philosophy of what the demonstration called for. I really think it was unnecessary. As I said, many of the young people did not know exactly what they were there for. Several I talked to said, "Yes, I support President Nixon's program"—which was entirely off course, from what the moratorium was about.

Why they surrounded the Justice Department and why some of the demonstrators, 5,000 of them, went down there, I do not know. The Federal Government, through the Attorney General's Office or

President Nixon's, has not taken a really active part in the cases or the court suits that are now going on in Chicago.

I heard some of the cries in the crowd, "Free Bobby Seale." I did not really follow this. Speaking of things shouted out, I heard some of these young people shout, "Ho, Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh. We have the Vietcong flag." And it just did not hit me right. It rubbed me and a lot of other Americans the wrong way.

The White House was protected by a large number of buses that were placed bumper to bumper and surrounded about two-thirds of the White House. They were used as a barrier in case there was trouble in trying to demonstrate near the White House.

The weather was a factor. The weather was a key factor. It was cold and miserable Friday night when, you might say, the ones who were the troublemakers arrived. They did not get much sleep. Saturday they were cold and tired, and it was cold Saturday, and after the demonstration at the Justice Department, a few of them came toward the White House. By 8 o'clock most of them were looking for warm places. Most of the young people had gone back to their buses from which they originally had come.

The cost was, in my estimation, to state a conservative estimate, between \$800,000 and \$1 million to the Federal Government. I am sure this demonstration slowed business in Washington. Several of the streets were blocked off all day Saturday.

Therefore, I know private enterprise was hurt by this demonstration.

We are very fortunate that no one was seriously hurt, and that there was a minimum amount of property destroyed. I would say that this will not happen to us again. Possibly if we have this large a number of people who would come back into Washington, we might not be as fortunate as we were this weekend, and possibly there could be serious violence. So I certainly hope that these demonstrations will not continue.

In closing I would like to say that this was quite an experience for me to meet, to drill, and to be with the District of Columbia National Guard and also to see how the police worked.

I have to commend the police, and the National Guard for the fine job that was done.

Mr. MAYNE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. MAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I certainly commend the gentleman for his very graphic eyewitness account of the events in Washington over the weekend as seen from the vantage point of a National Guardsman.

I was particularly shocked at the gentleman's account that the Vietnam flag was being flown at the base of the Washington Monument. This is certainly an affront to every American who wears the uniform of the United States proudly, or who has made the supreme sacrifices defending the American flag. Certainly all of the patriotic Americans can have nothing but condemnation for anyone who would desecrate the base of the

Washington Monument by flying the flag of our enemies who are doing their utmost to kill brave Americans in Vietnam.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Iowa.

I would like to mention to the gentleman this was not a particularly mean crowd. There was a small group that would cause the problems and others would follow. I saw some of the young people crying. They did not know exactly what they were getting into, and they would get into something that was shameful and I think they were sorry themselves that they did it. I just cannot believe they will ever be able to rally that large a group to come back to Washington. Certainly I hope they cannot.

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased that my good friend and distinguished colleague from the State of Mississippi has asked me to join him in this special order to discuss the tragic situation which we witnessed in Washington over this past weekend. Over a quarter of a million young people descended on this city to march in the streets to protest the war in Vietnam. This occurred with total disregard for our President's plea for support for his peace efforts.

Most of these young people left their studies and cut classes to come to Washington. Many of them have parents who are making substantial sacrifices and in all cases are putting out a great deal of money so that their children can get an education and hopefully require some wisdom.

There was very little wisdom demonstrated during the last 3 days. Despite all the promises given to city and national officials, large numbers of the demonstrators broke their pledge to nonviolence and rioted, not only against the police, but against the law-abiding citizens of their country and against the members of their own ranks who kept their word.

Honor, integrity, and justice seem to have very little meaning for these protestors who use them so frequently and loosely. Apparently they only apply to other people, not to themselves. They seem to believe that they have a corner on truth and therefore are above the law.

Perhaps most important of all is the disregard and disdain they show for the democratic process. All of those who marched during the 3-day protest ignored the fact that this is a country built on law, an impartial and just law which protects them even as they break it. In many cases, the law has gone much farther than it should to protect their rights while it ignores the rights of the great majority of the people of the country to be protected from their irresponsible and reprehensible activities.

We have a democratic system which allows dissent and protest by lawful and time-honored means. We have a free system of elections which allows all Americans to register their complaints and exercise free choice in electing new leaders. The only way that this system can continue to operate to protect the rights of all is for the minority to respect the choice of the majority and abide by their decisions.

We must realize that there never again will be a battleship *Missouri* steaming into Tokyo harbor as it did in 1945 to accept total surrender. These new conflicts that face the world today have no formal beginning and no formal ending.

This is why America's new policy must place heaviest emphasis on sending military arms to our allies to help make them strong enough to help themselves before the conflict begins.

We must use our military arms as a deterrent.

A few months ago we had a big debate here in this Congress on the antiballistic-missile system and the proponents argued that perfection of this system will prove a deterrent to conflict.

I submit that that same logic prevails and applies to sending 200 Phantom jet fighters to Israel forthwith, not next year, not 3 years from now, but right now.

Nothing will bring peace to the Middle East faster and more assuredly and convince the Arabs that Israel is more than capable of protecting herself.

This is a policy that requires no American personnel; no American soldiers, but one that offers our allies meaningful help.

I know of no mandate for American troops to police the entire troubled world in these days of mounting conflict. It is for this reason that I do not urge the sending of one American soldier but we can no longer ignore the fact that the Soviet Union uses her military might in a much more effective way.

It is the height of folly to think that Russia wants peace when she continues to rearm nation after nation to wage aggression. We must realize this new technique of warfare and respond accordingly.

It is of no comfort to us that our representatives and Soviet representatives meet in Helsinki to being talks on nuclear disarmament.

Of course, the Soviet Union will agree to placing limitations on strategic missiles when all over this world the Soviet Union is sending to aggressor nations the day-to-day sinews for terror, subversion, and conventional aggression.

We can have all the controls in the world on strategic missiles between the United States and Russia and yet see most of mankind fall captive to the Communist conspiracy.

When are the statesmen of this country going to realize that the Soviet Union plays a series of options at one time?

She is talking peace in Helsinki and waging war in the Gaza Strip.

Our Nation has to learn to use its options the very same way that the Soviets have used their options over the past 22 years.

During the past two decades the Soviets have kept us off balance and we respond to, instead of, anticipating their actions.

It is high time that the United States took the initiative and I submit, Mr. Speaker, that the place to start is to send to Israel 200 jet fighters immediately.

The 50 fighters that she is buying from America ought to be included in this package.

One final word. In my judgment, it is the height of folly for anyone to suggest

that the Israelis would use these fighters to wage new aggression against the Arabs.

The 6-day war was necessitated by 20 years of constant aggression and harassment by the Arab States.

Ten days ago I stood on the mountains of the Golan Heights and I personally examined the Syrian embankments there. I saw the moment in which the Syrians were able to harass the Israelis from these excellent strategic vantage points.

I examined a kibbutz near the Jordan River which had been bombed by the Syrians every night to the extent that a whole generation grew up spending every evening and nighttime in a bomb shelter.

The 6-day war was a necessity to give Israel a chance to breathe but I submit to you, Mr. Speaker and my colleagues, that to suggest to me that the Israelis want to keep all of the liberated territories or that they seek more is to ignore the realities of life and to fail to understand the nature of the Israelis themselves.

I submit that the Jewish people did not struggle for 2,000 years to get their own homeland only to become a minority in their own country.

There is no question in my mind that if and when the Arabs give Israel unequivocal guarantees of Israel's sovereignty and full and free access to all the waterways, the Israelis will be more than anxious to discuss with the Arabs the return of these territories. Obviously, the Israelis will retain some of the territory for reasons that are beyond contradiction, but I believe it would be foolish to suggest that somehow or other the Israelis want to keep all the territories they won in the 6-day war. To do so would give them control over such vast expanses of land and population that they would become a minority in their own country.

#### THE WASTE-TREATMENT CONSTRUCTION GRANT PROGRAM: HOW MUCH TO INVEST THEREIN THIS YEAR?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Mr. ROBISON) is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, now that the other body has completed its consideration of the 1970 Public Works appropriation bill, the question of how much to invest—during what remains of this fiscal year—in the Department of Interior's waste-treatment construction grant program again becomes a matter of some concern to this House.

As my colleagues will well remember, when this issue was before us on October 8 the House decided, after considerable debate, to appropriate \$600 million in new obligatory authority for the purposes of this important program which sum, together with available unobligated balances of \$64.9 million carried over at the end of the last fiscal year, would have provided a total grant program of about \$665 million for the construction of waste-treatment works, as authorized by the Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966

to abate our national water-pollution problem.

The vote on this in the Committee of the Whole, as all will recall, was a close one—coming in the face of a concerted drive on the part of some of our colleagues for the "full funding" of this program at the \$1 billion authorized figure.

I thought then—and still think—that we made a responsible and wholly defensible decision, tripling as we did the prior year's appropriation for this item in a year when the demand for budgetary restraint was so clearly obvious; and in light, too, of what we could determine as the probable top figure that the Department of Interior, in its most objective moments, would tell us that it could put to use in what remains of this fiscal year.

However, it will soon be necessary for us to again go over much of the same ground for the other body, in its separate wisdom—a phrase I prefer to use though there evidently is a bit of "one-upmanship" in all this—has now decided to fund this program at the full authorization figure of \$1 billion; to "fully fund" it, that is, in the sense that phrase was urged upon us in those weeks leading up to October 8.

Now, Mr. Speaker, considering the great political appeal this program has, and considering the undeniable need for faster progress to be made thereunder—which means an increased level of Federal support—it is tempting for all of us to now say "So be it," to the action taken by the other body, thus bowing in advance to the new wave of lobbying pressure for "full funding" that will soon again engulf us.

That pressure will undoubtedly reach its peak when, as this bill gets ready to move to conference, a motion will be made to instruct the House conferees to accept the other body's \$1 billion bid for popular approval, as further evidence of our support for this program.

I do not happen to believe—generally speaking—in the practice of so instructing any conferees. I think many of my colleagues share that viewpoint, but it is clear, in advance, that it will be difficult for anyone, politically speaking, to vote against such a motion in this instance.

These remarks, then, have been prepared with that thought in mind—it being my purpose, if I can, to encourage in advance of that vote some objective consideration of that question of "full funding" of this program, with especial reference to what "full funding" can or cannot accomplish.

If my colleagues, Mr. Speaker, will think back to the debate we had last month on this same question, most of them will recall that it was brought out in the course thereof that there is something badly wrong with the allocation formula under which funds for this program are made available to the interested municipalities in the several States. As we discovered, 17 States—along with Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands—were more than fully funded under that formula even at the original \$214 million budgetary request, this being on the basis of their reported need for Federal assistance under this program as totaled up from applications



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pending at regional FWPCA offices or at State agencies, and from applications in some stage of progress at the local level but not yet formalized. At the \$600 million House figure these same 17 States—and territories—already fully funded and, in fact, enjoying under the allocation formula an actual surplus over their reported need at the \$214-million figure, would see that surplus escalated from \$37.9 million to over \$101 million. Clearly, there is an urgent need for Congress to review and revise that allocation formula.

But, to move on, eight additional States would become fully funded—on the same basis of total reported need—under the \$600 million House figure and would also, for reasons relating back to the workings of the present allocation formula, receive at least a temporary surplus over their total reported need for funds under this program of \$41.2 million.

Thus, to sum up so far, at the House figure of \$600 million for the purposes of this program, 25 States would be fully funded—indeed, overfunded—under any definition of that phrase.

At this point, it needs to be stated, I suppose, that the figures I am using are those as supplied me by the Federal Water Pollution Control Commission, and were current as of August 31 of this year.

Now, Mr. Speaker, it would seem to become necessary to consider a bit more fully what we mean by "fully funded."

Do we mean, thereby, simply the appropriation of the full authorization of \$1 billion for this fiscal year?

Or do we mean to appropriate whatever we can decide is actually going to be required under this program by the States in the balance of this fiscal year?

It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that if the appropriation process is going to continue to mean anything we ought to try to fund any program before us only at that level which we can determine—and agree upon—could reasonably be obligated during the fiscal year in question.

Though there has been some backing and filling on this point, Interior continues to say—as best I know—that this would be \$600 million, at the most. And it is important to remember, in this connection, that we are talking about obligations—not expenditures—for, since the Federal grants, as I understand, do not go out until a project is 25 percent complete, it is safe to assume that the expenditure level for this program will not rise very much during the balance of this fiscal year no matter how much we eventually decide to appropriate for it. I don't know, Mr. Speaker, if many of my colleagues are still very interested in this aspect of our budgetary decisions, even though we have previously seen fit to impose a spending-ceiling of sorts on the President; but if any are so concerned, they may take some comfort from what I have just said.

In any event, what now of those remaining 25 States who do not seem, at first glance, to be fully funded—in the broadest sense of that phrase—at the House figure of \$600 million?

Well, seven of those States—Alaska, Connecticut, Hawaii, Massachusetts,

Minnesota, Rhode Island, and Vermont, along with the District of Columbia, would really be fully funded for all practical intents and purposes, though now in a narrower sense of that phrase, at the \$600-million level since the allocations they would then receive would more than cover the respective dollar totals of all the grant applications they have pending at regional FWPCA or State pure-water offices. Besides which, they collectively would become entitled at that level to an additional \$28 million, or thereabouts, to apply eventually to their reported backlog of local need, as represented by applications for grant moneys that are now in some stage of preparation back at the municipal level, but which will probably not actually be filed for months—in some cases, perhaps, years—yet to come.

This, then, leaves 18 "problem" States for us to consider—the problem in connection therewith being one that, because of that allocation formula, we cannot really resolve whether we decide to stay at the House figure of \$600 million, or adopt the other body's \$1 billion figure, or opt—as seems a likely result of the forthcoming conference—for some "splitting of the difference" between the two.

I would ask my colleagues to take note, Mr. Speaker, of the fact that, to come closer to "full funding" as we have here on the House side, we have already had to vote to overfund 32 States—under that obsolete allocation formula—to the tune of nearly \$210 million just on the basis of their "action backlog" of applications pending at those regional FWPCA or State offices.

If we were now to decide to force the House conferees, in advance, to accept the other body's \$1 billion figure—thereby improving the lot of those remaining 18 States but still, please note, without coming close to meeting the apparent needs of at least seven of them—the overfunding that would then be produced insofar as pending applications were concerned would rise to nearly \$437 million.

Mr. Speaker, it strikes me that this is simply not a very efficient way for us to be trying to advance the purposes of this program—and that what we ought to be concentrating on, instead, is ways and means to review and revise that obsolete allocation formula, and how to nail down the matter of reimbursing those States who have been going ahead on their own—in advance of Federal assistance—in meeting their pollution-abatement goals, on which subject more in a moment.

Now it is, of course, true that, at the \$1 billion level, we can "fully fund"—again on that basis of dollar totals of pending applications—eight of those remaining States, these being California, Illinois, Missouri, New Hampshire, Ohio, Virginia, Washington, and Wisconsin. And I should think Tennessee should also be added to this list since its application backlog totals \$21,278,986 against which it would receive—at the \$1 billion level—\$21,083,396, or close enough to cover, one would think, the actual need.

As a matter of fact, both Michigan and Nevada—assuming some administrative "slippage"—would also be so close to being covered at the \$1 billion level that, for all practical intents and purposes,

they, too, could be said to be "fully funded."

This, then, would still leave seven States—Florida, Indiana, Maine, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, and Oregon—on paper considerably less than "fully funded" on the basis we have been talking about, please note, even at the other body's \$1 billion figure. My own State of New York, Mr. Speaker, is the best example of this problem since its pending, filed, applications total up to \$202,279,540, against which—even at the \$1 billion level—it would receive only \$89,223,166.

And, Mr. Speaker, there is nothing we can do about this situation unless and until we change that allocation formula.

Now, of course, it is true—and let me be the first to admit it—that, at the other body's \$1 billion figure, New York will become entitled to receive under that allocation formula for the purposes of this program that \$89,223,166, or a bit short of \$37 million more than it would become entitled to under the House's \$600 million figure.

Why, then, do I not grab for that without any questions?

Well, precisely because, Mr. Speaker, I have not yet been able to determine what New York's true "action backlog" really is.

I have already mentioned the probability of some administrative "slippages" in connection with Tennessee, Michigan, and Nevada; but such "slippages"—that relate to administrative capacities to more than triple the pace of progress under this program at both State and local level, as well as the Federal, levels—will apply in all States.

In addition to which, since the FWPCA does not, as I understand, require a municipality on filing an application for grant moneys to certify as to its financial readiness to proceed with construction of its project, once Federal assistance is forthcoming, we now have no way really of knowing how many local municipal entities—even in a State with such a large paper backlog of need as New York—are really ready to go ahead with their project if the level of Federal assistance is pushed on up to the other body's \$1 billion figure. This is a problem, I might mention, that has been made even more difficult of estimation by virtue of the fact that this Congress, in its zeal for tax-reform, has unintentionally brought some added uncertainties of performance to the municipal bond markets.

And then, finally, Mr. Speaker, one also has to consider the capacity of design engineers, as well as the construction and equipment industries, to handle, all at once, a vastly expanded workload of progress under this important program.

What I am, therefore, saying is that, while it is of course politically tempting to accept in advance the other body's "one-upmanship" to the full \$1 billion funding for this program, it is still obvious that nowhere that amount could possibly be obligated during the balance of this fiscal year for this program's purposes—a program, need I say, that I support just as strongly as anyone in this body—and that, therefore, the House

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It is my view that the amounts authorized can provide for reasonable progress in all significant aeronautical and space programs. I am, therefore, hopeful that when the corresponding appropriations bill reaches the floor of the Senate, it, too, will be passed in an amount sufficient to fund the authorizations contained in this bill.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, as a conferee on H.R. 11271, I want to congratulate our distinguished chairman and the ranking minority member, the senior Senator from Maine, for their admirable work in the conference. The quality of their leadership is clearly indicated by the results of the conference which in most instances upheld the Senate's position. I also compliment the chairman and members of the House committee who participated so capably in the conference. I believe the conference resulted in a bill that will provide a balanced NASA program, a program already endorsed by the Senate bill.

There is, however, one program on which I would like to say a few words. The House-passed bill provided an additional \$3 million for the chemical propulsion program to be used only for the 260-inch large solid motor project. The Senate deleted this amount because no role has been assigned these large solid rocket motors for the near future and because the necessary funds to accomplish the few additional tasks remaining to establish the large rocket motor technology are included in the budget request under supporting research and technology.

While no role has been assigned as yet to the 260-inch large solid rocket motor, I think the record should show that NASA continues to regard the large solid as an alternative for future space programs.

On October 31, 1969, the chairman of the Senate Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences wrote to Dr. Paine requesting his views on the role of the 260-inch solid rocket motor. Dr. Paine replied in a letter to the chairman dated November 3.

Mr. President, with the consent of Senator ANDERSON, I ask unanimous consent that the two letters be included in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibits 1 and 2.)

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, in his letter, Dr. Paine makes it clear that NASA continues to regard the large solid rocket motor as one of the attractive, technically feasible alternatives for future space programs and reiterates the fact that the fiscal year 1970 budget does provide for continuing work in research and technology related to this project. Moreover, Dr. Paine points out that while the possibilities of a fully reusable space shuttle vehicle point in a direction of favoring reusable liquid propulsion systems, he does not at this time believe NASA can or should rule out entirely the possibilities of a space shuttle using the 260-inch solid rocket motor in the booster stage.

I should add that I had a personal telephone discussion with Dr. Paine prior

to our Senate-House conference and prior to my knowledge of the letter which Senator ANDERSON had written to Dr. Paine. In the course of that discussion Dr. Paine made it very clear to me that he expected to continue the research and technology work on the large 260-inch solid fuel rocket out of the authorization provided for in this year's budget and which are now contained in the conference bill.

I send forward the two letters I have asked to be printed in the RECORD.

## EXHIBIT 1

OCTOBER 31, 1969.

HON. THOMAS O. PAINE,  
Administrator, National Aeronautics and  
Space Administration, Washington, D.C.

DEAR TOM: During fiscal year 1967, NASA completed the test firing of its third half-length 260-inch large solid rocket motor. Following this, some efforts have been devoted to completing the technology for this booster. In the FY 1970 budget presentation, no provision in either the original or the revised submission was made for any further demonstration firings of 260-inch large solid motor cases.

In view of the space shuttle studies and other activities currently underway and in view of the President's Space Task Group recommendations emphasizing commonality, reusability, and economy in space transportation systems, I would like your current views as to just where you would envision a booster with the projected capability of the 260-inch large solid rocket motor would fit into the nation's requirements for large space boosters. I believe also it is very important that the Committee have an expression of your views on this inasmuch as both the House and the Senate have already approved NASA's recommendations for continued production, and therefore availability, of the Saturn V system for supporting our very heavy space booster requirements.

I would appreciate your thoughts on the projected role of the 260-inch large solid rocket motor at your very earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

CLINTON P. ANDERSON,  
Chairman.

## EXHIBIT 2

NATIONAL AERONAUTICS  
AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION,

Washington, D.C., November 3, 1969.

HON. CLINTON P. ANDERSON,  
Chairman, Committee on Aeronautical and  
Space Sciences, U.S. Senate, Wash-  
ington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This is in reply to your letter of October 31 asking for my current thoughts on the projected role of the 260-inch solid rocket motor.

We continue to regard the large solid rocket motor as one of the attractive technically feasible alternatives for future space systems. For this reason, as you know, we have provided in our FY 1970 budget for continuing work in research and technology related to the 260-inch solid rocket motor. This work relates, for example, to thrust vector control and propellant casting and processing. We do not plan to proceed with further construction and firing of full scale rocket motors until such time as a decision is made to proceed with actual development.

Our studies to date of the possibilities of a fully reusable space shuttle point in the direction of favoring reusable liquid propulsion systems. However, I do not at this time believe we can or should rule out entirely the possibility of a space shuttle using a 260-inch solid rocket motor in a booster stage. Depending on a number of factors, it could turn out that we would decide to use the

large solid rocket booster as an alternative to the fully reusable liquid propulsion system.

With respect to Saturn V, the requirements we have presented to the Committee are not affected by the possibility of a decision to develop the 260-inch solid rocket motor. If we should decide to develop the 260-inch solid for the space shuttle, we would, of course, consider utilizing it for any payloads for which it is suitable, including those which otherwise would require the Saturn V or a derivative vehicle consisting, for example, of the first and second stages of the Saturn V. However, we would not develop the 260-inch rocket motor solely for the purposes of providing a substitute for the Saturn V or its derivatives.

If I can provide any additional information, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

T. O. PAINE,  
Administrator.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, as a member of the Senate Committee on Aeronautical and Space Science, I wish to concur in everything that has been stated here in regard to the conference report. I feel that the distinguished senior Senator from New Mexico (Mr. ANDERSON), chairman of the Space Committee of the Senate, is to be congratulated upon his fine leadership in the consideration of the conference report.

I ask that the Senate now vote on it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the conference report. The report was agreed to.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the conference report was agreed to.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

ME

## PRESIDENT NASSER'S SPEECH

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, President Nasser's speech last night is highly disturbing.

The President of the United Arab Republic, speaking to the Egyptian General Assembly, called for a path of "fire and blood" in the Middle East.

The Arab's friend, he said, is the Soviet Union. He listed the United States as an enemy.

While President Nasser is known for bombast and inflammatory talk, his address last night, coupled with his actions, seems to me to be a cause for some alarm.

I have long felt that the Middle East is potentially the most explosive area in the world. I formed this view first as a newspaper editor, obligated to take a keen interest in international problems. My view has been reinforced since becoming a member of the U.S. Senate.

Eighteen months ago, on an official Senate visit to the Middle East, I had a long and frank talk with Egyptian Foreign Minister Mahmoud Riad. He indicated some reasonableness—which, incidentally, subsequent events have not borne out.

I expressed the view to the Egyptian Foreign Minister that, to an outsider, there appears to be two fundamental

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steps which must be taken before permanent peace can be achieved.

One, the Arab nations must recognize that Israel is here to stay and cannot be eliminated as the Arabs sought to do in June of 1967.

And second, the leaders of the United Arab Republic must engage in direct negotiations with the leaders of Israel.

While the four major powers, namely the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and France, might be able to collectively be helpful in arriving at a solution, the solution to be permanent and realistic peace must result from direct negotiations between the interested parties; namely, the Israelis and their neighbors.

In my judgment, the Soviet Union was the motivating force behind Nasser's provocative actions against Israel in 1967. Last night's speech by President Nasser indicates to me that he and the Soviet Union are adding flames under a pot which is already boiling.

#### WE MUST CUT OUR ARMED FORCES IN EUROPE AND BRING 200,000 MEN AND THEIR DEPENDENTS HOME

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, the number of men in our Armed Forces now totals more than 3½ million—larger than the regular armed forces of either the Soviet Union or China.

One of every 11 American young men between the ages of 18 and 45 is in uniform full time as a member of our Armed Forces. Another 1,200,000 civilians are employed by the Defense Department. Of this total number, 170,187 American civilians, men and women, work for our Armed Forces overseas as civilian employees. In addition, millions of Americans work in industries sustained, almost entirely, by Defense Department contracts. It is fair to state that one in every seven wage earners in this country is dependent on the Pentagon for his or her paycheck. This includes much of the Nation's most outstanding managerial and technological talent.

Mr. President, in view of these facts, it sometimes seems futile to try to diminish and somewhat limit the power and influence of the military-industrial complex. Almost 9 years have elapsed since President Dwight Eisenhower warned of the growing menace of the power of the military-industrial complex in his farewell statement to the American people in January 1961.

The power of the military-industrial complex has continued to grow and expand. Our military and naval establishment seems to be expanding constantly. It is much larger and more costly than it was when General Eisenhower left the White House.

We now have 343 major military bases in 24 countries and seven U.S. possessions. In addition, we have 2,687 minor military installations spread throughout the world. More than 1,200,000 American servicemen are stationed in foreign countries.

The United States does not have a mandate from the Almighty to police the entire world. It is high time that the ad-

ministration and the Congress review our treaty commitments and obligations. The President in his recent speech announced that in the future the United States will assist nations willing and able to defend themselves with their own forces. We should be determined never again to go through the tragedy and national insanity of another involvement in a civil war in some other Asiatic country—Laos, for example. President Johnson's intervention in a civil war in South Vietnam with American combat troops was the worst mistake any American President ever made. In view of these facts, it is clear that there is no need to continue to support the present level of our Armed Forces. It is time that the administration take drastic steps and cut the number of Americans in uniform by at least a million.

There are now more than half a million Americans of our Armed Forces stationed in South Vietnam and Thailand. Forty percent of our tremendous air power and 35 percent of our naval forces are committed to combat duty in Vietnam, Thailand, and off the coast of Vietnam.

The President has stated that he has a secret plan to end our fighting in Vietnam. His plan is still his secret. However, let us hope he will end our involvement in a land war in Southeast Asia and bring the boys home within the next 6 months.

The one place where we can and should make immediate reductions of our Armed Forces is to return forthwith most of the more than 310,000 men of our Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines now stationed in Western Europe with their 240,000 dependents. They have been maintained there over the years, since the end of World War II, at great expense to American taxpayers.

A quarter of a century has elapsed since World War II. Our massive military presence in Western Europe has become merely foreign aid, in the sum of many billions of dollars, to the West German Republic, Holland, Belgium, Spain, and other European countries.

The United States is the only NATO member that has met its commitment 100 percent. The only other NATO nation that has come up to even 80 percent of its commitment has been West Germany.

We have 220,000 servicemen stationed in West Germany, with 160,000 dependents. Based on its gross national product, the West German Republic is the third-wealthiest country in the entire world. The West German mark is one of the world's strongest currencies. In Swiss banks the mark of the West German Republic is considered more sound than the U.S. dollar. The recent revaluation of the German mark, increasing its value, will automatically cost American taxpayers at least an additional \$100 million a year for the maintenance of our forces stationed there. Also, Americans buying Volkswagens and other German-built automobiles will as a result pay a higher price for each automobile purchased, thereby increasing the outflow of money from our country. Surely, it is outrageous and unthinkable that

nearly a quarter of a century following the end of World War II, the United States continues to maintain more than 220,000 officers and men of our Armed Forces in West Germany.

While we Americans conscript our young men for 2 years and send many of them to West Germany, the West German Government conscripts their young men for only 18 months. Furthermore, our other allies in Western Europe either have no draft laws whatever or conscript their youngsters for a much shorter period of time than we. Denmark conscripts for 12 to 14 months, France and Norway for 12 to 15 months, Italy for 15 months, Spain for 16 to 24 months, Belgium for but 12 months, and Great Britain not at all.

The nations of Western Europe can certainly provide the necessary troops to defend themselves. There is no reason for them to depend on us. Since the death of Stalin, the Soviet Union is no longer an aggressive threat to our NATO allies. The leaders of the Kremlin during the past 10 years have been intent on increasing the standard of living of their own people. The Soviet Union, now a "have" nation, is veering toward capitalism. Let the West German youth be conscripted and drafted into their own armed forces. Why should the lives and aspirations of our teenage young men be disrupted to form the first line of defense for the Germans and French and their European neighbor countries?

It is generally regarded we do have a national interest in defending Western Europe. It does not follow that to serve this interest we must maintain more than 310,000 troops and more than 240,000 dependents in Europe. The time is long past due for us to withdraw at least 200,000 of these men, and all dependents, from Western Europe.

The U.S. Air Force has a proven capability of flying to Europe an entire division, a fully armed and equipped combat division, and field them ready for combat within less than 36 hours.

Furthermore, whatever men of our Armed Forces are sent to Western Europe for a tour of duty in the future should be sent for a period of not more than 13 months, and with no dependents. If there is a need for our troops in Europe, then we should have a lean, trim, combat-ready force stationed there, not hundreds of thousands of men of our Armed Forces living like "squawmen" with their wives and children. At the present time, all of our officers from captain through field grade up to general grade assigned to Western Europe are living high on the hog with their families and servants, and enjoying trips to European resorts in their Mercedes and other European automobiles, which some sell at handsome profits when returning to the United States. They and their families never had it so good.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Byrd of Virginia in the chair). The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 3 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.



South, the school bus has come to represent for thousands of people the stupid, stubborn, clumsy, inept attempt by a heavy-handed bureaucracy to force school integration, a problem they believe only time can solve.

Moreover, with last week's insistence of the Supreme Court on immediate, complete compliance with its 1954 school integration mandate, the furor over the school bus is likely to increase both in scope and intensity in the urban South in coming weeks as busing is chosen as a tool for quick desegregation.

"My kids ain't riding no buses all over the country just to make the damned Supreme Court happy," vowed a disgruntled Georgia parent last week, a sentiment voiced over and over again by Mississippians whose schools will feel the initial impact of the Court's sweeping decision.

"What goes against my grain is my little children riding buses, sometimes in sub-zero weather, to places I've never even seen," complained the Rev. Alan Walbridge, a white Episcopal priest in Pittsburgh who has organized a private school to avoid the city's busing program.

"They might get lost or never come home again," he added.

All across the country, there is considerable antagonism.

In Denver, two school board candidates ran successful campaigns this year on antibusing platforms.

#### TWO SOCIAL ILLS

In Grand Rapids, many white and Negro parents have objected strenuously to the city's busing program, and one group boasts that its efforts helped elect three new school board members.

In California, according to a newspaper survey, parents of school-age children are "most concerned" about drug abuse among youngsters and the busing of their children to schools out of their residential neighborhoods—two facts of life the parents describe as "social ills."

In Birmingham, Ala., an organization of white parents is raising money to use in a court fight against their city's integration plans, which include the use of busing.

In Dayton, Ohio, boycotts, school strikes and occasional violence have marked that city's efforts to achieve racial balance in its schools by using buses.

Here in Atlanta, Negro parents staged vehement protests against a school closing and the busing of their children to a new, integrated school.

#### SOME ACCEPTANCE, TOO

There are examples of acceptance as well. In Berkeley, Calif., where the idea of busing to achieve racial balance originated, it is working and working well and there is little if any conflict, local officials say.

In Rochester, N.Y., and Verona, N.J., the story is the same. And even in Boston, where Louise Day Hicks received thousands of votes after her anti-busing mayoral campaign in 1967, the busing program has met with wide acceptance and will probably be expanded.

#### ONE HUNDRED BUSING PLANS

Advocates of busing, such as Neil V. Sullivan, the Massachusetts Commissioner of Education insist that it can work and is, in fact, the best, fastest, safest and most economical way to get children to school.

"If you can provide a good education, people don't mind busing," he said, referring to the success of the plan now in force in Boston. "Transportation does not become the problem. All they [the parents] want at the end of the bus ride is quality education."

Although exact statistics are hard to come by, officials in the United States Office of Education believe there are more than 100 separate busing plans in effect in the coun-

try, most of them in urban centers and outside the South.

The promise common to all of those plans is basically simple and emerged as an answer to a question school administrators have been pondering since the 1954 decision:

How can any school be racially balanced when the neighborhood it was designed originally to serve has become or always was racially unbalanced?

One answer, as first devised in the Berkeley school system five years ago, is the dissolution of the time-honored concept of the neighborhood school and the physical movement of students from the residential neighborhood to a school in another neighborhood, thereby achieving substantial classroom integration.

#### DEVASTATING IMPACT

The impact of that solution is, however, for many parents and students, devastating. There are long rides in the morning and afternoon to and from their new school. There is a loss of identification with the school itself, since it no longer is "the neighborhood school."

"I suspect, also, that many of the angry ones are simply saying, whether they are Negroes or whites, that they do not want their children in a school with children who aren't their own color," a school administrator in Evansville, Ind., said recently.

An official of the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare agrees. Paul Rilling, chief of the department's Civil Rights Office here in the South, ventured that, in his own region, at least, it is not busing that "heats up" the parents, but rather, integrated education.

In fact, records in Mr. Rilling's office and at the United States Department of Justice here indicate that busing has not been a significant factor in or a substantial part of the South's struggles with classroom desegregation.

#### PROBLEM FOR NEGROES

"I think it is fair to say that if it has been a problem at all, it has been a problem for Negroes rather than whites," Mr. Rilling said.

In most desegregation plans in the South, there is substantial "one-way desegregation," a plan that moves Negroes from their schools to previously all-white schools and in most cases simply closes the schools that formerly were Negro. Mr. Rilling's agency is prohibited from either suggesting or ordering that busing programs be initiated in any Southern school system to achieve racial parity in schools under its aegis.

Mr. Rilling also finds support from other Southern officials and educators for his view that, even with the Supreme Court order last week, the "busing syndrome" will not become an important factor here in the South.

"It is really an urban problem," he argued. "In the South, where the bulk of the student population is enrolled in smaller systems, most of them rural, there is absolutely nothing new about riding a bus a long distance for a long tie to school."

#### OFFICIAL SUPPORT

Regardless of the size or the intensity of the South's reaction to busing plans, the issue is sturdy enough and substantial enough to remain alive across the country. Parents of every description and officials with a variety of powers and authority will probably continue to oppose both the idea and the fact of the busing.

They have support from high places. In Williamsburg, Va., for instance, Vice President Agnew, in an attempt to mollify the heated interests of several Southern governors, recently stated his blunt opposition to busing. And in many corners of the country, editorial writers and public officials are constantly referring to a campaign remark by President Nixon in Charlotte, N.C. last year.

"We will not tolerate arbitrary busing," Mr. Nixon said then.

Gov. Lester G. Maddox of Georgia has described busing frequently in vitriolic terms, once calling it "a Communist ruse."

Gov. Albert P. Brewer of Alabama has expressed similar sentiments in less vivid terms, as have his counterparts in Louisiana and Mississippi.

The public officials' distaste for busing is also frequently expressed in Northern States and cities.

And not long ago, George C. Wallace, the Presidential choice of nearly 10-million Americans, twirled a cheap cigar in his fingers and offered his own contribution to the continuing argument.

#### TRIFLING WITH OUR KIDS

"I'll tell you this," Mr. Wallace growled. "It don't make any difference how many judges they appoint from the South or what their philosophies are, and it don't make any difference how they try to court the South—if they keep on busing our kids from one end of the town to the other, then there's going to be trouble because, I'll tell you this, parents are not going to put up with it. They're just trifling with our kids when they bus them around like that."

And so the debate continues, as steadily and as noisily as old yellow and black vehicles that roll along the country's streets and highways, alternately swallowing and then disgorging children and making as remarkable a contribution to the nation's bent for controversy as the internal combustion engine's role in the improvement of transportation.

#### THE TORTURE IN GREECE

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, recently, Look magazine published an article entitled "Greece: The Torture Goes On," written by Mr. Christopher S. Wren. In view of our support of the regime in Greece, I think it is appropriate that the article be drawn to the attention of the Senate, which will be called upon to vote for continued military assistance to the present regime.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the Article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### GREECE: THE TORTURE GOES ON

(By Christopher S. Wren)

Last June 7, George Papadopoulos, the Greek colonel who runs Western Europe's only new dictatorship since World War II, mused before an Athens news conference that he might agree with the view that the press was a "whore." The self-appointed Prime Minister was referring to Look magazine's disclosure of political torture in Greece (May 27, 1969).

His indignant response was delivered once the offending article, *Greece: Government by Torture*, was safely off the newstands (in Athens, copies were bought up by the junta: "How could we consider ourselves part of a civilized society when we accept the most imaginary and malignant accusations produced by a mentally deranged person . . . and how could we reproduce those accusations for the use of tens of millions of readers throughout the world?" Under the subhead "Feeble Author," the censored Athens *News* picked up the cue: "Papadopoulos said this article was written by a mentally deranged person." It was later quietly explained the Prime Minister really meant not this writer, only his sources.

Papadopoulos thereupon invited Look to send to Greece "a duly authorized representative with the purpose of investigating the

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truth. He could be accompanied by the person who supplied the writer with the false accusations. . . .

The Prime Minister promised that if he were shown torture did take place, he would hang the culprits in Constitution Square. The last such public executions in central Athens, Greeks recall, were carried out by the Nazis during the Occupation. The Prime Minister never bothered to send his invitation to Look. It appeared the next week among the routine Greek Embassy press releases handed out to the Washington press corps. Still, Look accepted.

Since the details had come from torture victims within and outside Greece, Look had no single "person who supplied the writer with the false accusations." It proposed sending James Becket, an American lawyer who has investigated torture charges within Greece for Amnesty International, the worldwide organization concerned with political prisoners. Becket had given some of his documentation to Look. Congressman Don Edwards of California was suggested as an observer. Rep. Edwards, chairman of the U.S. Committee for Democracy in Greece, offered skill as a former FBI agent and current member of the House of Representatives Judiciary Committee.

Following the Prime Minister's invitation, further evidence and offers of assistance came in to Look from Europe. Thirteen prisoners in Averoff prison, Athens, smuggled out a signed statement that they wanted to talk about their torture. A Scandinavian diplomat wrote: "I could furnish you with a number of names of people who have been tortured much worse than those you mention in your article."

A month later, the Greek Prime Minister finally authorized the consul general in New York to inform Look that Representative Edwards and Becket, as "participants of movements inspired by prejudice and anti-Greek hysteria" were not welcome in Greece. The article's author was "absolutely unacceptable." As for the Prime Minister's promise to summarily execute anyone guilty of brutality, this, the consul general explained, was merely a "Greek metaphor" used "by the Prime Minister to emphasize the depth of his convictions. . . ."

Yet as long ago as April, 1968, the Greek junta was given *prima facie* evidence that political prisoners had been abused. Anthony Marreco, a British lawyer for Amnesty International, was allowed into three Greek prisons. Afterward, he gave Minister of Interior Stylianos Pattakos the histories of ten prisoners whom he had interviewed and believed were tortured. Pattakos dismissed them as Communists and Marreco's findings as Communist propaganda. Pattakos closed the matter: "The Greek Government has to protect its people against its Communist enemies." Amnesty International is now banned from Greece as "Communist," just as it has been banned from the Soviet Union as "CIA-controlled."

The Greek dictatorship insists that torture claims have been refuted by the International Red Cross and the so-called British Parliamentarians Committee. It was in fact the subsidiary International Committee of the Red Cross that visited Greece. Its initial report dealt with prison-camp conditions, not torture. A second report concluded that the ICRC did not wish to declare whether or not prisoners were tortured. Because the ICRC cannot release its findings without the permission of the host government, no other reports have been published. The ICRC in July, 1968, and again in February, 1969, privately protested to the junta its misrepresentation of the reports.

The Red Cross has secured from the junta some improvement in prison conditions. But its business is mercy, not politics. Restricted to diplomatic channels, it can see only what the government decides to show. In World

War II, for instance, a Danish Red Cross team finally allowed into the Theresienstadt concentration camp in June, 1944, found new flowerbeds and freshly painted barracks. To tidy up, the Nazis had shipped 2,780 Jews to Auschwitz.

The British Parliamentarians Committee turns out to be five British Members of Parliament who were junketed with wives to Greece for the 1968 Easter holidays by Maurice Fraser Associates. Fraser, a former gambling-casino promoter, had persuaded the junta to pay his new firm \$253,000 a year to handle its public relations in Britain. Two of the MP's did visit the prison camp on the island of Leros, where torture did not occur. The spokesman, Gordon Bagler, MP, scoffed: "Quite frankly, I am getting a bit fed up with the sensationalist reporting to come out of Greece. We found that reported torture had always 'happened to someone else.'"

After a long court fight the following fall, the London *Sunday Times* won the right to publish a secret memorandum from Maurice Fraser to the junta that he had a British MP in his employ. Confronted with it, Gordon Bagler confessed that Fraser was paying him £500 (\$1,200) a year.

The junta has grown desperate for good publicity. It reprints in government pamphlets—*The Foreign Press About Greece*—favorable letters to the editor under the masthead of the foreign newspaper that has carried them. The casual reader will take the unlabeled private letter for an official editorial endorsement. The government recently extended round-trip New York-Athens air fare and 24 days of full hospitality to a California radio-TV team of four, in the hopes of some friendly spot reports.

But when Christopher Janus, Jr., a 25-year-old vacationing Peace Corps teacher, visited Greece on August 2, he was detained overnight and deported without explanation to Nairobi. His father, Christopher Janus, a Chicago stockbroker of Greek descent, had written two articles for the *Chicago Sun-Times* after visiting Greece in 1967 and 1968. Janus, who was decorated by an earlier Greek Government for his work in Greece during the civil war, had simply repeated what a lieutenant colonel in Athens told him last year: "A little torture is necessary to preserve civilization."

The Look article has been translated, mimeographed and circulated inside Greece along with the novels and poetry banned by the regime. But a half-dozen new escapees from Greece separately insist that the beatings in the police stations have been stepped up in an attempt to stem the bombings and other stiffening resistance among the Greek people.

Six weeks after the article appeared, Athens radio felt free to boast: "The U.S. Government recently decided to include Greece among the four countries to which 90 percent of U.S. military aid for 1970 will be distributed."

When 50 American congressmen petitioned the Secretary of State in a July 30 letter for "a clearer sign of U.S. moral and political disapproval of the dictatorship," an Assistant Secretary of State, William B. Macomber, conceded that "we see an autocratic government denying basic civil liberties to the citizens of Greece," but insisted that the junta was meeting Greece's NATO treaty obligations. Calling the NATO argument an excuse for U.S. inaction, Rep. Don Edwards took issue: ". . . the present dictatorship violates the very principles of NATO, the very reason for NATO, the protection of free people through the preservation of governments chosen by the people."

American taxpayers' money still flows to a government that relies on torture to survive. Among the new allegations of brutality is a letter from a woman who wrote Look that her aunt, a middle-aged dressmaker, was arrested and, the niece heard, tortured the week after Papadopoulos issued his angry

denial. "She was released after having been kept for 40 days under strict confinement [and] continuous interrogation. Before her release, she signed a declaration saying that she was treated 'very politely and kept under very human conditions of imprisonment.' She had been warned, of course, that in case she is going to say anything to anyone related to her interrogation, she will be rearrested and 'properly' treated." Her name, like dozens of others, has been sent to the Human Rights Commission of the Council of Europe, which has been examining such cases and will announce its conclusions later this fall.

If, in the meantime the Prime Minister is anxious to examine the validity of the pyramiding charges of torture, he has only to honor his pledge of June 7, to let Look into Greece to "investigate the truth" he says he so desperately wants.

#### THE PESTICIDE PERIL—LXXIV

Mr. NELSON, Mr. President, this week Canada joined the growing list of countries who have placed substantial controls on the use of the pesticide DDT.

According to reports in the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal, the Canadian Government will reduce the use of DDT beginning January 1, 1970, by 90 percent. Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau said that the regulations are being imposed—even though the long-term effects on human life are unknown—because definite and alarming evidence has confirmed the injury and destruction to fish and wildlife from pesticides.

Sweden, Denmark, and Czechoslovakia have already banned this persistent pesticides from use in their countries. In the United States, Arizona and Michigan have banned DDT, and many other States are presently considering similar measures in their legislatures.

I ask unanimous consent that the articles be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Nov. 4, 1969]

OTTAWA WILL REDUCE USE OF DDT BY 90 PERCENT NEXT YEAR

OTTAWA, November 3.—Canada announced measures today to reduce the use of the pesticide DDT by 90 per cent next year.

The number of cultivated food plants on which it may be used will be reduced from 62 to 12 beginning Jan. 1. Also, the tolerance levels in various foodstuffs are to be substantially reduced.

Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, making the announcement in the House of Commons, said the Government was acting on the basis of studies showing effects of DDT on birds and fish. Long-term effects of the pesticide on human life are still unknown, he said. He emphasized that the Government had no evidence of injury to human beings.

The Prime Minister noted that the Canadian diet contained on an average only one-fifth the maximum daily intake of DDT (0.7 milligrams) accepted as unsafe by the World Health Organization.

In recent months several Canadian provinces have curbed the use of the pesticide, whose effects have been found harmful in a number of studies in the United States. Ontario announced a general ban on DDT six weeks ago.

Mr. Trudeau today commended the provincial governments for the initiatives they had taken to control the use of DDT, but he said more comprehensive action was needed.

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dent, it requires both time and money to implement any kind of school order. Are Federal courts prepared to levy taxes by injunction? Are they prepared to compel State legislatures to levy taxes and appropriate funds to implement Federal court decrees?

Mr. President, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Federal courts have closed over \$15 million worth of school buildings in the State of Alabama. We resent that. Money comes hard down in Alabama. These buildings have to be built with taxpayers' funds and for HEW and the Federal courts to come in and tell us that we have to close our—in many cases—brandnew and expensive school buildings in order to help implement these integration programs, we do not like it. We are upset about it.

People are greatly concerned about this issue. We are interested in matters of tax reform in Alabama; in stopping inflation; in the Vietnam war and seeing to it that it is brought to an end on an honorable basis, after we have kept our commitments and as we support the President of the United States in his plans to bring peace in Vietnam.

All of these things concern the people of Alabama but I believe that the one issue which concerns them most is that of maintaining our public school system in Alabama and keeping it from being taken over, lock, stock, and children, by the Federal Government. That is the No. 1 issue in the State of Alabama, keeping local control of our local institutions.

Just the other day, I received information from the Department of Defense that there have been almost 1,000 Alabama boys who have lost their lives in Vietnam. I have paid tribute on the Senate floor to these brave young men.

Yes, Alabamians loyally support the Government of the United States. We obey the court decrees. We want fair and equal treatment. We do not want one law applied in the North and another law applied in the South.

The protection of our public school system and the protection of our local institutions in Alabama, are the primary considerations of the people of Alabama.

We want to see every boy and girl in Alabama receive a quality education. We want to see them get the same educational advantages, the same cultural advantages which are enjoyed by boys and girls in other States.

I stated that this type of policy is designed to appeal to certain people. That is what is at the root of the whole thing—how many people this type of policy will appeal to. It is a matter of politics. That is the reason why we have unequal enforcement of the law in the South. It is a matter of politics.

Just a few weeks ago I received a call from some of by black friends in Alabama who are complaining about the closing of their high school. It was a school with a student body of around 400, a fine school, with a fine auditorium, a fine cafeteria and lunchroom, used by the citizens for social gatherings and community meetings. They had a fine football team, a good band, and they

liked their school. They had school pride.

The court came along, on the recommendation of HEW, and closed that school. The patrons did not like it. They asked me to do something about it. About all I can do is protest to HEW and tell the Members of the Senate who might possibly chance by about the closing of this school in Alabama.

These questions are not academic, for we have the precedent of Federal district courts issuing injunctions against constitutional officers of State governments to compel State legislatures to gerrymander representative districts to meet a collectivist political concept of equality.

Is it to be imagined that the people of the South will continue to support with their taxes a public school system divorced from education considerations and one in which the welfare of children is totally subordinated to the absurd dictates of the National Government?

So the Supreme Court decision in the Mississippi case has settled actually little. It merely opens a new era of litigation during which the Federal executive and the Federal judiciary will continue to apply every coercive weapon at their command to compel the assignment of pupils and teachers to achieve racial balance in the public schools.

Mr. President, we hope that the public schools of Alabama and the South may yet be saved from the sociological experiments that are being forced on us.

#### ME — J. J. JO CHARGES OF TORTURE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN GREECE

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, last month, on September 29, I commented here in the Senate on the failure of the Greek Government to honor the invitation it had extended to Look magazine to send a reporter to Greece to determine the truth of charges of torture of political prisoners in that country.

To refresh the memory of my colleagues, the Greek Government extended the invitation in a press release in response to an excellent article written by Mr. Christopher S. Wren and published in the May 27, 1969, issue of Look magazine.

Look magazine promptly accepted the invitation and proposed to send to Greece a three-man team composed of Mr. Wren, Mr. James Becket, an American attorney who had investigated the torture charges for Amnesty International, and Representative DON EDWARDS of California, a former FBI agent and member of the House Judiciary Committee.

After a delay of a month, the Greek Government informed Look magazine that the three-man team was not acceptable to the Greek Government and would not be welcome in Greece.

I recently received from the Consul General of Greece in New York, George D. Vranopoulos, a copy of the formal response of the Greek Government to the Look magazine proposal. To fill in the public record of the exchange between Look magazine and the Greek Government, I ask unanimous consent that the letters from Consul General Vranopoulos

to myself and to Mr. William D. Arthur, editor of Look magazine, dated July 12, be printed in the RECORD.

To further complete the RECORD, I have obtained from Look magazine the reply by Mr. Arthur, dated July 29, to the Consul General, and ask that both letters be printed in the RECORD at this point as well as a letter from Mr. Becket printed in the International Herald Tribune on October 24.

The being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ROYAL CONSULATE GENERAL OF GREECE,

New York, N.Y., October 8, 1969.

Senator CLAIBORN PELL,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I have read with interest your comments concerning Greece in the September 29 Congressional Record.

It is always encouraging to see members of the United States Senate exerting unselfish efforts to keep pace with developments that concern America's allies.

Your September 29 comments dealt with the unfortunate and unfounded allegations of Look magazine that the Greek Government employs torture to suppress or punish political opposition.

These allegations are not true.

To update your files on the exchanges between Look editors and Greek officials, I offer this copy of a letter sent to the magazine on July 12, 1969.

You are free to reproduce this letter if you wish to complete the picture.

Sincerely,

GEORGE D. VRANOPOULOS,  
Consul General of Greece.

ROYAL CONSULATE GENERAL OF GREECE,

New York, N.Y., July 12, 1969.

Mr. WILLIAM B. ARTHUR,  
Editor, Look Magazine,  
New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. ARTHUR: With reference to your letter of June 16, 1969 addressed to the former Counsellor of the Greek Embassy in Washington, I have been authorized to state the following:

1. The Prime Minister of Greece, during a press conference in Athens with representatives of the Greek and Foreign Press, on June 7, 1969, did, indeed, invite the management of Look to send to our country an authorized staff reporter to evaluate the facts relating to the material published in your magazine, through a purely journalistic investigation.

2. The Prime Minister, however, has observed with disagreeable surprise that his invitation, although explicitly specifying a clearly journalistic investigation, was misinterpreted from beginning to end, in view of your declared intention to have Messrs. James Becket and Don Edwards accompany your representative. These two gentlemen are not only lacking any journalistic qualifications but they are also participating in activities openly hostile to the prevailing situation in Greece.

The Prime Minister would gladly grant an interview to an unbiased journalist representing Look, but not to the participants of movements inspired by prejudice and anti-Greek hysteria, even in the event that such individuals were to present themselves in a journalistic capacity.

3. Beyond this overall misinterpretation of the meaning of the Prime Minister's invitation, it must be pointed out that not even the journalist in the proposed group is an appropriate designee. Mr. Christopher Wren is a person absolutely unacceptable to the Greek Government.



done by HEW in the North. They are protected under the language of the HEW appropriation bill, and HEW is prevented from taking these steps.

Where, however, racial segregation of students in a school system has been caused, in whole or in part, by the official action of the State, these statutory provisions provide no barrier to any steps necessary to desegregate the schools and are not steps to overcome racial imbalance prohibited by those laws.

In other words, HEW is free to do these things in the South but are not permitted to do them in the North, the reason being that at one time in the South we did have a dual system of schools.

That seems unfair to the junior Senator from Alabama—that we should have one rule for the use of Federal funds in the North and a different rule in the South.

Mr. President, we in Alabama are this year celebrating our sesquicentennial. We have been in the Union of States this year for 150 years, and we are proud of that fact. We are proud that Alabama is the 22d State of the Union.

I point out that the people of the South—the people of Alabama and the South—are as loyal or more loyal to our country than the people of any other section of the country. Military procurement bills receive the support of the Senators and Representatives from the South.

Just the other day, I received a letter from a radio station in Alabama that had run an editorial in opposition to the Vietnam moratorium on October 15.

They had invited their listeners to call in and tell them whether they approved of the editorial which was critical of the demonstrators. Hundreds of replies came in and 98.3 percent of those replies were in favor of supporting the President, supporting the foreign policy of the President, and of the United States.

Mr. President, I point out these things to show that the people of Alabama are loyal American citizens. We obey the law. We respect the law. We are proud to be a part of the Union. We are proud that our State is now celebrating the 150th anniversary of its admission to the Union.

Mr. President, we want to be treated as citizens in Alabama. We do not want to be treated as a conquered province. We want to see the laws enforced equally.

We speak of equal protection of the laws, but why is not this HEW appropriation limitation granted equally in the South as it is in the North? It has been made clear on the floor of the Senate by the distinguished Senator from Mississippi and other Senators, and it is a matter of common knowledge, that there are literally hundreds of public schools in the country, in the big cities of the North, that are 100 percent segregated. I do not believe that news of the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court in Brown against the Board of Education has reached many of our big cities in the North. If it has, they have not paid any attention to it.

Yet we see the spectacle of the Supreme Court stepping into a case where there was already an order for the sub-

mission of a plan by December 1, and they come in and say, "Integrate now," 1 month from the deadline that had already been established.

We do not want to lose the public school system in Alabama and in the South. It would hit the very people that these decisions supposedly are designed to help. Far from being helpful to them, if we lose the public school system in Alabama, it would be a great detriment to them. The low- and middle-income citizens of Alabama and the South are not able to send their children to private schools. We have to rely on the public school system and we want to preserve that public school system.

Mr. President, I have introduced in the Senate an amendment to the HEW appropriation bill. I do not know how much good it would do if the amendment were agreed to because they apply one rule, as I say, in the North and still another rule in the South. However, I have introduced this amendment and I will call it up when the HEW appropriation bill comes before the Senate for consideration.

The amendment reads as follows:

It is hereby declared to be the sense of Congress that the freedom of choice of parents to choose the public primary and secondary schools to which they shall send their children (subject to age, academic and residence requirements) is an inviolate right, the protection and maintenance of which is part of the public policy of the United States.

I wish that were the public policy of the United States. What in the world would be wrong with allowing a child anywhere in the country to choose the school he wants to attend? We are willing to follow that system. We are willing to give bona fide support to a system of that sort.

We have had freedom of choice in Alabama, until we came under court decrees; and the courts have called the HEW to come in and suggest school plans and have then just put them into effect.

I believe that under that plan we would have every boy and girl in Alabama attending the school that he or she wishes to attend. This is not a one-sided thing. This does not provide benefits to one race at the detriment of another race.

I was interested in observing in the text of the opinion of the Supreme Court that in this case they did cite two cases, one in 1964 and one in 1968, by the Warren court. The 1954 case cited no legal precedents. As I have said, the Burger court has not distinguished itself in this case, in the opinion of the junior Senator from Alabama; and it looks as if, even though Mr. Chief Justice Warren is no longer on the Court, his presence is still very much felt there.

I notice, too, that the opinion was a per curiam opinion. No one signed it. It was the utterance of the entire Court, an 8-to-0 decision.

If the Supreme Court is divided on a question of this sort 8 to 0, I do not believe there is a whole lot for anyone to be disturbed about if someone of a slightly different political philosophy should be named to the Court. At best it would then be an 8-to-1 opinion, which

would not be too bad, I am sure, from the view of those who like this sort of opinion.

Mr. President, I was encouraged by one phrase in the opinion of the Supreme Court to which I have alluded. In the first numbered item of the Court's order it calls on the Court of Appeals of the Fifth Circuit to direct the school boards that they begin immediately to operate as a unitary school system within which no person is to be effectively excluded from any school because of race or color.

Well now, that sounds all right to the junior Senator from Alabama because it smacks of being freedom of choice. If no person is to be effectively excluded from any school because of race or color, that can only mean that he would have the free choice of going to the school to which he wishes to go. In that respect, if that in fact be the meaning of this phrase, I would certainly endorse those few words in the opinion.

Mr. President, the Federal Executive charged with responsibility for implementing judicial decrees in the massive sociological experiment in Mississippi and throughout the South has frankly admitted that the proposals he imposed upon certain Mississippi school systems had been hurriedly prepared. The department conceded that to implement these plans would, "surely produce chaos, confusion, and a catastrophic educational setback for the children involved." Does the Constitution of the United States require chaos, confusion, and a catastrophic setback for children in public schools?

The U.S. Supreme Court swept aside all such considerations and washed its hands of responsibility for such chaos. The Supreme Court ordered the Court of Appeals for the U.S. Fifth Judicial Circuit to direct the school boards to accept all or any part of the hopped-up plan provided only that the plan "insure a totally unitary school system" instantaneously and without regard to consequences.

The opinion is indifferent to the welfare of the children, untroubled by consequences and devoid of conscience. The order is free of education considerations, indifferent to the will and wishes of the children, their parents, and teachers and completely unconcerned about the convenience or health or safety or welfare of the children involved. But more—it is indifferent to practical down to earth consideration for the future of public school education in the South.

Mr. President, how is this decision to be implemented? We know, of course, that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare will threaten to withhold public funds, a part of which are used to buy hot breakfasts and provide lunches for children of the poor. We know that the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Judicial Circuit will issue its decrees and injunctions and threaten public school officials with fine and imprisonment without benefit of trial by jury if they do not surrender their Constitutional power to administer local public schools and accept dictation from Federal courts and from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. But, Mr. Presi-

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD SENATE

S 13559

4. The Greek Government is amenable to the suggestion that your staff reporter be accompanied by an accredited press photographer.

5. The Prime Minister has also invited Mr. Korovevssis, the only accuser identified by name in your article. The Prime Minister has publicly assured Korovevssis immunity from any jeopardy bodily or otherwise. From the Prime Minister's statement it is clearly evident that the journalistic investigation would deal exclusively with the brutality charges asserted by Mr. Korovevssis to Mr. Wren. Therefore, the proposed investigation is acceptable only if directed to the aforementioned brutality charges and not to the alleged 200 instances of torture, which Mr. Wren in a vague but colorful manner claims to have knowledge of.

6. In the event Mr. Wren's allegations as to the Korovevssis' matter were proven to be true, the Government would immediately take measures to severely punish to the full extent of the Law, those responsible for such acts. This was the essence of the remark of the Prime Minister "the execution (of the culprit) in the Constitution Square", which is a Greek metaphor often used by Greeks firmly convinced of the bona fides of their belief, and not the literal and narrow interpretation placed upon his words. The use of such a significant figure of speech by the Prime Minister to emphasize the depth of his convictions should have aroused definite suspicions as to the extent to which the truth was distorted in Mr. Wren's article.

7. In closing, we reiterate that in spite of the offensiveness to the Prime Minister of the misinterpretation of his remarks, the invitation extended by him in the aforementioned press conference still stands; namely that a duly accredited member of your reportorial staff together with a press photographer are welcome to visit Greece for the stated purpose. It must be understood that this invitation does not extend to any person who is not a journalist by profession or who, despite a journalistic background, through association in anti-Greek movements or lack of objectivity, is prone to prejudge prejudicially and hence is completely unacceptable.

The foregoing is based on the conviction that your renowned publication has experienced conscientious and dedicated staff members capable of carrying out your intention to search for the truth through reputable channels of proven journalistic reliance and free of prejudicial influences or motivations.

Sincerely,

GEORGE D. VRANOPOULOS,  
Consul General of Greece.

JULY 29, 1969.

GEORGE D. VRANOPOULOS,  
Consul General of Greece,  
New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. VRANOPOULOS: Please convey to the Prime Minister of Greece my disappointment at his unwillingness to let Look properly accept his initial invitation to "investigate the truth" about political torture in Greece, as reported in the May 27 issue of Look.

Because the Prime Minister had expressed his interest in learning the facts, I had suggested that Look's representatives be three individuals who could best present the evidence to the Prime Minister: Senior Editor Christopher S. Wren, who wrote the article; James Becket, who has written regularly for respected American publications; and Congressman Don Edwards of California, who offers valuable experience as a former agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and a current member of the Judiciary Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives.

The Prime Minister's objection to Messrs. Wren, Becket and Edwards seems to be that they know too much. Otherwise he would be

anxious to avail himself of the documentation they are ready to present.

Sincerely,

[From the International Herald Tribune,  
Oct. 24, 1969]

#### TORTURE IN GREECE

On June 7, 1969, Premier Papadopoulos of Greece, incensed at an article in Look magazine entitled "Greece: Government by Torture," challenged the author of the article and "the person who supplied the information" to come to Greece at government expense to make an "objective investigation." As someone who had provided the author, Christopher Wren, with information, I wrote the premier, expressing my willingness to accept at my own expense the invitation. I also expressed this in a letter to the International Herald Tribune.

Look magazine took up the premier's challenge and said they would send at Look's expense Mr. Wren, Congressman Don Edwards and me. Mr. Papadopoulos never answered Look directly nor did he answer my letter. However, a month later, the Greek consul in New York informed the magazine that we three were "absolutely unacceptable."

The premier, however, retains a strong interest in the torture issue, considering it, in fact, more important than his very life. On Aug. 22, in answer to a question on this subject by Congressman Yatron of Pennsylvania, he stated that "on my word of military honor," these stories "are infuriatingly and basely false," and "if evidence of even one such case is supplied, then the only duty left to me as a man under military oath is to commit suicide."

Because of the premier's obvious concern, I propose now to send him the names of 400 persons known to have been tortured, a representative sample of signed affidavits of Greek citizens describing their tortures, the names and rank of 119 officials known to have been tortured, and the names of 21 places where torture is carried out, including the Dionysos camp run by the premier's brother. In spite of courtroom declarations by tortured defendants and overwhelming evidence, the government has made no investigation, but, rather, has promoted the known torturers. For the sake of Greece, the premier should demonstrate his sincerity on this important issue.

JAMES BECKET.

PARIS.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I commented on September 29, in the light of the Greek Government's failure to honor the invitation it had extended, that the invitation was "false, and not meant to be accepted."

There is nothing in the exchange of correspondence I have presented here today that would cause me to change that viewpoint. It was, in fact, entirely too much to expect that the repressive Greek regime would actually permit a thorough inquiry by a competent and knowledgeable team of investigators.

Even without such a visit by investigators, however, there is ample evidence of the repressive nature of the current Greek Government.

In the October issue of Harper's magazine there is an excellent article by Mr. John Corry entitled "Greece: The Death of Liberty." In the article Mr. Corry, a respected author, journalist, and former Nieman Fellow, provides a graphic description of conditions in Greece and tells of the patience and extraordinary courage shown by the Greek people in

living under the present regime. I ask unanimous consent that the article by Mr. Corry be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### GREECE: THE DEATH OF LIBERTY (By John Corry)

The thing about the Greeks is that they have survived, and that while lesser peoples have waxed, waned, and disappeared, they have hung on, enduring their own rogues and geniuses, being pawed over by one Great Power or another, getting the history of the Medes and the Persians written in their hills, suffering their endless catastrophes, becoming as much Eastern as Western, and staying all the while peculiarly Greek, which means they are not like everyone else, but warmer, kinder, crueller, prouder, and more full of both courage and guile, with the more important of these being guile. When Odysseus got back to Ithaca, Homer says, gray-eyed Athena said to him with nothing but admiration, "Crafty must he be, and knavish, who would outdo thee in all manner of guile," and three thousand years later, when some students at the University of Salonika were asked what they thought was the greatest virtue of them all, they answered nearly to a man, "To be clever."

Greece, you must understand, is not so much a country of clear light, old ruins, and blue and green seas at it is a condition. It is where the citizens are sorry at politics and successful at business, where they love their country and despise their Governments, and where a queue is always a shambles, the rule being that the smaller the citizen the more quickly he will fall out of line. It is where there are many supplicants, but few beggars, where there is kindness to foreigners and suspicion of countrymen, and where everyone is absolutely certain that he is not only as good as his fellow man but positively better. "The first thing you must know about us," said a sophisticated Greek lady, "is that each one of us is sure he can run the country better than anyone else." Greece is also something with which many Anglo-Saxons and Teutons have love affairs, Lord Byron being only the most publicized, and where any two citizens, like Talmudic scholars, can argue three sides of a question. When Thucydides, the celebrated Greek historian, began his history of the Peloponnesian War he wrote: "The task was a laborious one because eyewitnesses of the same occurrence gave different accounts of them as they remembered, or were interested in the actions of one side or another." Nothing has changed much since then, and the sons of the eyewitnesses are still more interested in your knowing what they think happened, or ought to have happened, rather than what actually did happen. It is all very complex, even to the Greeks, and no one is ever quite sure what is really going on, and the only probable thing is that the Greeks will survive, and that their newest disaster, which is the Army officers who run the country, will not.

The Army officers, colonels mostly, took over the country on April 21, 1967, saying as they did so that they were the instruments of a National Resurrection and a National Purification, wherein Greece would be purged of corruption, mismanagement, and the Communist menace. In fact, there was corruption and mismanagement, which there still is, and in the twenty-three years before the officers came to power, forty-one Governments had risen and fallen. Moreover, although the officers have never produced much evidence to show there was a real Red peril, as opposed to the kind that gives Everett Dirksen the vapors, they probably believed that one existed. In 1963, when Prime

Minister George Papadopoulos was a colonel on the northern border, he put sugar in the fuel supply of his tanks, which made them stop running, and then said the Communists did it. Then he told the Government of this instance of Red duplicity, but nothing came of it when someone found out what had really happened, and the Government put it all down to the Colonel's zeal. In his favor, however, it should be remembered that in Greece Communism truly had been all fire and sword. In late 1944, after the Germans had been driven out, Communist partisans fought both loyalist Greeks and the British Army for control of the country. According to a declaration filed at the old United Nations Organization by what was then the Greek Government, 46,985 civilians were killed by the Communists in the short war, and God alone knows how many the Government side killed. Then, in June 1946, fighting resumed on a more massive scale. There were atrocities on both sides, and when it stopped in 1950 the Government said that its armed forces had suffered 49,720 casualties, which included those captured, and that the figure for the Communists was 79,773. It was a terrible time, more terrible than the German Occupation, and it uprooted more than one million Greeks, with all the misery that this meant, while the damage to property and to national life was simply incalculable.

Nonetheless, I know of no one in Greece who thought this was about to happen again, and however corrosive the life in Parliament may have been, however antiquated the national institutions, however upsetting the labor disputes, the street protests and demonstrations, Greece was getting by. Moreover, it was being run by Greeks. There had been the long years of the Turkish Occupation, which ended with the War for Independence in the early part of the last century, and then after 1830 the British, French, and Russian Ambassadors had things pretty much their way. Otto I, a Bavarian, was King, and he ruled with all the grace of a Turkish Sultan, surrounding himself with other Bavarians, and finally being deposed in 1862. He was succeeded by George I, who was a Dane, largely because when it looked as if the British might get one of their own on the throne, the French and Russians had objected. Eventually, however, the British did become the dominant force, what the Greeks call the "foreign factor," but their suzerainty ended in 1947, when, with a polite diplomatic note, they yielded up their burden and asked the Americans to shoulder it.

This was during the Civil War, and so first there was the American military mission, and then the economic aid, great quantities of it that helped to rebuild the country and were possibly the best and the brightest uses of American munificence in the postwar period, and then the technical experts, the advisers, the endless officials, the diplomats, and all the beginnings of a new suzerainty. "I remember," an American diplomat says, "when Paul Porter was the AID chief, and the director of the Greek budget would come in and see him and say, 'We want to spend so much money on this, and so much on that,' and Porter would say yes or no, so that he was really the guy who was running the country." (Porter later became Abe Fortas's law partner; I do not know if this proves anything.) That suzerainty ended in 1961, when Congress, wearying of adding new nations to the Foreign Aid rolls without seeing any come off, removed Greece, Taiwan, and Israel. In fact, Greece by then had a sound debt structure, her economy was growing, and she didn't need the money. (Neither did Taiwan or Israel, but they both complained. Later, the economic aid to Taiwan that was suspended was shifted over to military aid; Israel just hit American Jews up again.) Those years of the Truman Doctrine, of the Marshall Plan, were years of great American prestige in Greece; we were well loved. Here,

for example, is a Greek politician speaking. He is gray-haired and distinguished, books in three languages are on his library shelves, and he was an elected Deputy and a Minister in more Greek governments than he can easily remember. "In the early nineteen-fifties, the American Ambassador, Peurifoy, once called me and invited me to lunch. This was just before an election. Peurifoy was an old friend, and the luncheon was just a social occasion. But then along came a freelance photographer, who took our picture, and the next day it was in all the Athens papers. My people saw it, and I'm sure I got ten thousand votes because of it in the election. If this were to happen again, if people were to see my picture now with an American official, I would lose the election." There are no elections now, of course, and the politician, who probably had the photographer planted, could be overstating things. Still, there is a new anti-Americanism in Greece, and it worries the American Embassy, and it is probably strongest among the young, where it ought not to exist at all.

Why, definitely the Americans support the Colonels," the girl was saying. "It is the Pentagon and the CIA, not the people. If the people knew what was happening here they would be with us. All the students believe there has been interference from the Americans." The girl was a leftist who smiled a lot, even when she was telling horror stories. She attended the University of Athens, and periodically she had to report to the fourth floor of the police station on Bouboulinas Street to be interrogated. Her boyfriend had been sentenced to ten and a half years on an unspecified charge, and her friends all thought she would end up in jail herself. (The extra half-year on his sentence is worth remembering because in Greece when you are put away for more than five years, or for more than ten years, the conditions of servitude can be made a little harder. Many of the political prisoners I knew of were in for five and a half years, or ten and a half years, with that extra half-year being just a special piece of nastiness.) "There are many informers at the university," the girl said. "I see them sometimes at Bouboulinas Street when I report there. That way I can tell who they are. Everyone on the board of the Student Union is an informer. Before the Colonels took over, the board was elected. The head of the Student Union was always elected, too, but just after the Revolution the Government appointed a right-wing student to be the head. He didn't like the Colonels, either, and so he resigned. Now they are more careful when they appoint someone." Are there underground organizations among the students? I asked. "Oh, yes," she said. "The biggest one is left-wing, and there is one for the Center-Union. They agitate." What else do they do? I asked. "They pass out leaflets," she said. Is there anything else? I asked. "Well," she said, "they write slogans on the blackboards."

This is the way it is among the students and intellectuals; if the counterrevolution comes it will come from elsewhere. At the University of Salonika, which is even larger than the University of Athens, perhaps one-third of the professors have been dismissed, but the bothersome part in thinking about this is that a great many Greek professors ought to have been dismissed years ago, having long put up with an educational system whose newest ideas sprang from the Kaiser's Germany, which meant overcrowded classes, an absence of science facilities, and some of the most overbearing pedagogues in the world. "Have you ever heard of Montesquieu?" a professor of history at Salonika asked me. Yes, I said. "Are you sure?" he said. Yes, I said. "And are you familiar with the American Constitution and the system of checks and balances?" he asked. I told

him I was. "Well, then," he said, "perhaps I'll be able to talk to you about how a democracy works." The professor, who was a frosty man, with vague eyes, was absolutely opposed to the Colonels, but he had not been dismissed, although many of his colleagues had. Dismissals are announced in the *Government Gazette*, and the reasons offered are something like "illegal relations," which can mean meeting someone on a street corner, or "being against the actual situation of the country," which can mean anything at all.

Moreover, the University of Salonika is full of police informers, perhaps more so than in Athens, and some do it out of zeal, and some probably for fun, and some for either special favors or money, with the acceptable pay supposed to be about 500 drachmas, or \$16.60, a month. One professor in Salonika said that a police official had complained to him that he was grading some of his students too low. Which ones? the professor asked. These, the policeman said, and offered him a list of what the professor took to be the policeman's informers. It is also interesting that when the professor objected to the policeman's superior, there were immediate apologies. Dictatorship in Greece has a tentative quality; no one is ever quite sure of how far he can move against the regime, or of why he is not in jail when those without blame are, and so there is a lot of testing, of trying to find the point where the Colonels do act. The Colonels and their apparatchiki, however, are inconsistent. When eighteen writers signed a declaration saying that freedom had died, two or three were called to police headquarters and politely asked why they had done such a thing. When Anna Synodinou, probably the best-known actress in Greece, renounced her career because the stage was no longer free, a general called her in, and said that as a man he admired her, but as a member of the Government hardly at all. Therefore, he said, would she please stop making inflammatory statements. However, at the funeral of George Papandreou, the former Prime Minister, forty-one persons were arrested and sentenced to one to four and a half years for shouting what the police said were provocative slogans.

So, that is also the way it is in Greece, an Attic police state, where you cannot easily tell repression from simple inefficiency, and where you also cannot easily tell when a citizen is surrendering to the alarms, or when he is, in fact, awaiting the policeman's midnight knock. Nothing is really the way it seems, and myth and reality, as they always have been in Greece, are intertwined.

"The only bullets we are receiving are the flowers that are thrown at us," said Deputy Prime Minister Stylianos Patakos, making a pun in Greek with the word for receive. "Before you came here," he said, "you thought there were machine guns and tanks on the streets." Then he smiled benignly, and said, more or less, that everyone loved the Government. Still, when Prime Minister Papadopoulos is driven to his office each morning from his modest home five minutes away, it is the way it would have been if Lyndon had decided to visit the Democratic convention in Chicago, with Daley handling the security on Michigan Avenue; each intersection is well blocked off, all traffic is stopped, and, I estimate, three hundred to four hundred cops stand at attention.

Similarly, I once arranged a meeting in someone's apartment with a pleasant, gray-haired lady who looked like your old Aunt Florrie. "I got off at the floor above, and then walked down one flight," she said. "I learned that from a British diplomat. That way the concierge can't tell where you're going." I do not know for certain if the lady's caution was necessary, but there is a great deal of this



in Athens, with code names to be used on the telephone, orders never to call from a hotel, but always from a kiosk, because your phone may be tapped, instructions to take a taxi to a street two blocks from where you're going, and then to wait to see if you are being followed, and only then to walk to your appointment. Middle-aged people behave the way they must have during the German Occupation, and they tutor the young. None of this is to say that everyone acts this way; rather, it is for those who are committed, which is a small number of people, but they are the ones who yearn most for a democracy.

From time to time the Prime Minister, of course, says that Greece is a democracy, or at least about to become one, but on form, as the horse players say, it is hard to prove. The press is controlled, there are no elections, there are no strikes, there are no political parties, there is no independent judiciary. There is not much of anything except what the Government says there is to be, and one of these is a Constitution. The Constitution is worth looking at because, the Government says, it was approved in a referendum by something like 92 per cent of the people. I do not think 92 per cent of the Greeks would agree on what day it is, and I met an officer who said that he personally saw a box of ballots dumped out because everyone was tired of counting. Nonetheless, we will say that a majority of the Greeks voted for the Constitution, and that the count, if not exact, was at least indicative. To begin with, the yes ballots were blue, which is the national color of Greece, and the no ballots were black. At first, the no ballots were to be red, suggesting that only a Communist would vote against the Constitution, but internal pressures, or perhaps a public-relations man, prevailed, and black was chosen. One woman said that when she voted she was given only the yes ballot, and that she was too timid to ask for one marked no, and a man told me that in his polling place the no ballots were stuck behind the ballot box, and that to get one he would have had to reach over the box and under the nose of an Army captain. To hell with it, he decided, and voted yes. Furthermore, a large number of people abstained from voting that day, even though abstention can be followed by civil penalties, the loss of a passport, for instance. In the Constitution itself, Article 138, which is the last article, says that the Constitution will be in force immediately, except for those articles that take effect only when the Government says they do. These articles deal with arrest, the courts, search and seizure, free speech and censorship, the right of assembly, the right of association, the vote, the right to form political parties, Parliament, and the secret ballot. So far as I know, none of these is in effect, although the Government repeatedly has pledged itself to a return to constitutional liberties.

Whether or not this will happen is questionable. There are many theories in Greece; one being that the Prime Minister is a secret moderate who is hard pressed by the younger, right-wing officers to stand even firmer than he does; another being that the Prime Minister is a natural despot posing as a secret moderate who is hard pressed by the younger, right-wing officers, and a third being that the Government is in such a chaos that no one is able to consistently press anyone else at all. Even before the newspapers were censored, Greece was always full of rumors, and now there are more of them. Some are sheer invention from no place in particular, some are planted by this side or that, and some are actually true. Everyone can find support for his own idea of what is happening, or about to happen, and any two people can interpret the same rumor, or the same evidence, differently.

For example, last June 21, in a letter that seems to have found its way into every intelligence agency in town. Lt. Col. Dimitrios

Ionnides of the military police wrote to the Prime Minister to express the dissatisfaction of some officers of the Revolution. A large part of the letter dealt with King Constantine, who led an unsuccessful counter-coup in December 1967, and has since been living in Rome. (Despite this, the Government hangs his picture in all its offices, gives him a pension, and keeps in touch with him through its Embassy.) Colonel Ionnides said that the officers were unhappy with the consideration being shown to the King, and he asked that the contact through the Embassy in Rome be ended, and that those few officers involved in the counter-coup who had not been arrested be arrested. The Colonel also complained of a few internal matters, and then he said, "The hope on the part of former politicians for a return to parliamentary government has made the implementation of the work of the Revolution difficult. A responsible declaration, in addition to the promises given to the officers, should end these hopes." Now, this apparently meant that the Prime Minister already had told the officers that there would be no return to parliamentary government, and that Colonel Ionnides and his brother officers wanted him to tell the rest of the nation. Therefore, the Prime Minister was either (a) being pushed by the other officers into following a harder line, or (b) far in advance of his officers in taking a harder line, and just laggard in telling the nation so, or (c) neither or both of these. None of this would be very important, except that it indicates that a return to the conventional freedoms is still far in the future for 8.7 million people, and that once again we are trapped into having truck with another military dictatorship.

American businessmen are more comfortable with this Government," a lawyer said. "They don't understand that the long-term prospects are against them. After this Government is deposed the American firms that are involved in this regime will be ousted." The lawyer, plainly nervous because his doorman, a former policeman, had seen me enter his office, made much of his living by representing American businesses in Greece, and he had for them a kind of affectionate contempt. "It is the management level," he said, "they don't know, or don't care, what is happening here. They welcome the stability, and if they have not supported the coup, at least they have tolerated it. In the end it will be as it is in South America; they will be driven out. My friends who are in jail, I don't know how much hatred they'll have for Americans when they get out, but these are the people who will someday lead Greece." As we all know, the business of business is business, and a dollar is amoral. Besides, capital investment stimulates the economy, provides jobs, and generally enhances the well-being of everyone concerned. "Trade, not aid," calls up self-reliance, viable partnerships, and the best of intentions, and when an American concern invests money in Greece a great thing is made about it in the newspapers, and the Deputy Prime Minister is sure to lay the cornerstone. The conventional wisdom is that invested money ultimately will help the poor, and for once the conventional wisdom may be right. The other thing is that even the most benighted Greek liberal knows that capitalism gets along better with the right than the left wing, and he is right, too. "There is no such thing as American investment, there is only investment. It has no nationality," said Nicetas Stioris, the Under Secretary for Education, who was once the Under Secretary for Finance. He was not right; there is American investment, and it is an outward and visible sign, to the Greeks, at least, that Americans support the Government.

Before the Revolution there were no American banks in Athens. There was American Express, but it was mostly in the business of handling remittances from home.

Then, just after the Colonels took over, Chase Manhattan, First National City, and Bank of America opened offices. Litton Industries, that great conglomerate, had been invited into the country when George Papan-dreuou was Prime Minister, but it had dropped out when national politics became too complicated. Immediately on their ascension, however, the Colonels invited Litton back in again, and Litton agreed to undertake the economic development of Crete and the western Peloponnesus, and, it says in the contract, to "refrain from any active participation in political activities in Greece," and to "act as the faithful servant of the Government." In return, the Government was to periodically deposit a million or so in U.S. dollars in a Litton account in Switzerland. In Greece, Litton neither sows nor reaps, but gets others to come in and do so; it promotes, finding investment opportunities, and then finding investors. "Much has been said about this contract and the two contracting parties," Deputy Prime Minister Patakos said not long ago about the arrangements with Litton. "I wish to say there is nothing at all to this, and the work is progressing." It is a Government convention that, when someone says something it does not want to hear, the Government does not repeat it but instead puts out solemn assurances that whatever was said was said by what it usually calls a "slanderer of Greece," and was all wrong anyway. In Litton's case, the slanderers were saying that the Colonels had been had, and that Litton was falling far short of its commitment on bringing in capital. In the beginning, there was rosy talk about Litton pulling as much as \$950 million into Greece, although the contract itself called for Litton to bring in somewhat less. By the second anniversary of the signing, however, there was only \$1,650,000 in foreign capital brought in by Litton actually at work in Greece. There was a great deal more in the pipeline, of course, but it was not enough. When Patakos said, "Much has been said about this contract," it was Government talk, indicating that the Colonels themselves were a little unhappy, and sure enough, a little later it was announced that the Litton contract would be revised. Still, whatever Litton tells potential investors abroad about the glories of Greece (periodically someone calls it a mouthpiece for the Colonels) it is sensibly quiet in Greece itself.

It is not so with Thomas Pappas of Boston, a Greek-American, who contributes mightily to the Republican party, who said after the convention that he had "put in a good word for Spiro" and once suggested in Athens that he was an old CIA man.

"After the Almighty God created men and beasts, He created the Greek-Americans, and He didn't know what to do with them." The speaker here, another former Minister, was saying that the Greek-Americans were neither Greek nor Americans, but something else. There are 2.5 million of them, and the former Minister, who was a traveling man, said that in America they acted like Greeks, and in Greece they acted like Americans. He spoke about them the way poor Greeks speak about "the rich Greeks," rich Greeks being both incomprehensible and suspect to poor Greeks, and he wished they would all go away. They will not, but it was really the more visible Greek-Americans that the former Minister was talking about. Mr. Pappas is the most visible of all, and his people in Athens, if not Mr. Pappas himself, say that he is close to the President of the United States, knows full well who the next Ambassador will be, and, in fact, very probably will name him himself. Mr. Pappas, the former Minister said, is a charming man who cooks spaghetti, tells funny stories, and is good to his friends. Still, he said, he wished he would go away. Pappas, whose family is from the same village as Spiro T. Agnew's,

came to Boston as a very small boy, prospered greatly by importing olive oil, and then got into real estate and Republican politics. He has brought a great deal of money in Greece, and is now the proprietor of chemical plants, a steel mill, and a refinery in Salonika, tomato-paste and tomato-juice plants in the Peloponnese, cattle herds in Macedonia, and God knows what else. He has the concessions for some canning factories, and most recently he has started to build some Coca-Cola bottling plants, for which he also has a concession. Coca-Cola had tried for years to get into Greece, but other Governments, fearful of the competition for the Greek fruit and soft-drink industries, declined to admit it. The Colonels, recognizing a good thing in having another American name around, welcomed it.

Pappas put his first big money into Greece in 1962 when a right-wing Government was in control, then suffered mildly in 1964 when a left-wing Government tried to revise the contracts, and by 1966 was trying to see that this never happened again. That was a year in which the King dismissed the Government, and in its place there came a right-wing one, and a Prime Minister who was close to Pappas. The new Government, however controlled only a minority of deputies in the Parliament, and to survive it needed the support of members of the liberal Center-Union party. Pappas, according to the best of the political gossip in Athens, approached several liberal deputies, promised them some considerations, and asked them to switch over. Some of them apparently did, although the next year was the year of the coup, and so it hardly mattered. (When the Colonels took over, Tom's brother, John Pappas, a sometime judge, was in Greece. When he got back to Boston he said the coup was good for the country, and while this was not much noticed in America, it was headline news in Greece.) After the coup, Tom Pappas and the Prime Minister frequently were pictured together in the papers. Tom, in fact, was the best man when the Deputy Prime Minister's daughter was married, and when he casually suggested about a year later that he had worked for the CIA, well, there was the whole big ball of wax, the CIA, big business, and, of course, the Junta.

Knowledgeable Greeks knew something about the U.S. Embassy, roughly rating the more important people there as either good guys or bad guys, and they know who some of the CIA men are in the U.S. military mission, and even a little bit about them. It is something else, though, to know what the CIA men have been up to, one reason being that the Colonels themselves put out stories about how the CIA supports them, and another being that it is generally hard to know what anybody is up to in Greece. The military mission itself is more transparent. It is there because Greece is the southern anchor of NATO, and so on, and it gets along well with the Greek Government because, what the hell, we're all Army officers, and we're all just doing a job, and so on. The Colonels love to have the American officers trot out for ceremonial occasions, and this is always recorded by the photographers, and then it gets all over the papers, too. The Embassy people do not like this kind of thing, and they think that every time they start to get it across to the Greek Government that things would be better off all around if the Government gave at least the appearance of being a democracy, that then the military mission comes in, tells the Colonels they're doing just fine, and not to worry about the Embassy because diplomats just aren't realists. Moreover, when the diplomats tell the American officers there is every possibility that the Junta will create so much anti-American feeling that the Greeks may well pull out of NATO sometime, that doesn't seem to get across, either.

The CIA is another matter. There are a great many Greeks who believe that American intelligence truly has supported the Colonels. One persistent story is that fifteen generals who were arrested last spring were denounced to the Greek Government by a Greek-American officer to whom they had confided their plans for a counter-coup. Another is that American intelligence recently turned over to Greek intelligence 1,200 telephone tapping devices for what was officially called "NATO purposes." The first story may be circulated by the Greek Government; the second, I think, has the ring of truth.

For years there has been a close relationship between the Greek and American intelligence agencies. (Indeed, even though the initials do not translate that way, Greek intelligence is always referred to as the CIA.) The Greek CIA, however, functions as both an FBI and a CIA, responsible for both internal and external security, and it always has been run by Army men. When George Papandreou was Prime Minister he became annoyed by the agency's close relationship with the Americans and tried, without much success, to change it. George Papadopoulos, the leader of the Junta, served in and out of the Greek CIA for years, and there is some evidence that, as early as 1952, he was in touch with, and shortly later getting funds from, the American CIA. During the German Occupation, Greek Army officers had formed a secret organization to protect what they called "the Army's ideals," and in 1952 Papadopoulos became its general secretary, and started to form his own inner circle within the secret organization. Showing a remarkable talent for conspiracy, he appears to have done this by about 1954, which is also about the time a few other officers began to call him the "Nasser of Greece," and as early as 1958 he told at least one other officer that he was ready to oust the King. He was, of course, a junior officer, small beer, and I do not know if anyone took him seriously. Moreover, to rise within the Greek Army it is almost mandatory for an officer to train in the United States, usually at Fort Benning, Georgia. On the day of the coup an Embassy official called the military mission and asked who Papadopoulos was. The American officers said they didn't know, and that there was no record of his having trained at Fort Benning, or anywhere else in the United States. Nevertheless, there is another persistent story, this one saying that in the early 1960s, which would be just before he dumped that sugar in the fuel supply of his tank, Papadopoulos trained in the United States in the techniques of psychological warfare and anti-Communist espionage. I do not know if this is true, but some Greeks believe it, and they are the people who will one day inherit their country. As a nation we have a talent for backing safe, right-wing leaders, and Greece, remember, was once torn apart by a bloody war over Communism. I think that Papadopoulos, as a devoted anti-Communist, was involved with American intelligence agents, maybe even with some high-class liberal types, the kind who always talk about adjusting ourselves to the realities of power, and I find it inexpressibly sad.

From time to time, there have been charges in the American and European press, particularly in Britain and in Scandinavia that political prisoners have been tortured in Greece. Most recently, *Look* Magazine said so, and the Greek Government cried slander, while Prime Minister Papadopoulos thought seriously enough of the accusation to call a press conference and denounce it. "People should know that only through the respect for truth can we survive in peace and freedom," he said, and then declared that *Look's* principal informant, a political exile, was "a mentally deranged person, who has been an

inmate in an asylum for disturbed persons." Therefore, he said, it was all a lie. Greek-American newspapers were even more outraged. They said it was reprehensible to accuse the Greek Government of allowing this kind of thing to go on, and they said that stories of torture were nothing more than leftist fiction. In Greece, however, I got the statements of dozens of political prisoners who said they had been tortured. What is extraordinary is that the prisoners were willing to have their names published. I do not understand the courage, or perhaps the despair, of a man who will publicly denounce his jailers while he is still within their reach. It was explained to me that the prisoners simply didn't care, and that they thought nothing worse could happen to them than already had happened. I don't know; I think it may just be that they are Greeks. I have heard that when a German officer ordered a Greek officer to haul down the flag from the Acropolis at the beginning of the Occupation, the Greek officer got the flag, wrapped himself in it, and then leaped from the parapet to the rocks below. I do not know if it really happened this way, but it sounds like something a Greek could do. Just so, I think that a prisoner who allows his name to be used is also doing something a Greek could do.

Of the dozens of statements about torture, here are only a few, and they are published exactly as they were translated into English. The only other thing is that Prime Minister Papadopoulos has said that, if torture can be proved, "I will not hesitate to order the execution of those responsible right here in Constitution Square, and I shall assume full responsibility for it." I hope he keeps his word.

Pavlos Klaydianos, 23 years old, student at the school of economics and commercial sciences: I was arrested on February 29, 1968, by the policeman Karathanassi. I was taken to the General Security offices. All the time I was being beaten and punched. In the office of the police officer John Kalyvas, I was beaten for about two hours by Kalyvas, Karapanayiotis, and Karathanassi. They used wood planks, metal wires, and rubber clubs. They tied very tightly my genitals with a rope and pulled them. After this I was taken to the terrace, where there is a little room. They tied me on a bench and tortured me by beating the soles of my feet. . . . I was taken to the camp of 505 Marine Battalion in the area of Dionysos. I was tortured immediately with beating on my soles. I was burned with a lit cigarette on the wrist of the right hand. . . . After this I was put in the punishment confinement room. There I was kept for thirty-eight days. I was continuously tortured with beating on the soles of my feet by Major Constantine Boufa, Major Basilios Ioannides and other officers. . . . Captain Spyropoulos fitted on my brow and my neck some electric wires and connected them with a live plug. This was done twice. Then they stripped me naked and made me run under the rain in the yard. . . . For many days they did not allow me to sleep. . . . On orders from the commanding officer, John Manoutsakaki, two soldiers and a sergeant of the military police tried to rape me. Because I resisted they stopped giving me food and water. . . .

Athanasios Kanellopoulos, 31, telephone company employee: I was arrested for my syndicalistic activities, for conducting propaganda against the Junta, and because I had worked professionally with the former private secretary of Andreas Papandreou. I was arrested on January 1, 1969. I was led straight to a colonel . . . who beat me for two solid hours. I was then handed over to the Piraeus Security Police, where I was beaten incessantly for ten days, bound hand and foot, half-naked, on the soles of my feet. . . . The most severe blows I received

they do in some socialist countries, but in Greece the Government will also pay the doctors to go, which may even be nicer.

The Government also says there are more schools, more university dormitories, and more child-care centers going up now than ever before, and that it is putting aside 13 per cent of the national budget for education, which is more than any other Greek Government ever thought of doing. Further, there has been a rise of 200 per cent in the number of teaching assistants at the universities. Presumably, they must all prove their loyalty to the Government, and the moldy figs at the universities will never see any virtue in it, anyway, but it is another small sign that something, somewhere, is being done. "As far as our greatest social need, it is hard to answer briefly," Lucas Patras, the Minister of Social Welfare, said. Mr. Patras is a shy, pleasant man who studies a lot, and then writes things with titles like "The Problem of the Pensionable Retirement Age." "Our country is in a state of change," he said. "From a state of low social development we are moving into one of high development. This creates social problems, and all the problems are at an explosive stage. Social Security is in a state of anarchy. We must move to a new system. The distribution of doctors is not the best. We must make new decisions. The old leaders didn't understand the problem of moving from a pre- to a post-industrial society." Then Mr. Patras sighed a little, and went on to explain the problem of Social Security. There are 338 Social Security centers, which he called "founts," and each job or profession has its own, and each one runs itself. "Unfortunately, each fount was not part of an overall program," Mr. Patras said, "but existed separately, no overall policy. This, of course, is kind of crazy, but that is the way it was before the Revolution." The Greeks pay their money into the founts, and when they are pensioned off, or go on unemployment, the founts pay it out again. Since no one has ever thought of a way to do this by mail, a Greek must present himself at the fount to do business. As an afterthought, Mr. Patras said that the Government at least had beaten the problem of the long lines that were always stretching out from the founts under the hot sun. He did not say how the Government had done this, and it is only a small thing, but I suspect it is terribly important if you are an old-age pensioner with one leg. This is the same Government that exiled the composer Mikis Theodorakis to a miserable mountain village, posted some boors with guns nearby, and then banned his music all over Greece. I do not know how many one-legged pensioners you have to get into the shade to make up for losing Theodorakis, but I think it should be pondered, especially by the people who let the old guy stand out there in the first place.

In the end, what may save all the Greeks, even from themselves, is their madness. Not all Greeks have it, but enough do, and it helps them get by. A Greek driving an automobile is mad, which he must be, because all the other drivers are mad, too. Greek men know of only two kinds of women, the kind they bring home to their mothers, and the other kind, and they stare at women a lot, and flare their nostrils a lot. It is a little mad, but I do not think they get much, and so maybe they must be this way. Greeks in nightclubs break plates when the bouzouki music gets to them, and this is mad, but there is not much else they can do, and they must do something. The Colonels have passed a law that makes it illegal to break plates this way, but the plates still get broken. "We Greeks break plates like we break the law," a man said, hurling a few at the bouzouki player. The maddest Greek I ever met, in fact, was a bouzouki player.

"I admire American saxophone players," he said. "They make me weep." He pursed his

lips, grabbed an imaginary saxophone, and swayed forward and back, looking very sad.

"Did you know there is no written music for the bouzouki?" he said, and I said I did not. "Well, there is none," he said, tearing a peach in two, and offering me half.

"Tell me about the bouzouki," I said.

"I will tell you," he said, "because you are a friend of mine. I have been playing the bouzouki for thirty-six years, since I was six. The bouzouki has been seen in popular places only since 1953. Before that it was only in secluded places. It was a music for tough guys. It originated in 1930, and it was based on Turkish music, but only thugs and smugglers ever heard it. Then it started to become popular with intellectual people. I remember that rich people, snobs, would start coming to the tough-guy places. Did you know that my father is a colonel, and my sister is a scientist?"

I told him I did not, and I asked him how he got to be a bouzouki player.

"You cannot find a bouzouki player who will tell you his story," he said, "but I have a great desire to tell mine to you." Then he fell into a long silence.

I asked him what made a good bouzouki player.

"This is a most difficult question. I admire you very much for asking it. No one has ever asked me such a provocative question before." Then he fell into another long silence, and looked very sad, but finally he said, "It is intellect. This is the difference, the difference between two players is intellect. If you have the same desire, intellect is the thing that separates us."

He was silent again, and then he spoke about composers, commending several, and then saying, "But not Theodorakis, he is for the crowd. He is a thief, a pseudo-intellectual, and a Communist. You understand, of course, that I am talking only about music."

I said I did, and asked him when he would play the bouzouki.

"Not tonight," he said, and looked very sad. "I am not in the mood." Then he got up and walked away.

The bouzouki player was not a fool, only a little mad. He will probably get by, and in the end he and some other mad Greeks will do in the Colonels. They may have to do it without the Americans, but in the end it will be done. On the day a Greek said, "Have you heard the latest?" which was that some more arrests had been made, nineteen American newspaper boys came to Athens. They were jugged, freckle-faced, and cowed, and they were all over the newspapers, and all over the television news. They were from the Hearst organization, and the Hearst man who was with them told the Prime Minister, "Some of the things that one reads today about Greece are myths. One finds this out when one comes to Greece, sees Greece, and lives in Greece. We shall take with us the most beautiful impressions of your country." Then the man from Hearst handed over messages from other Americans. John McCormack, the Speaker of the House, sent the Prime Minister "expressions of esteem." Senator Henry Jackson of Washington said something about NATO, and then he told Mr. Papadopoulos he was sure the newsboys would be impressed by "your country and your people." Governor Richard B. Ogilvie of Illinois said it was wonderful that the newsboys would learn "how your brave people fought and struggled to remain free," and Ronnie Reagan, after saying something about "the idea of freedom and justice," sent "the best wishes to you, Prime Minister, Mr. Papadopoulos, and to all the people of Greece from all the people of California." Governor Preston Smith of Texas said everyone was really looking forward to the time the Prime Minister could visit America, and then he sent his best wishes "for the continuation of your success in your struggle

for freedom and democracy." On television, the Prime Minister was beaming and beaming, and out there somewhere, a great many other Greeks needed all their madness to survive it.

#### RHODE ISLAND PARTNERS OF THE ALLIANCE PROGRAM

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, this month an organizational meeting of the Rhode Island Partners of the Alliance Planning Committee was held in Providence to officially launch the 39th partnership involving private citizens of the Americas in a program known as the Partners of the Alliance. Rhode Island is to be joined with the State of Sergipe, Brazil, located in the northeast part of that country, in this partnership. Rhode Island is the 17th U.S. State to be paired with a Brazilian state in the program.

Governor Frank Licht of Rhode Island opened the meeting and accepted the honorary chairmanship of the Rhode Island Partners of the Alliance committee. The meeting was attended by over 40 private sector leaders representing such organizations as the chamber of commerce, Rhode Island Hospital Association, various businesses and industries, labor groups, newspapers, and radio and television stations. Mr. John Rego, director of the State Department of Natural Resources, was named to serve as temporary chairman of the Rhode Island Partners and to head the program development team scheduled to travel to the State of Sergipe, Brazil, at the end of this month. Other team members include:

Paul Hicks, executive director, Rhode Island Industrial and Petroleum Association.

Robert Fredericksen, representing conservation and natural resources.

Jacob Dykstra, president, Point Judith Fishermen's Cooperative Association, Inc.

Harold Bateson, president, Charles A. Maguire & Associates, Inc.

Robert Crohan, vice president and general manager, Outlet Co.

I congratulate Rhode Island's citizen team and wish them well in their meetings with the private sector leaders in Sergipe. I know they will accredit themselves well in developing meaningful projects in which the peoples of the respective States can work together. The partners program seeks to foster cooperation and understanding in the Americas, and I am confident that private groups and organizations in the State of Rhode Island will participate in this worthy undertaking.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the remarks of Governor Licht, together with an explanation of the partners program by Mr. Wade B. Fleetwood, Deputy Director of the partners, and an article from the Providence Journal of October 4 be printed at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### REMARKS BY GOV. FRANK LICHT OF RHODE ISLAND

I am very pleased to be here this noon. I accept with pleasure the title of honorary chairman of the Rhode Island Partners of the



on my testicles by kicking. As a result I suffered from damaged testicles, fits of dizziness, and I am unable to walk properly. The names of my torturers are Kouvas, who led the torturing, Yannoutsos, Kotsalos, Angelopoulos. . . .

Sotiris Anastassiadi, 29, stage designer: I was arrested by a group of police officers, with Lambrou, Babalis, and Mallos at the head. I was kept in solitary confinement for 130 days at the Security Headquarters. I was tortured repeatedly by sole-beating and beating on my face and genitals. The torturers were Babalis, Kravaritis, Kontogeorgakis, Spanos. . . .

Stamatakis Nikiforos, 24, self-employed: I was arrested on April 13, 1968, by the Security of Heraklion, Crete. The same day I was tortured from 8:00 a.m. until midnight by a group of men from the Security under the Director of the Gendarmerie on Crete. . . . I was beaten on the soles of the feet. My hands were wrung and I was kicked on the back while hung from the feet. . . . On April 15 I was sent to the Security Headquarters in Athens—Bouboulinas—where I remained in complete isolation until May 30. . . .

Yannis Petropoulos, 34, decorator: I was arrested on April 4, 1968. I was taken to General Security Headquarters in Athens and was beaten up. The next day I was taken to the Dionysos Camp. There they shaved my head and made me eat up my hair. For many hours in a large room ten men were beating me all over the body and especially on the head and on the stomach. . . . Because of the beating on the soles of my feet I could not walk for ten days. They took off four of my toenails. They burned with cigarettes my fingernails. They staged a mock execution. They tortured me by the method of letting water drip on my brow. . . .

Michael Apanomeritakis, 28, civil servant at the office of the Ministry to the Prime Minister's office, member of the Center-Union Youth in Crete, member of a resistance group: Arrested on August 5, 1968, I was kept in total solitary confinement for forty days at the suburban Security Headquarters. I was taken for questioning and there I was inhumanly tortured for fourteen hours by seven men of the Security Police. They beat me violently on the head, the face, the loins, the belly, and the genitals. I also received several blows on the chest with a chair. The result was a severe hemorrhage from the mouth, the ears, impossibility to walk for twenty days, partial loss of hearing in my left ear, and swelling of the genitals. My torturers were Karambatos, lieutenant colonel of the Gendarmerie; Mavroidis, lieutenant colonel of the Gendarmerie; Pavatas, lieutenant colonel of the Gendarmerie, and four other policemen. . . .

Panayiotis Tzavellas, 44, musician: I am an invalid. One leg has been cut off at the thigh and the other is also injured. I suffer from endarteritis. I was arrested on August 8, 1968, and was tortured at a Security Station of the suburbs by punching on the head, kicking, and flogging. They broke one of my crutches by which they were beating me on the head and all over the body. I was unconscious for five days. For forty-four days I was kept in complete isolation and slept on the cement floor without any bedding and in only my shirt. I am still detained awaiting trial. It is already six months.

Nikolaos Kliaos, 26, student of the faculty of physics and sciences: I was arrested on April 21, 1968, by seven police officers of the Students' Department of the General Asfalia [police station] of Athens. . . . I was taken to the office of Kalyvas, where, in his presence, Karapanayiotis beat me up. For a long while he was beating my head on the wall. After this he took me to the terrace, to a covered room, and tied me on a bench. They beat me on the soles of my feet with iron and wooden

rods. They beat me on my genitals. In my mouth they placed a thick truncheon in order to drown my screams. . . . The same night they took me to the 505 Battalion of the Infantry Marines at Dionysos. A lieutenant and a policeman called Chrisakis beat the soles of my feet. . . . On the 29th of April in the afternoon Major Goufas beat the soles of my feet in the presence of commanding officer Manousakaki. They beat me all over the body with a wire truncheon. They tortured me with water drops falling on my brow. They were specially beating me on the ears. I passed blood in the urine and pus is still dripping from my ears. . . .

As I said, there are dozens of other statements, all sounding much the same, and they should be read by all the junketing American Congressmen, hippies, tourists, and businessmen in Greece. I think that all the men who were quoted are now in Averof Prison in Athens, which is neither the best nor the worst place for a political prisoner in Greece, but only a typical one. Physical torture, being mostly an instrument of police stations and Army barracks, evidently does not go on there, but a sad and nasty drying up of the spirit does. Averof is a clump of five buildings, with sections for men and women political prisoners, and for ordinary convicts. Before the National Resurrection came to Averof, prisoners with terms of up to ten years could be visited three times a week, and prisoners with terms up to twenty years could be visited eight times a month. Now, political prisoners who get up to five years are allowed four visits a month, and for five to twenty it is twice a month, and for twenty to life it is once a month.

Once, incidentally, any relative could get in to see a prisoner; now the most distant relative allowed in is a first cousin, who must be related to the prisoner's father, not to the mother. Fiancées are not allowed to visit at all unless they have special permission from the Ministry of Justice, and this is not often given. When relatives do visit they stand behind a low cement wall, and then there are bars, and then a fine wire net, and then more bars, and then the prisoners and their guards. For a while this summer, children were allowed to visit their fathers or mothers twice a month in a room where they could embrace. Then it was announced that the visits, which had been thirty minutes, would be limited to five minutes. The smallest children especially use up a minute or two of this in finding their fathers or mothers among the other prisoners and guards. Nearly all the cells in Averof hold two prisoners, and they are small cells, with a very narrow space between the cots. The prisoners spend seventeen hours a day there, and they are locked in at 7:00 p.m. in the summer, and 8:00 p.m. in the winter. The cells have no toilets, only buckets that are emptied in the morning. There is a toilet that all the political prisoners use, but it is seldom cleaned, and its rotten, fetid smell overflows into the cells. Some prisoners say this is the worst thing of all at Averof. The Government spends eight drachmas a day on food for each prisoner, which is about 25 cents, and it is popularly supposed that about two drachmas of this are stolen. There is a canteen, however, and its profits are used to buy drugs for the prison hospital. Families may also send in food three times a week, but they cannot send in anything that is sold in the canteen, and sick prisoners cannot receive any food at all. Candy is forbidden; I do not know why. The hospital is a few hundred yards from the cell-block, and when prisoners go there they go in handcuffs in a police wagon. The dentist visits on Friday, but he is equipped only to extract teeth. Foreign-language books are not allowed in the prison, and other books are allowed in only at the discretion of the warden. Many books are banned in Greece,

but the warden prohibits others as well. Once he banned Proust's *Remembrance of Things Past*.

Averof is not a monumental tragedy, not like Belsen or Buchenwald, but it is grimy. There are probably only a few thousand people in the Averof of Greece, but there are others who have been exiled from their homes and sent into remote villages, and many many others who pass in and out of police stations, sometimes being detained for a few hours, sometimes overnight, and sometimes for days and weeks. The newspapers publish no stories about them; things are seldom announced. "Have you heard the latest?" Greeks seem to be forever saying, and the latest is always something political, or something about another arrest. Perhaps one-third of the Army officers have been arrested, or retired, and some of them are in exile, and some walk the streets, and some are kept in an old hotel near Athens. The windows are nailed shut, and twice a day two guards take each officer downstairs for a turn around what was once a lobby. In Athens there is also an atomic-research center, Democritos, which is named for the Greek who said 2,400 years ago that all matter was made up of tiny particles. One morning in June an electronics scientist was arrested in his laboratory at Democritos, and more than a month later his colleagues still didn't know what had happened to him. At five in the morning of the day he had been seized, a Democritos chemist was taken from his home, questioned by the police, and then released. The chemist had been invited to present a paper at a meeting of the American Chemical Society, but then the cops said he couldn't go. What shall I tell the Americans? he asked the director of Democritos. Tell them you broke a leg, he said. This was about the time that a lady scientist from Democritos was stopped at the airport while she was on her way to attend a professional meeting in Vienna. She could not leave, the police said, because she was a menace to national security. The "latest" is always something like that.

The other side of all this, although I met few Greeks outside the Government who cared to admit it, is that the Government has done some things for its constituents. Any dictatorship, no matter how inefficient, usually does, and even Mussolini made the trains run on time. Liberal critics of right-wing regimes hardly ever acknowledge these things, probably because it would damage their case, but they ought to. For example, the Greek farmers, like American farmers, habitually overborrow, and the Greek farmers, like American farmers, habitually cry poverty. The difference is that the Greek farmers, who make up about half the population, really mean it. The per capita income in Greece is something like \$750, and the farmers scratch out livings on little plots and patches of rocks and worn-out ground. By 1967 they owed the Government bank ten billion drachmas, which was about one-quarter of what they could produce in a year, and in early 1968 the loans were pardoned. The farmers' pensions also were increased 70 per cent, and, while the Colonels are not the sort to upset a big landowner by parceling out his estate, they are at least talking about consolidating the small farmers' holdings. That is, if a farmer owns, say, four acres spread over seven different places, they would all be put together. The Government also has introduced free medical care, and it says that in 1968 farmers and their families had 35 million free days in hospitals, and that doctors also made four million free visits in rural areas. Before the Revolution, the Government also says, there were exactly 1,050 doctors in the poorest, most isolated areas of Greece, and now there are 1,410. The rule is that a young doctor, just out of medical school, must go into these areas for at least six months, which is similar to what

The second amendment would have a retroactive effect. It provides a "second chance" to those young men who have been opposed to participation in the Vietnam war and have been forced into the dilemma of service in a war they oppose for ethical or religious reasons or prison or flight from the country. By "second chance," I mean giving a young man the opportunity now to offer information to his local board in substantiation of his claim to exemption from military service provided he was conscientiously opposed to participation in a particular war at the time he received a notice to report for induction or at the time he left a jurisdiction to evade military service.

Under both amendments any claim to exemption which is granted, would require the young man to perform noncombatant service in the Armed Forces or an acceptable form of alternative civilian service as that now performed by traditional conscientious objectors.

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I cannot believe that anyone here believes it would be either wise or fair to adopt this rule. It may seem to be politically clever to adopt it, but it is not even that. Every time we make a mockery of what legislative procedure ought to be we erode the credibility of this House and anyone who thinks that that is politically clever is, in my judgment, politically very stupid.

The country is in a turmoil about the draft. This House is supposed to be representative of the country. It ought not to be demean itself and insult the country by refusing even to consider amendments and alternative proposals. That is one of our specific constitutional functions in the Congress—to decide how the United States shall raise the manpower for its Armed Forces. Nothing could be more "germane," and there could be no worse time to deny procedural democracy on a substantive question of such enormous importance to a functioning democracy. To adopt this rule is to engage, if I may use a phrase that has gained a certain currency, in effete snobbery of the most impudent kind.

I am grateful to the distinguished gentleman from Missouri and the distinguished gentleman from California for their leadership on this question and I thank the gentleman for yielding.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, before I yield to any of my colleagues, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may extend their remarks at the conclusion of my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

#### CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 250]

Anderson, Tenn.	Dawson	Monagan
Ashbrook	Dent	Morse
Baring	Dwyer	O'Neill, Mass.
Barrett	Edwards, Calif.	Patman
Bell, Calif.	Foley	Pike
Brown, Calif.	Fraser	Pirnie
Burton, Utah	Frelinghuysen	Podell
Byrne, Pa.	Hanna	Powell
Cahill	Hunt	Pucinski
Carey	Jarman	Reifel
Cederberg	Kirwan	Sandman
Chisholm	Lipscomb	Springer
Clark	Lujan	Stuckey
Colmer	Lukens	Van Deerlin
Daddario	McClory	Whalley
	Mikva	Widnall

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 384 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

#### PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 14001, AUTHORIZING MODIFICATION OF THE SYSTEM OF SELECTING PERSONS FOR INDUCTION INTO THE ARMED FORCES

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that further consideration of this resolution be postponed until tomorrow.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

#### TITLE AMENDMENT OF S. 2917, FEDERAL COAL MINE HEALTH AND SAFETY ACT OF 1969

The SPEAKER. Earlier today the House passed the bill S. 2917 with an amendment in the nature of a substitute.

Without objection, the title of the Senate bill will be stricken and the title of the House bill (H.R. 13950) inserted in lieu thereof.

There was no objection.

#### SESSION OF THE HOUSE ON FRIDAY NEXT

(Mr. ALBERT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I take this time before the Members leave, to advise that we plan definitely to have a Friday session.

ME

#### HEROISM IN GREECE

(Mr. EDWARDS of California asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, the freedom of the floor of this House is a freedom we all enjoy, but we often fail to realize the rarity of such freedom. Today I am presenting to this House a letter from fellow representatives of the people of another country, but representatives who do not have freedom of the floor of their own parliament.

On this floor we have debated the most important issues of our day often with views in direct opposition to the administration being expressed freely and without fear. For the men who signed this letter, an expression of views in opposition to their administration's policy, a dictatorial policy, means the risk of jail and even of torture. These men in using the freedom of this floor risk the loss of their own freedom.

Thus, this letter, signed by 56 former members and or ministers of the Greek Parliament is a precious document. Its cry for freedom in that country is a cry made at great personal risk. The letter speaks for itself and I hope the response of this Nation will speak for itself.

The United States both officially and unofficially is well aware of the Greek dictatorship. Our State Department has described the dictatorship's trampling of the civil rights and liberties of the Greek people. Unfortunately, despite such statements, our Government continues to supply arms to that dictatorship to reinforce its subjection of the Greek people. I hope that we will cease such support and I urge the administration to end such support.

Mr. Speaker, I include the letter from the 56 former members of the Greek parliament in this RECORD and I include my reply to the letter in this RECORD. In addition I include the original congressional letter in this RECORD:

ATHENS, GREECE,

September 11, 1969.

Congressman DON EDWARDS,  
Chairman, U.S. Committee on Democracy in Greece, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: We were informed of your letter to the Secretary of State, W. Rogers, dated July 30, 1969 and wish to express our sincere appreciation to you and the forty-nine other honorable members of the U.S. House of Representatives who expressed their concern for the prevailing situation in our country.

In your Statement, Sir, you have mentioned that Greece was "the only European nation among the Western Allies which in the post war period fell to a military coup". Allow us to remind you that Greece, in addition to her contribution to the allied victory during the war, was also the only nation in the World to have successfully opposed an armed Communist Subversion.

It was exactly twenty years ago when the Greek army, under a *parliamentary Democracy*, with the leadership of the late King Paul and the generous material assistance of the U.S. through the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine, gave the final blow to the communist armies and forced them to retreat defeated and disbanded beyond the Greek borders. This aid was given by the U.S. Congress, not only to defend the country from the communist threat but especially to secure and support the free institutions and democratic system of the nation.

Having been subjected to so many sacrifices, we believe that Greece, more than any other nation in the Western World, was entitled to live in peace, freedom and Democracy. Furthermore, we believe that our country, which bleeding and shattered was able to defeat the Communist Aggression immediately after she came out of Nazi occupation, was and is in the position to defend Democracy without resorting to a military regime. The history of the last 20 years, contrary to what is being said by the present rulers, proves that Democracy was functioning in our country and that the political leadership had knowledge of its mission. The achieved progress in all spheres of public

October 22, 1969

life prior to the military coup is a good confirmation of such views.

It is our view, Sir, that the moral, political, economic and military interests of Greece call for an immediate return to a free society, a government by the people and a Democracy which will safeguard, not only our freedom, but also the bonds of friendship with your great country.

As elected representatives of the last Greek Parliament, we accept your manifestation of solidarity and declare that the struggle for freedom, decency, democracy and civil rights is indivisible and knows no geographic barriers or national borders, but it is and ought to be the responsibility of enlightened leaders everywhere. We all have responsibilities for the defense of these traditions, but above all we have responsibilities to our people. Winston Churchill said: "Trust the people, make sure they have a fair chance to decide their destiny without being terrorized from any quarter." We do trust our people but they have no chance to decide their destinies and they are being terrorized.

It is for this that we declare again that the preservation of the great humanistic ideals will be better guaranteed if the U.S. of America remains a true beacon of Freedom and Democracy. Your statement and the answer of the Under Secretary of State will serve that goal if the ideas expressed will be converted into policies of decisive significance.

Please convey our friendly greetings and thanks to the other honorable members who signed the statement with you.

Sincerely yours,

President of the last Greek Parliament:  
Dimitrios Papaspyrou, deleted.

Ex-Members of Parliament and/or Ex-Ministers: Christos Avramides, deleted, Michael Gallinos, Athanasios Gelestatidis, deleted, Emmanuel Zapartas, deleted, Emmanuel Kotharis, Dimitrios Kinias.

Stilianos Allamanis, Angelos Vlachodimitriou, deleted, Dimitrios Georgiou, Dimitrios Davatis, F. Dentrinos, deleted, Christos Karapiperis, deleted, deleted.

George Bakatselos, deleted, Zisis Papalazarou, George Rallis, Evangelos Savopoulos, Agisilaos Spiliakos, deleted, Anthanasios Talladouras, John Tsirimokos, Iakovos Dismantopoulos.

Athanasios Yannopoulos, John Contovrakis, Helias Papaheliou, Agisilaos Spiliakos, John Tsirimokos, Constantine Maris, Evangelos Aneroussis, Christos Pipilis.

John Boutos, Panagiotis Papaligouras, Fotios Pitoullis, Theodoris Rentis, deleted, deleted, Constantine Tsatsos, John Tournabas, I. Tsoudepos.

Constantinos Aposkitis, Constantine Tsatsos, Thomas Adreadis, Achilles Papadoulas, Constantine Stefanakis, Dimitrios Chatzigakis, George Stefanopoulos, George Graphakos, Athanasios Tallathouros.

(The names deleted have been done so to protect signers who have undergone political persecution.)

To former members of the Greek Parliament.

DEAR SIRS: First let me express my admiration of your courage, to you the 58 former members of the Greek Parliament who signed the brave letter calling for a return to democracy in Greece. I know that some of the members of this group have been arrested and all braved arrest in making known their views.

We in the United States, still protected by our free institutions, believe that the political fight you are waging in a country far from our own is in behalf of free men everywhere. We find it disheartening that our government has not given a clearer sign of our support of your efforts, but we hope that United States policy can be changed. As you noted in your letter, "It was exactly 20 years ago when the Greek Army, under a parlia-

mentary democracy, with the leadership of the late King Paul and the generous material assistance of the U.S. through the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine, gave the final blow to the communist armies and forced them to retreat defeated and disbanded beyond the Greek borders. This aid was given by the U.S. Congress, not only to defend the country from the communist threat but especially to secure and support the free institutions and democratic system of the nation." Today the United States continues to send military support to Greece, but sadly it is not being used to protect the "free institutions and democratic system of the nation," but to suppress those very institutions and system. Many of us in Congress wish to see this aid ended, and we will work toward that end.

Speaking for myself, and I know for many of my colleagues, our dream is to see Greece free once again, to see it rejoin the honorable company of Western European nations in the Western Alliance. It is our belief that the people of Greece should make their own choice without outside interference. We believe the United States best can support the efforts of the Greek people to regain their freedom by making clear its lack of support of the present dictatorship.

Finally, let me add my prayers to yours and all of the other Greek citizens who desire a return to freedom, that shortly democracy will once more reign in the nation which founded the concept of a free people, living together in justice and harmony.

Sincerely,

DON EDWARDS,  
Member of Congress.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D.C., July 30, 1969.

HON. WILLIAM P. ROGERS,  
Secretary of State,  
Department of State,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: We are writing to you because of our deep concern over the situation in Greece, the only European nation in the Western Alliance in the post World War II period to fall to a military coup.

Authoritative reports indicate that in junta-led Greece the economy is in decline, fundamental civil liberties are suppressed, and people continue to be arrested and jailed without charge. What's more, anti-Americanism is reportedly on the increase because our long-time friends believe the United States is the principal support of a military dictatorship which has no popular base.

Our policy of occasional, tepid expressions of "hope" that the junta will return to democracy stands in rather hollow contrast to the repeated instances of high-ranking American military figures being pictured and quoted in the controlled Athens press lavishing generous comments on the junta.

Thus we find ourselves in a situation where at a time of moral and political crisis in Greece, our traditional friends of liberal, centrist, and conservative persuasion believe with bitterness that the United States supports the dictatorship and the dictatorship, on the other hand, boasts about it. In the short term, and in the long term, we are in danger of reaping the whirlwind of anti-Americanism, especially when the junta falls, as it inevitably must.

America's attitude is critical to the survivability of the junta. The sooner the junta falls, the greater the prospect that a responsible, democratic, western-oriented successor government will emerge to bind the economic and political wounds. The longer the junta lasts, the grimmer the prospect of political polarization, turmoil, bloodshed, and unpredictable consequences to Greece and our own political, moral, and military interests.

Accordingly, we respectfully urge your consideration of the following action:

1. Since the post of U.S. Ambassador to Greece, presently vacant, has taken on a growing symbolic and practical value, that it be filled by an experienced, civilian-oriented diplomat of superior credentials and not be treated as a political reward or routine promotion.

2. That a clearer sign of U.S. moral and political disapproval of the dictatorship be given and sustained.

3. That U.S. military aid to Greece should not be increased, and indeed, should be curtailed.

Sincerely,

Hon. Joseph P. Addabbo, Hon. Glenn M. Anderson, Hon. Jonathan B. Bingham, Hon. John Brademas, Hon. George E. Brown, Jr., Hon. Phillip Burton, Hon. Daniel E. Burton, Hon. Shirley Chisholm, Hon. Jeffery Cohelan, Hon. John Conyers, Jr., Hon. James C. Corman, Hon. R. Lawrence Coughlin, Hon. Charles C. Diggs, Jr., Hon. Don Edwards, Hon. Joshua Ellberg, Hon. Donald M. Fraser, Hon. Jacob H. Gilbert, Hon. Seymour Halpern, Hon. Augustus F. Hawkins, Hon. Henry Helms, Hon. Floyd W. Hicks, Hon. Daniel K. Inouye, Hon. Charles S. Jozelson, Hon. Robert W. Kastenmeier.

Hon. Edward I. Koch, Hon. Robert L. Leggett, Hon. Allard K. Lowenstein, Hon. Abner J. Mikva, Hon. Patsy T. Mink, Hon. William S. Moorhead, Hon. John E. Moss, Hon. Lucien N. Nedzi, Hon. Gaylord Nelson, Hon. Robert N. C. Nix, Hon. Richard L. Ottinger, Hon. Bertram L. Podell, Hon. Adam C. Powell, Hon. Thomas M. Rees, Hon. Ogden R. Reid, Hon. Henry S. Reuss, Hon. Peter W. Rodino, Jr., Hon. Benjamin S. Rosenthal, Hon. Edward R. Roybal, Hon. William F. Ryan, Hon. William L. St. Onge, Hon. James H. Scheuer, Hon. Louis Stokes, Hon. Frank Thompson, Jr., Hon. Jerome R. Walde, Hon. Stephen M. Young.

MR. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to express my great admiration for the moral courage displayed by the elected representatives of the last Greek Parliament who signed this letter read by the gentleman from California. It is also my intent to express my outrage at the continued oppression of human rights and democratic principles by the ruling military junta in Greece.

This letter from those brave and determined Greek patriots is representative of the passion of the Greek people for freedom and democracy that refuses to be quelled and is still so strong in the face of continued harassment and intimidation.

I renew the plea made to the Secretary of State by 50 Members of this Congress for "clearer signs of U.S. moral and political disapproval of the dictatorship in Greece." We can ill afford to continue our tacit approval for this outrageously tyrannical government which, despite its protestations of "future democratic reform," makes no visible effort in that direction. Indeed, it is a regime that makes no effort to conceal its acts of oppression and injustice and continues to ignore pleas to restore basic human rights.

How can we hope that the ruling Greek Government will change its present course and reinstitute democratic processes when the United States does no more than pay lipservice to its interest in "full restoration of civil liberties" and



the "achievement of representative government."

If we do not manifest in decisive policy statements our intention to encourage freedom and representative government in Greece we will not only betray those who signed this moving letter, but the very basic traditions and ideals of the United States.

#### AN APPEAL FOR A MUTUAL MORATORIUM ON ARMS TESTING

(Mr. BIAGGI asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, we are approaching a date that could be a historic turning point for a world living under the threat of nuclear warfare. On Nov. 17, the United States and the Soviet Union begin preliminary nuclear arms limitation talks at Helsinki. While I have constantly urged that such talks get underway, I have no illusions about any shortcuts for ending the arms race.

But I do believe that as a first order of business at Helsinki we must strive for a mutual moratorium on all arms testing pending the formulation of comprehensive agreements with extensive safeguards that can come only from prolonged negotiations. I think this Congress and the President should express a sense of willingness to accomplish this objective.

We have pondered too long while the world has been living under what the late John Fitzgerald Kennedy described as "a nuclear sword of Damocles." More than a year ago, our Nation and the Soviet Union pledged in the nuclear non-proliferation treaty to begin arms control talks promptly. Now, at last, we are on our way to the conference table. But the luxury of time has been lost.

Therefore, America and the Soviet Union must display a more urgent determination to reverse the arms race than either has exhibited thus far.

Both sides are continuing the development of multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles—MIRV's. This new type of multiple warhead will greatly expand the striking power of strategic missiles and further endanger all mankind.

It has been evident for too long that weapons systems have become more sophisticated and more destructive—and America and the Soviet Union are still locked in the arms race. We have reached the point where it is not enough to limit the buildup of strategic arms. We must instead reverse it.

I have often thought about the billions spent by the two superpowers for weapons from which there can be no survival. When I reflect upon this and then consider that we are spending billions more to sustain the arms race, I find myself deeply distressed and wonder whether the powers of the world have lost their senses.

Yes, I agree that we must be able to defend our Nation from attack. I am sure that this is the principal reason why we are moving ahead with the anti-ballistic-missile—ABM—system.

But when I think of our already overburdened taxpayers and America's grave urban problems—the ghettos and the crime and the underprivileged—I pray for an end to the arms race. Just think what we could do here in America to achieve tax relief, model cities, and equal opportunity for all if the Federal Government did not have to expend time, effort, and a fantastic amount of money to engage in an arms race with the Soviet Union. So much could be done for so many if we were able to divert some of the resources that are now required to sustain the arms race.

Take, for example, just one item: The cost of the anti-ballistic-missile system. Consider what America could do with that money alone at home if we did not have to spend it in the arms race.

I ask, therefore, that Congress help build the foundation for meaningful and effective talks at Helsinki. As a first and very important step, I urge expressions of support for a mutual moratorium on arms testing pending the outcome of an agreement with proper safeguards between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Such action would be an invitation to the Soviet Union to join us immediately in moving away from the shadows of war for the benefit of all mankind. It would also be a vivid demonstration of our good faith at the conference table on November 17.

#### REPRESENTATIVE WAGGONNER'S EFFORTS TO SAVE OUR FRATERNITIES AND SORORITIES

(Mr. LONG of Louisiana asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and to include extraneous material.)

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, an article appears in a fraternity magazine, the Shield, of Phi Kappa Psi—volume 89, No. 4, summer 1969, pages 253-262—which goes into considerable detail about the efforts of my colleague, Representative JOE D. WAGGONNER, to protect the Nation's fraternities and sororities from the meddling of HEW into their membership practices. This discussion of what has transpired in recent months is well worth the time and attention of any reader who feels as I do, that it is high time to put whatever brakes are necessary on the extralegal, sociological meddling of this Department. With unanimous consent, I insert this article in today's RECORD, as follows:

CONGRESS, FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION, AND FRATERNITY DISCRIMINATION

(By Tom Charles Huston, assistant attorney general, Phi Kappa Psi Fraternity)

(NOTE.—This is an analysis of the legislative history of the Waggoner Amendment and an assessment of the protection it provides for the fraternity system and for universities, through the 1965 Higher Education Act.)

On June 28, 1958, President John E. Horner of Hanover College wrote to the executive secretaries of national fraternities which had chapters on his campus that he had been requested by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights "to file with the agency an extensive questionnaire relating to policies in the civil rights area." According to Dr. Horner, "the questionnaire makes specific reference to the

policies of fraternities relating to the admission to the fraternities of Negro, Jewish, and non-Caucasian students in principle? How many actually have Negro, Jewish, an non-Caucasian students as members?"

President Horner requested the national fraternities to provide him with the information necessary to answer these questions. In addition "to a complete statement" from them on these matters, he asked that they send him a copy of their constitution for use in the event that he received similar inquiries in the future.

The announcement that the Civil Rights Commission had begun an investigation into the affairs of college fraternities and sororities created a stir among fraternity leaders. On July 12, Louis F. Fetterly, a California attorney and leader in national interfraternity circles, wrote to the Commission about its activities. He asked for a copy of the questionnaire and an explanation of the use to which the information elicited would be put. A week later he received a reply from Cornelius P. Cotter, Assistant Staff Director for Programs, who declared that "The Commission is not at this time conducting a study related to fraternities or their admission policies." If such a questionnaire is being distributed among fraternities, he asserted, "it comes from a source other than this Commission." However, he added, "If you have reason to believe that a questionnaire is being distributed and represented as coming from this Commission, we should appreciate your help in securing additional information concerning it."

On August 12, Mr. Fetterly wrote Dr. Cotter advising him that the letterheads, return envelopes, and title on the questionnaire all indicated they came from the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Washington 25, D.C. Mr. Fetterly reported that the questionnaire was being represented as part of a nationwide survey, and the covering letter and questionnaire were apparently sent by Mr. Will Erwin, Co-Chairman of the Indiana Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

On the basis of this new information, the Commission ascertained that indeed there was a questionnaire. It had been developed by the Indiana Advisory Committee in cooperation with the Civil Rights Commission of the State of Indiana and, "due to a misunderstanding," had been mailed without prior clearance by the Washington staff of the Commission. Mr. Peter M. Sussman, Assistant Staff Director for State Advisory Committees, to whom the ball had been bounced by Dr. Cotter, explained that since this action was "contrary to established Commission procedures," he had requested the Indiana Advisory Committee to suspend any further use of the questionnaire. He went on to point out that the reference in the letter accompanying the questionnaire to a "nationwide survey" was in error: "Neither the United States Commission on Civil Rights itself nor any of its Advisory Committees outside the State of Indiana is conducting such a survey."

Less than two months later, however, fraternity chapter presidents at campuses throughout the State of Utah received a letter from Adam M. Duncan, Chairman of the Utah Advisory Committee of the Civil Rights Commission. Mr. Duncan explained that his committee had been "commissioned by Congress to make factual findings and recommendations" on problems of racial discrimination. The "function" of his committee, he went on, was to serve as a "sounding board" and "clearing house" for civil rights problems.

Mr. Duncan enclosed a questionnaire which he requested be promptly returned "in the enclosed, self-addressed and franked envelope." The questionnaire concerned the

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membership practices and internal operations of the fraternity.<sup>1</sup> It requested information on whether members of minority groups were accepted as members by the local chapter and, if not, whether this was due to a prohibition in either the local or national governing document. It also requested that copies of these documents be attached, or if this was not possible, that a place be indicated where the Committee could examine them.

This intrusion into the affairs of a private organization by a government agency, coming as it did upon the heels of the Indiana case, aroused protests not only from fraternity leaders, but also from members of Congress. During debate on the proposed Civil Rights Act in the House of Representatives on February 6, 1964, Congressman Edward E. Willis of Louisiana, citing these incidents, moved to amend the bill by denying to the Commission the power to "authorize any investigation or study of the membership practices of any bona fide fraternal, religious or civic organization which selects its membership."<sup>2</sup>

Congressman Emanuel Celler, Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee and floor manager for the bill, accepted the amendment.<sup>3</sup> He told the House that on behalf of the Judiciary Committee he had complained to the Commission that it had gone too far and exceeded its authority. On January 29, he had received a letter from Howard W. Rogerson, Acting Chairman of the Commission, explaining that the action of the Utah Advisory Committee "was a very limited inquiry . . . into the racial practices of fraternities and sororities located at the State University."<sup>4</sup> "The Utah committee," Mr. Rogerson reported, "was not interested in the practices of fraternities of sororities at private colleges. Nor was the committee interested in the practices of adult fraternal organizations, such as the Masons, which are unconnected with public institutions of higher education."<sup>5</sup> The Commission was not, however, planning to pursue "even the limited Utah inquiry into the racial practices and sororities at the State university."<sup>6</sup>

Mr. Rogerson enclosed with his letter a memorandum outlining the legal basis for the inquiry which the Utah committee made. The final paragraph of this memorandum stated:

"We do not recommend that the Commission add a survey of practices at the State universities to its present program, but all of the factors discussed above indicate not only that there was a legal base for the Utah questionnaire, but that the Commission would have ample authority to inquire further into this matter if it chose to do so."<sup>7</sup>

Congressman Celler was not satisfied by Mr. Rogerson's letter and, apparently, not impressed by the reasoning of the legal memorandum.<sup>8</sup> He contacted Mr. Rogerson and requested a specific answer to the question of whether the Commission intended to pursue this sort of inquiry further. Mr. Rogerson replied in a letter dated January 30, that the Commission did not have any plans to do so. He indicated that the Utah committee had no authority to take any action if the questionnaires were not answered, and it did not plan to seek further information from fraternities and sororities. He concluded with the assurance that no other questionnaires were being sent by any of the Commission's advisory committees to fraternities or social organizations.<sup>9</sup>

Aware that similar assurance had been followed by more questionnaires, Congressman Celler advised the House of Representatives that it was essential to get "embedded in the statute, not correspondence or promises but some definite prohibitions against some of these activities which have been complained of with reference to the Civil Rights Commission."<sup>10</sup> He felt the Willis Amendment ac-

complished this purpose and he was happy to accept it.

Congressman Meader of Michigan, however, had doubts that the Willis proposal was explicit enough. He offered a substitute amendment which read that "nothing in this or any other Act shall be construed as authorizing the Commission, its Advisory Committees, or any person under its supervision or control to inquire into or investigate any membership practices or internal operations of any fraternal organization, any college or university fraternity or sorority, any private club, any religious organization, or any other private organization."<sup>11</sup>

Congressman Meader argued that the Commission believed, as expressed in the legal memorandum sent to Congressman Celler, that it had every right to conduct inquiries into discriminatory membership practices by private associations, and to preclude such activity it was necessary to spell out in the most precise terms the limitations which Congress wished to place upon the Commission in this area.<sup>12</sup> Congressman Roosevelt of California raised a question regarding the definition of "private organizations."<sup>13</sup> This phrase had not been included in the original Willis proposal, and Roosevelt feared that it would be construed so broadly as to limit the power of the Commission to investigate discrimination in labor unions, corporations, and other organizations not generally included in the concept of voluntary associations.<sup>14</sup> On the basis of this objection, Congressman Meader agreed to the deletion of the phrase.<sup>15</sup>

Congressman Meader had also added another dimension to the Willis proposal by including the phrase "internal operations" in his amendment. Not only would the Commission be prohibited from investigating into membership practices of private groups, but also would be proscribed from conducting an inquiry into their "internal operations." Congressman Celler was worried that this inclusion would unduly limit the authority of the Commission.<sup>16</sup> It was one thing, he argued, to investigate membership practices, but quite another to look into internal operations. The latter, he reasoned, might be of legitimate interest to the Commission where they involved the denial of rights granted to members of minority groups by other provisions of the Civil Rights Act. Congressman Meader was asked what he had in mind when he referred to "internal operations." "I will tell you what 'internal operations' was intended to get at," he answered. "The Masonic Order, Knights of Columbus, and many fraternal organizations like the Eagles, Elks, or secret clubs. It is not only their membership practices which should be protected but all of their internal operations."<sup>17</sup>

"Would you," asked Meader of Congressman Celler, "permit a Civil Rights Commission to demand a document of the ritual of a secret society or fraternity or sorority or Masonic order?" "No," the Judiciary Committee Chairman replied.<sup>18</sup>

Congressman Roman Pucinski of Illinois introduced a subject into the debate which would be hotly debated in the Senate a year later.<sup>19</sup> He objected to the amendment on the grounds that fraternities and sororities, as an integral part of a State university which received federal financial assistance, should not be permitted to discriminate on the basis of race, and therefore the Commission should be authorized to investigate their membership practices. "I know from my own experience on the Committee on Education and Labor," he told the House, "that the Federal Government is perhaps the greatest contributor to many of these universities and colleges. But we say under this amendment that while the Federal Government can spend millions of dollars in these institutions, the Civil Rights Commission cannot investigate discrimination in these fraternities."<sup>20</sup>

Congressman Celler replied that "In the

first place, sororities and fraternities are not supported by the Government. They receive no loans or funds directly from the Government."<sup>21</sup> Pucinski agreed with the thrust of this argument, but maintained that "being on the campus of the university benefiting from these taxes, they are a part of the university and indirectly benefit from Federal assistance."<sup>22</sup> Congressman Celler countered with the simple assertion that "I do not believe that is correct,"<sup>23</sup> and the House proceeded to adopt the substitute amendment.<sup>24</sup>

When the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was signed into law by President Johnson, it contained the Meader Amendment,<sup>25</sup> which provided that:

"Nothing in this or any other Act shall be construed as authorizing the Commission, its Advisory Committees, or any person under its supervision or control to inquire into or investigate any membership practices or internal operations of any fraternal organization, any college or university fraternity or sorority, any private club or any religious organization."

This section made it explicitly clear that the Civil Rights Commission could not under the color of Federal law investigate the activities of campus fraternities. The private acts of discrimination by voluntary student groups were beyond the realm of Federal concern or, at least, beyond the realm of the Commission's concern.

Congress, in various Titles of the Civil Rights Act, empowered specific Federal agencies to eliminate discrimination in the fields of education,<sup>26</sup> employment,<sup>27</sup> voting,<sup>28</sup> and public accommodations.<sup>29</sup> A key provision was Title VI, sec. 601, which declared that "No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance."<sup>30</sup> This policy clearly applied in the area of education where millions of Federal dollars were being expended annually in aid to colleges and universities, both public and private. The implementation of Section 601 of Title VI was to be effectuated through the issuance of regulations by the Federal departments empowered to extend Federal financial assistance.<sup>31</sup> These regulations were to be "of general applicability"<sup>32</sup> and "consistent with achievement of the objectives of the statute authorizing the financial assistance in connection with which the action is taken."<sup>33</sup>

On December 31, 1964, Francis Keppel, U.S. Commissioner of Education, sent a memorandum to the presidents of all institutions of higher education in the United States advising them that the regulation of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare authorized under Section 602 of Title VI had been approved by the President and promulgated by the Department to become effective on January 3, 1965.<sup>34</sup> Each college or university which received Federal funds was required under Section 80.4 of the Department Regulation to file an Assurance of Compliance with the non-discrimination requirements of Title VI. Unless the Assurance (HEW Form No. 441) was filed with the Department, the institution would not be eligible for Federal assistance.

Mr. Keppel enclosed with his memorandum an Explanation of HEW Form No. 441, which presented examples of the type of discriminatory practices which were prohibited under the Department Regulation.<sup>35</sup> Of interest to educators were questions 8 and 9 which explained the effect of the Assurance of Compliance upon their administrative practices:

"8. What effect will the regulation have on a college or university's admission practices or other practices related to the treatment of students?

"A. An institution of higher education which applies for any Federal financial as-

Footnotes at end of article.

ment. The present administration policy is totally inadequate. It rests upon the concept of an election to be conducted and essentially controlled by the Saigon militarist regime while huge numbers of American troops remain in South Vietnam. The VC and the Hanoi Government quite obviously will not accept a rigged election of that sort. Indeed, they may not accept any settlement to which the present Thieu-Ky militarist regime is a party.

The President has never really faced up to this issue. His statements about not "imposing" a government in South Vietnam miss the point entirely. In fact, the administration is imposing the Thieu-Ky militarist regime on South Vietnam every day of the year. Were we to withdraw only our financial support from that dictatorship and the huge subsidy to meet the payroll of its troops, the Saigon Government would fall within a month. Thieu and Ky would then be forced to flee and rendezvous with their unlisted bank accounts in Hong Kong and Switzerland.

The fact is that while professing a desire for peace, the administration has failed to create political conditions in Vietnam under which peace is possible. The desire of those Saigon militarist leaders to remain in power is totally inconsistent with President Nixon's statement that "What is important is what the people of South Vietnam want." These incompatible policies hold out the prospect not of peace but of a prolonged military occupation which will continue indefinitely to drain American treasure and lives.

President Nixon and all responsible Americans want to get out of Vietnam as soon as possible. Walter Lippmann has stated that we are fighting a major war in South Vietnam in order to save face. It is true just as the Chinese sage Confucius said many centuries ago:

A man who makes a mistake and does not correct it, makes another mistake.

The same is certainly true regarding nations.

It is now evident to practically all Americans that we do not have any mandate from Almighty God to police the world. There is a general realization that we never should have supported the French from 1946 to their defeat at Dienbienphu in 1954 in their attempt to reestablish their lush Indochinese colonial empire.

Then, it was a tragic mistake that we went into Vietnam with our Armed Forces and our tremendous air power and napalm bombed so many cities, villages, and hamlets in South Vietnam to "save them." We are compounding that mistake the longer our Armed Forces remain there.

Moratorium day, October 15, was the greatest peaceful mass demonstration in the history of our Republic. Americans paraded with dignity or remained away from work to show to administration leaders that Americans want the war to end without delay—that Americans demand a halt to the loss of priceless lives of recent high school graduates and the flower of the young manhood of America in a faraway little country of

no importance to the defense of the United States.

Very definitely, we should bring home as quickly as possible by ship and plane, in the same manner our Armed Forces were sent, the more than 500,000 Americans in our Armed Forces now in South Vietnam. At the same time we should call on the North Vietnamese to withdraw without delay all of their forces now in South Vietnam. This total according to former Ambassador Averell Harriman, a truly great American and our most skilled and experienced negotiator, is estimated to number not more than 40,000.

I am hopeful that President Nixon will accelerate the withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam. He should respond to the overwhelming will of the majority of Americans and immediately withdraw all of our Armed Forces from Vietnam.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business?

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PEARSON in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### ANNIVERSARY OF THE ENTRY OF GREECE INTO WORLD WAR II

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, today, October 28, marks the 29th anniversary of the entry of Greece into World War II. It is an important holiday in Greece for it marks the turning point in that country's struggle for liberty and freedom.

On October 28, 1940, the Greek people began a decade of fighting and sacrifice, marked by both triumph and tragedy, which encompassed some of Greece's most desperate moments and some of its finest hours. Those of us who care about the ideals for which the Greeks fought, and who care about the courageous people of that country, find it difficult to celebrate today, because of the fact that Greece is in the hands of a military regime which has made a mockery of the victories won by Greece during that turbulent 10-year period.

I have spoken many times on the floor of the Senate in recent months on this subject. I do not intend to repeat or recapitulate these comments today. Suffice it to say that the regime continues to be repressive. The Greek people do not enjoy the civil liberties which are the fundamental characteristic of a democracy. Reports of torture by reliable observers continue, despite official denials. In fact, the regime has been censured by the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe for violating the European Convention on Human Rights and a subcommission on human rights of the Council will present a report on this subject in December. Finally, there are persistent reports of a growing anti-American sentiment in the country based on

the feeling that the United States is supporting the present regime.

The people of Greece should know that there are many in this Chamber, many in the House of Representatives, and millions of Americans who deplore the present situation in Greece. We are not only saddened by the apparent unwillingness of the Government to move toward the restoration of democracy, in the land in which democracy was born, but outraged by the violent methods being used by the regime toward those who question its principles and practices.

There is, of course, little that we can do to help the Greek people, for the character of their regime is, in the final analysis, their own internal affair. But there is something that we can do not to help the military dictatorship. To this end, I have proposed an amendment to the foreign aid bill which would curtail military aid to Greece by insuring that no additional aid is programed until the Congress so approves. I shall do all that I can and have that proposed amendment enacted into law.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business?

#### NOMINATION OF CLEMENT F. HAYNSWORTH, JR., TO BE AN ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT

Mr. BELLMON. Mr. President, since the nomination of Clement F. Haynsworth, Jr., for the position of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court on the 18th of August of this year, every Member of this body and particularly those Members who serve on the Committee on the Judiciary have been flooded with comments from their constituents, special interest groups, labor organizations, and from many of their colleagues, concerning this appointment.

Mr. President, every Member of this body has heard of the "Darlington case" and the "Brunswick case." The facts of those cases and the judge's role in them have been repeated many times here on the floor of the Senate and any objective study of them can, in my opinion, only lead to the conclusion that the charges made are in fact not substantiated by any evidence before the committee or the Members of this body.

From my examination of the testimony presented at the hearings on Judge Haynsworth's confirmation, the committee was primarily interested in determining whether three basic criteria had been met by this nominee. First, is Judge Haynsworth a person of great integrity; second, has Judge Haynsworth demonstrated judicial temperament; and third, does Judge Haynsworth possess a high level of professional ability.

Using these basic criteria as guidelines upon which one should base his opinion in considering the nomination, I have found ample evidence that the nominee qualifies with flying colors.

Judge Haynsworth has made disclosures of his financial holdings in more detail than is required by any Member of this body and in much greater detail than most members of the judiciary who have previously been confirmed by the Senate.



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Many members of the legal profession who have conducted cases before Judge Haynsworth as well as the organized bar, in the form of the American Bar Association, have expressed confidence in his ability as a judge to render a fair and just decision in any case appearing before him.

I would also like to point out that many of those expressing that view had, in fact, lost cases in the judge's court. However, it appears that they still hold to the opinion that the decisions were rendered fairly, using the cases decided in the past and the evidence which had been presented.

Mr. President, there is need for serious concern over the impact of this controversy on the Supreme Court.

I can find no reason to oppose a person solely because his philosophy is contrary to my own. I can find nothing which indicates that the judge has committed an unethical practice. Judge Haynsworth has been a distinguished circuit judge, and I believe he will be an outstanding addition to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Mr. President, a major confrontation over the nomination of Judge Haynsworth to the Supreme Court is coming up on the Senate floor in the near future. The public's interest in the Court, and the intense press coverage of the nomination hearings, and attacks against the nominee insure that the Nation will be watching closely as the Senate votes on this nomination.

The President has made it clear that he stands behind Judge Haynsworth's nomination. After reviewing all of the attacks made against the nominee on his civil rights record, his labor record, and on his integrity, the President reaffirmed his confidence in Judge Haynsworth. His letter of October 3, 1969, to the minority leader states:

In order that there be no misunderstanding on the part of anyone, I send this letter to confirm that I steadfastly support this nomination and earnestly hope and trust that the Senate Judiciary Committee and the Senate will proceed with dispatch to approve the nomination.

It is equally clear that those who oppose the nomination are not ready to relent. The machinery to block confirmation has been set in motion and it is questionable if the attack could be stopped now even by those who started it.

Thus, notwithstanding the fact that a great deal of balance has been added to the whole discussion in the Senate by the efforts of the distinguished Senator from Nebraska (Mr. Hruska) and the distinguished Senator from Kentucky (Mr. Cook), thousands of labor union and union members and thousands of supporters of civil rights are writing and telegraphing their opposition to their Senators. Most of these communications reflect an understanding of, or exposure to, only one side of the issue. They represent the product of the massive effort that was begun several weeks ago when the entire story had not been presented. We are confronted, now, by thousands of people and organizations who have publicly committed themselves to fight the Haynsworth nomination, right or wrong.

There is another dimension to the "stop Haynsworth" effort: The outright

lobbying of Senators by private interest groups. Lobbying is neither illegal or immoral. Private groups are entitled to their opinions on Supreme Court nominees as they are on any other subject. But, in the case of Court nominees, the Senate has a duty, under the Constitution, to consider their integrity, capability, and experience, and if they approve the nominee on this basis, to advise and consent to the nomination. I question what new insight into these issues will be provided by a powerful lobbying effort.

Mr. President, this lobbying effort is discussed in some detail in a Washington Post article of October 16, 1969, and I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Record.

(There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

# AFL-CIO RATES HAYNSWORTH FOR "SPECIAL" FIGHT

(By Murray Seeger)

Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn.) received a telephone call a few days ago from an old friend, Jay Lovestone, director of international affairs for the AFL-CIO.

The two men usually discuss their common interest in fighting communism, but this recent conversation was different. Lovestone was trying to get a commitment from Dodd that he would vote against confirming Clement F. Haynsworth Jr. as an associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

"We don't usually use Jay on something like this," an AFL-CIO staff man said this week. "But the Haynsworth case is special."

The special nature of the Haynsworth case that it represents the first occasion since 1930 that the labor federation has actively opposed a Supreme Court nomination.

That nominee was John J. Parker of North Carolina, the last court appointee to lose a Senate confirmation vote.

As one of the 10 Democrats on the majority side of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Dodd warranted special attention in the view of the AFL-CIO. He voted to send the Haynsworth nomination to the Senate floor, but may vote against confirmation.

Another Democratic member of the committee, Sen. Joseph D. Tydings of Maryland, had an unusual visit from Al Barkan, director of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education before voting "no" on the nomination.

Sen. Hugh D. Scott of Pennsylvania, the minority leader of the Senate who is still uncommitted on the nomination, has been pressured to vote "no" by the only Republican in the AFL-CIO hierarchy, Lee W. Minton, of Philadelphia, president of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association, and the United Steelworkers, biggest union in his state.

Haynsworth has become the biggest single issue for the AFL-CIO in this session of Congress and represents the first serious break between the federation and the nine-months-old Nixon administration.

The campaign against Haynsworth has also renewed the alliance between the AFL-CIO and major civil right organizations at a time when local unions and minority groups are battling in several cities.

"This has already become part of the 1970 congressional elections," one union source said.

When Haynsworth's name first came through the Washington rumor mill, Tom Harris, the AFL-CIO associate general counsel, and Andrew J. Blumiller, legislative director, met with Joseph L. Rauh Jr., well-known Washington lawyer representing several civil rights groups.

They alerted George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, and Clarence Mitchell of

Baltimore, top lobbyist for the NAACP and other civil rights organizations.

The AFL-CIO had a file on Haynsworth because of his involvement in the long, tangled legal case involving the Darlington Manufacturing Co. and Textile Workers Union, his participation in Carolina Vend-a-Matic Co. and his civil rights record as a judge on the Federal Court of Appeals.

Harris telephoned Daniel J. Moynihan, urban affairs specialist on the White House staff who was with the President in California, and Jerris Leonard, Assistant Attorney General, on Aug. 15 and warned them or what the AFL-CIO, considered Haynsworth's anti-labor and anti-civil rights record as well as issues involving his ethical conduct while on the bench.

In addition, Meany sent a telegram directly to the President raising the same issues.

"The President didn't reply, he didn't reply at all," Meany said recently. "His reply came a few days later when he announced the appointment of Judge Haynsworth."

Mr. BELMONT. Mr. President, it is clear, in view of the President's position and the organized opposition, that there will be a major confrontation on the Senate floor over the nomination of Judge Haynsworth.

The question has been raised from several sources that profess only an abiding concern for the well-being of the Supreme Court: "Why does not the President withdraw the nomination and avoid the bloody confirmation fight?"

Mr. President, there is need for serious concern over the impact of this fight on the Supreme Court. The image of the Court has been tarnished recently by the resignation, under fire, of the Associate Justice whom Judge Haynsworth is supposed to replace. We need to be greatly concerned by the public's loss of confidence in the impartiality of this Court.

Concern for the Court, however, does not dictate the withdrawal of Judge Haynsworth's name by the President. Instead, it counsels those who attack Judge Haynsworth recklessly to consider and decide whether their pique over the choice of a man of his philosophy is sufficient to justify the lasting damage they may inflict on the Court.

The demands for withdrawal of Judge Haynsworth's name seem to rest on an argument that goes like this: While Judge Haynsworth has not done anything wrong, or anything that would disqualify him, he is an undistinguished choice and it would be better for the Court if another man were nominated.

Mr. President, the only part of that argument with which I can agree is that he has done nothing wrong, nothing that would disqualify him. Thereafter, my disagreement with those who make the argument is complete.

Judge Haynsworth has been a distinguished circuit court judge and it has been predicted that he will be an outstanding addition to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The public has shown little understanding of the qualities which fit Judge Haynsworth for his position. I think these qualities should be reviewed, because too many people are operating under serious misapprehension.

The nomination by President Nixon of Judge Clement Haynsworth, Jr., does not result in the Senate considering "just another Federal judge"; but rather an

There are now in effect laws that provide for imposing a prohibition on individual business firms against repeating a mailing to one who has objected to the post office, upon the receipt of what he considers objectionable material. This has only limited effect upon the pornographers. They can still make the first mailing with impunity. And furthermore, each separate filth peddler can make a first mailing to the same household.

H.R. 6186 details what would be considered pornographic and to be unlawful if sent to the home in which there is a minor. The broad interpretation of the word "knowingly" in the proposal would make it financially uneconomical for these depraved distributors to broadcast their filth on a mass basis. They would have to consider that any home could have minors present, and before making the first mailing, would have to determine in advance that such a condition did not exist.

I believe this would effectively stop this obnoxious practice without being subjected to the charge of censorship. I hope that the legislation can be approved by your committee at an early date.

## A REPORT ON THE PRESENT GREEK SITUATION

**HON. DON EDWARDS**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 27, 1969

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, the news from Greece shows a rising tide of protests against the military dictatorship there. Unfortunately, the same news shows that the U.S. Government continues to be linked with that dictatorship, resulting in a rising tide of anti-American feeling.

The current of events in Greece was recently studied by N. A. Stavrou, a professor at Howard University. He has been kind enough to provide me with a copy of his excellent report, one that details fully what is happening in Greece.

In insert this documented and firsthand study into this RECORD:

### A REPORT ON THE PRESENT GREEK SITUATION (By Prof. N. A. Stavrou)

The present report is based on facts assembled during a research trip to Greece which lasted from August 1 to September 13, 1969. This trip was made possible by a Research Grant given by the Social Science Division of Howard University and had as its primary objective the study of Protest Groups and their formation. A specific research plan had been worked out prior to my departure from the States. However, soon after my arrival in Greece I discovered that scientific research was impossible under a regime of martial law. I was given warnings by many people not to proceed with the idea of conducting a survey of public opinion by submitting questions to ordinary people, because they told me, "You don't know to whom you are talking." Consequently, I had to revise my research methodology in several ways. Systematic sampling of opinions had to be substituted by selective gauging of reactions to questions purposely made to provoke. To support such responses I sought to examine the behaviors of groups of discontented persons. I thought I would have a better understanding of what is happening in Greece if I concentrated on five sources of information: a) former political leaders now in active opposition; b) former high ranking military officers as well as officers in active duty when this was possible; c) former elected officials of small towns or

private associations; d) plain people from all walks of life whose confidence I had to cultivate before they could talk as they felt, and e) the government's position which could easily be sampled from the censored press, or personal interviews when possible.

Some of the political leaders and personalities with whom I had extensive discussions on the subject matter of my study and the current Greek political situation are:

Hon. Panayotis Kanellopoulos, Former Prime Minister, Minister of Defense and Leader of the E.R.E. Party.

Hon. Stephanos Stephanopoulos, Former Prime Minister, Minister of Economic Coordination, Foreign Affairs, and leader of Liberal Party founded after his break with the Center Union (FDK).

Hon. Evangelos Averoff-Tositzas, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs (ERE).

Hon. Ioannis Zigidis, Former Minister of Industry (Center Union).

Hon. Emmanuel Kothris, Former Minister of Commerce, Deputy of Center Union.

Hon. Ioannis M. Tsouderos, Former Deputy of Center Union.

Hon. Spyros Markezinis, Former Minister of Economic Coordination and Leader of the Progressive Party.

Hon. Constantinos N. Rallis, Former Deputy and Minister of Information.

Hon. George Mavros, Former Minister of Defense and Interior, Governor of the Bank of Greece, presently considered as the leader of the Center Union.

Hon. George Rallis, Former Minister of Interior (ERE).

Hon. Harris Rentis, Former Deputy of Center Union, Minister.

Hon. Ioannis Varvitsiotis, Former Deputy of ERE.

Lt. Gen. Theodoros Gritopoulos, Former Chief of Defense Staff, Chief of the Army, author (Retired).

Lt. General Petros Nikolopoulos, Former Chief of the C.I.A. of Greece, Former Chief of Staff of the Army.

Lt. Gen. Ioannis Sorokos, Deputy Chief of the Armed Forces (1969), Ambassador Appointee to London.

Gen. Alexandros Hatzipetros, Chief of C.I.A. of Greece.\*

Lt. Col. L. Mavraganas, C.I.A. of Greece.

Gen. George Thomopoulos, Chief of G.D.E.A. (General Directorate of National Security).

With General Sorokos I had a rather extensive and probing (on both sides) conversation, while with the latter three individuals I discussed no substantive matters. From Gen. Hatzipetros I requested information on Front Organizations functioning in Greece between 1955-1967. He introduced me to Lt. Col. Mavraganas, who was ordered by the General to assemble unclassified information available in the Agency and give it to me. At the same time, Gen. Hatzipetros said that most of such information is kept by G.D.E.A., where he introduced me to Gen. Thomopoulos. Lt. Col. Mavraganas, after I told him what I was looking for, promised to send all information available and unclassified "as soon as the Colonel who specializes in such matters returns from his leave." Gen. Thomopoulos requested a specific list of types of information and I submitted one to him. He, too, promised to mail available information as soon as it could be assembled. So far, I have received no material requested from either agency.

In addition to the above-mentioned personalities, I have met a number of formerly high-ranking officials, local leaders, Union personalities newspapermen and former Ministers who wish anonymity. Through newspapermen and friends, I have tried to get some information on the role and fate of the 45 generals who have been arrested and kept under solitary confinement in a

\*Introduced to him by Gen. Sorokos.

hotel outside of Athens. One high-ranking officer whom I was able to meet in his place of exile talked with me "freely" after I told him who informed me of his whereabouts. The only place where I found suitable for an exchange of views with the gentleman was by the sea, where we could swim and talk without being followed by his guard, a plain clothesman, never more than 10 feet away. The number of swimmers made it difficult for the guard to see anything unusual going on between the General and another swimmer who could not be identified as a foreigner in the water. The gentleman not only talked to me under such circumstances, but he was also kind enough to write an extensive analysis of the issues of Anti-Americanism and effectiveness of the Armed forces. I had to make special arrangements to get this document, which is now in my possession.

On the basis of information received from the above-mentioned individuals as well as from hundreds of plain people I have the following observations to make on the current Greek situation:

**Political Process:** There is almost unanimous agreement among the politicians, former Deputies and local leaders that Greece is in for an absolute dictatorial regime which will be more repressive as the time passes. In support of such arguments everyone points to the current developments, such as decrees promulgated, compulsory laws enacted and proposed (the Press Law was the conversation piece during the last three weeks of my stay in Greece) as well as public pronouncements by government leaders. They all believe that the Salonica speech of Mr. Papadopoulos should suffice to convince any extreme optimist of the fact that Greece is going rapidly backwards. In addition to this, they point to the day to day behavior of the government, always with specific and irrefutable examples of brutal actions and uncontrollable arrogance on the part of the authorities. It appears to them, they argue, that the regime becomes daily more insecure and more repressive. They feel, and know, they say, that a police state is rapidly being perfected and political persecution continues unabated. Personally, I had opportunities to observe the presence of the police state. Deputies and former Ministers who wanted to meet with me hesitated to do so because they were followed by plainclothesmen. At least three former Ministers who met with me were continuously being followed and I was a witness of this. They are Mr. George Mavros, followed by three men in a Volvo car; Mr. George Rallis and one former Minister who wishes his name not to be mentioned. All political leaders that I have talked to, with the exception of Mr. Evangelos Averoff-Tositzas, feel that compromise with the present regime is impossible and whoever suggests it must be naive. The government, they point out, does not have and never has had such intentions. They have impressive evidence to support their position.

Mr. Averoff feels that the government is of course unwilling to compromise, but a militant position by other political forces will prevent solutions from within or without the junta. "When you promise to court-martial them," he said, "they will fight and they will stick together." In line with this position, Mr. Averoff feels that "the Mavros-Kanellopoulos Political manifesto was a mistake." Another slight variation from the position of the political world as I understand it comes from Former Minister of Economic Coordination and leader of the Progressive Party Mr. Spyros Markezinis. Mr. Markezinis feels that the present leaders are inept and inevitably will need the help of experienced people, if they "properly care about Greece, as they claim." He is also willing to be the Prime Minister of a Transitional government. "After all," he said, "I was a successful Minister of Economic Coordination and

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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — Extensions of Remarks

Piper Cherokee which claimed 83 lies, add new fuel to the airport/airways issues.

And, when a small general aviation aircraft is involved, the finger invariably is pointed toward the "little" plane by initial press reports.

Reaction holds the light aircraft had no right to be there, regardless who was at fault.

The Parade article declared: "It was a student with only 38 hours in the air, who rammed into an airliner in September over the Indianapolis airport while making a practice pass at the runway."

Actually the accident occurred some 20 miles southeast of the airport. Subsequent findings suggest it was the airliner that struck the light plane.

In an analysis of the 38 in-flight collisions occurring in the United States during 1968, the National Transportation Safety Board (NTSB), which investigates all fatal air accidents, found FAA's air traffic control system involved in at least seven.

And in all seven, traffic congestion, control tower visibility and human performance limitations, and inadequacy of VFR (aircraft operating under "see and be seen" visual flight rules) traffic flow procedures were found contributory to the chain of events leading up to collision.

"In-flight collisions are very rare at airports where traffic flow is directed in a positive and orderly manner," the NTSB declared.

In the analysis, NTSB said six of the 38 collisions occurred on or above an airport, 12 miles within the airport traffic pattern, five within two miles of the airport and 10 accidents more than five miles from the airport.

The collisions involved 78 individual aircraft and 71 fatalities, although total passengers and crew members totaled 246.

Of the aircraft, three were commercial airliners, one a military fighter and two were gliders—the remainder being powered general aviation aircraft. One collision, incidentally, involved two planes being used to herd horses in Wyoming.

Twenty-one aircraft were described as being on pleasure flights, while 20 were engaged in some form of flight instruction.

#### Concluded NTSB:

"While there was no evidence of adverse weather having been a significant factor in any of the 38 in-flight collision accidents, haze and/or smoke were likely to have been in the area in six instances; precipitation, showery in nature, was probably in the general area in 11 cases.

"All 38 collisions, however, occurred during daylight hours under VFR conditions (ceiling above 1,000 feet and visibility more than three miles).

"It was noted most collisions occurred in areas and periods of greatest general aviation activity and the most likely time and place for collisions to occur would be on bright clear Sunday afternoons in August at uncontrolled airports," NTSB said.

A common misconception among laymen, including the Parade writer, is that radar equipment on aircraft is used for spotting other aircraft.

Stated Parade: "Few private planes are equipped with radar, to act as extra eyes for the pilot."

Nor do any commercial airliners have these "extra eyes." Aircraft radar is for weather avoidance and does not detect other aircraft.

Parade also pointed out that the "private pilot who decides to go on a lark in the skies after drinking . . . is . . . probably the greatest threat to air safety."

It added that autopsies performed on pilots from the 692 fatal general aviation accidents during 1968 "indicate that as many as 200 had been drinking. Of these accidents, officials said that alcohol was the cause of 45 'beyond a shadow of a doubt.'"

As recently as September, however, Bernard Boyle, NTSB chief of the Safety Analysis Division, said he believed only a small

percentage of private pilots fly after drinking.

In each of the past three years, he said alcohol has been attributed to 6 1/2 to seven percent of fatal private plane crashes.

By way of comparison, National Safety Council states that alcohol probably is a factor in at least half of all fatal motor vehicle accidents.

Actually, the accident rate of general aviation aircraft is decreasing—5,069, or 1.38 accidents per every one million airplane miles flown in 1968 compared with 6,115, or 1.78 accidents per million miles flown in 1967.

The number of fatal accidents, however, increased from 603, or .18 per million miles flown, in 1967, to 692, or .19 per million miles flown in 1968.

At the same time there was a nine per cent increase in the general aviation fleet—from 114,186 in 1967, to 124,237 in 1968—and a corresponding nine per cent increase in the miles flown by general aviation aircraft, according to Aviation Data Service (ADS), Wichita.

Again for comparison, some 26 million (25.5 per cent) of the nation's 102.1 million motor vehicles in 1968 were involved in accidents accounting for 55,200 motor vehicle deaths, according to National Safety Council figures.

There were 14.5 accidents per one million miles driven by motor vehicles and .04 fatalities per million miles driven.

The FAA categorizes all non-airline and non-military aircraft in the United States as general aviation, or "private" aircraft. Its own fleet numbers more than 100.

Of the 24 million general aviation hours flown in 1968, as a point in fact, 69 per cent were for business purposes and 31 per cent could be labeled "personal use of aircraft," according to ADS.

The picture appearing at the top of the Parade article apparently was intended to depict the "private" plane menace.

A check by the Wichita Eagle of records maintained on each aircraft flown in the civil system revealed that all aircraft pictured have transponders, radar, distance measuring equipment, autopilots, redundant communications and navigation systems and, in essence, were equipped comparably or better than the two commercial jetliners shown in the background.

The five "private" aircraft in the picture represent a transportation investment by "private" businesses of \$7.2 million, of which nearly \$1 million is represented by the cost of electronic communication and navigation equipment alone.

Indeed, these private planes are waiting for the navigation, air traffic control and federal communications system to catch up so equipment they have installed can be used on any airport in the U.S.

Most businesses and corporations utilizing their own private aircraft today also are heavy users of the commercial airlines.

Whether public or private, air safety is a vital concern to all.

#### SALUTE TO GEORGIA COOPERATIVES

HON. ROBERT G. STEPHENS, JR.

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 27, 1969

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Speaker, it has been brought to my attention that the month of October is "Co-Op Month." The theme this year is "Cooperatives: Progress Through People."

The State of Georgia is observing this "Co-Op Month," along with the rest of the Nation. As part of this observance,

the Georgia Council of Farmer Cooperatives prepared a leaflet showing the diverse ways cooperatives serve their members in Georgia. I think this information will be of interest to the Members of Congress. I am, therefore, including the following summary of these interesting statistics.

In the marketing area in Georgia there are 23 cooperatives with 87,700 members. These cooperatives have 7,170 employees and do a gross volume of business of \$329,100,000. The major products marketed by these cooperatives are poultry, peanuts, milk and milk products, and grain and soybeans.

In the area of production supplies there are 14 cooperatives with 84,000 members. These cooperatives have 470 employees and do a gross volume of business of \$49,129,000.

In the area of services, credit is provided through Federal land bank associations and Production Credit Associations. Electric membership corporations provide electrical power and dairy herd improvement associations provide management services.

These are just some of the many services which are provided through cooperatives to aid farmers in nearly every aspect of their farm business. I join with the citizens of Georgia in saluting the fine work of our Georgia cooperatives.

It might also be of interest to point out that the first agricultural cooperative marketing association formed in Georgia was in our 10th District. This was in the early part of the 1930's when the Athens Cooperative Creamery was established in Athens, Ga., by my wife's father, A. P. Winston, Judge Henry West, L. M. Sheffer, Dr. Henry Fullilove, Dr. Harvey Cabaniss, and Emmett Cabaniss. It is still a successful operation, being now Better Maid Dairy Products, Inc.

#### SEEK MEASURES TO CONTROL PORNOGRAPHY

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 27, 1969

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include my statement on H.R. 6186 which would seek measures to control pornography, which I am cosponsoring:

STATEMENT OF JAMES B. UTT ON H.R. 6186

Mr. Chairman: I appreciate this opportunity of including some comments in the record of testimony on the various measures seeking to control pornography. I am a cosponsor of H.R. 6186 which would prohibit the dissemination through interstate commerce or the mails of materials harmful to persons under the age of eighteen years and would restrict the exhibition of movies to such persons.

My state of California has seen both a flood of the most vile presentations sent through the mails to the homes, and an expansion of the producers of the filth. Printing presses have run around the clock turning out the tons and tons of advertising material in full color and great detail. My constituents who are receiving such material are demanding that steps be taken to protect their loved ones from being exposed to the shock of seeing such trash.



do not wish to become a Minister again." However, he, too, is pessimistic about the prospect of the junta giving up or even sharing power with anyone, and he qualifies his willingness to be Prime Minister with important conditions.

Many feel that the junta will try occasionally to absorb political personalities of Pipinellis type and transform them into "Von Papens of Greece." Such occurrences will help the government in certain ways, but it will not break the front of opposition. Personally, I have the feeling that two or three such persons entertain the thought of entering the governmental fold, but it is also quite likely that others who are with the government will resign. One candidate for resignation is Prof. Kyriakopoulos, Minister of Justice, who, I was told, had nothing to do with the Press Law, nor was he properly consulted about it. I feel that the arrival of the new American Ambassador will be the catalyst of certain developments in the relations of the Junta with the opposition, if the Ambassador comes with specific policies in mind. However, no one believes that the American policy will change drastically and furthermore, those who could have helped to an orderly development, have reasons not to trust the Americans.

**Prospects:** Everyone feels that as the government becomes more repressive and the opposition more experienced, organized violence will increase. My survey indicates, and practically all political leaders I have talked to agree, that the government has reached the point of almost complete separation from the people. The present rulers of Greece have absolutely no appreciation of the importance of support from below. At least four Former Ministers suggested that violence is justified because the regime itself is violence par excellence. Furthermore, they argue, "the bombs are better heard by the State Department and the C.I.A. than the voices of reason." "The Americans," they say, "do not consider the Greek problem critical so as to stop doing certain things because it does not appear critical. They look in the night clubs and bouzoukia joints and conclude that here is a happy people. Perhaps few bombs will help them awaken and realize that we are in a deadly crisis." In conclusion, everyone feels that orderly developments with the present government as a partner are impossible. Violence is to be expected and in the long run, it will be more extensive. I have asked many leaders why they don't make an opening for a dialogue with the government. Their answer was quite simple and pragmatic: "The Greek people will brand anyone who deals with the present government a traitor and quising. After all," they say, "if elections were to be held tomorrow, the political parties of 1965-67 will receive the same number of votes as then. We have our following intact," they say, "the junta does not have any at all." I sought to check on this claim and asked a local leader who is quite familiar with the attitudes of the countryside. He agrees that the political forces are divided as they were before the coup, but "parts of those forces have become militant" and in any outbreak of violence they will move to the left regardless of where they belonged before April 21, 1967. Mr. Mavros said that "we made our offer. In the political proclamation with Kanellopoulos, we stated that we are ready to form or support a transitional government," he said. The offer has been laughed off by the junta, who keeps referring to them as the "Ex-politicians."

**On Support:** I indicated above that the present regime of Greece has absolutely no appreciation for popular support and in the two years of its presence has done more to alienate its supporters than increase them. It is commonly agreed that even those who granted them good intentions earlier regret it now. Consequently, the support they have

does not come from the people in general but from the following categories of special groups:

(a) People who make their living from governmental employment, especially those who got their jobs after April 21, 1967. From this group, however, one must differentiate, a subgroup which actively opposes the regime. There is, for example, an active underground group made up of Civil Servants which circulates pamphlets with anti-regime material.

(b) People who make their living indirectly from the state and from whom support is extracted rather than offered.

(c) Several extremist groups made up of people who have been active in the period between 1944 (such as people who composed the organization X, under George Grivas) and who have the stigma of cooperation with the Germans. These people are presently zealous informers for the regime and are being identified by the people as such. It is also a rather curious development to note that former Communists are among those who have become informers and supporters of the regime. The noted examples are, of course, Mr. Savas Constantopoulos, editor of the newspaper *Eleftheros Kosmos* (Free World) who was a high-ranking member of the Greek Communist Party and Mr. Th. Papakonstantinou, another high former ranking member of the Communist party who was Minister of Education and who has the distinction of having studied in the Marxist Schools of Moscow.

One serious problem with all those who are working for the state is that it is expected of them to prove their loyalty by concrete acts of support for the "National Government." This is more evident in the countryside where everyone knows everyone else.

(d) A fourth group which supports conditionally the present regime is Big Business. Their support, as usual, depends on benefits they get by governmental policies. However, their rivalry can have serious political implications. Shipping magnates who brought their ships under the Greek flag, for example, did so for a very simple reason: They do not as yet pay a single penny of taxes to the State. This was confirmed by a former Minister of Economic Coordination, who is furious of the fact that the government insists on collecting taxes from his writings (exorbitant in his view) while big business gets a free ride. The fact that the Greek shipowners do not pay any taxes at all is based on a little known decree issued by the government which classifies ships into several categories for purposes of taxation. Ships over twenty-five years old, for example, are free of taxation for several years. Newly-constructed ships are free for ten years; ships repaired in Greek shipyards are free of taxation at a rate of one year per one hundred thousand dollars worth of repairs.

This business group will continue to support the government as long as it promotes its interests. It will also increase the opposition because the workers will be forced eventually to oppose it actively and with it the government. As of now, no one can speak of trade unionism in Greece and it is expected that the workers who lost all gains of the last twenty-five years will join the active opposition, and the government relations with big business will be affected seriously.

**Opposition:** It is rather difficult to examine the makeup of the active opposition. However, it is my view that the present regime is rejected by the vast majority of the Greek people of which a minority is prepared to do something against it.

Potential opposition will come, many believe, and I agree, from all those people directly affected by the present regime. The number of such people is quite impressive and it is sufficient to make up a strong revolutionary force. Many feel it reaches the

vicinity of half a million people. When challenged on this figure, they proceed to calculate. They claim that there were over one hundred thousand elected officials who lost their jobs, beginning with the Mayor of Athens and ending with the water distributor (an elective position in some places) of the remote village. Add to this, fired civil servants and dismissed officers as well as all those individuals who had a "file" in the Security Agencies, as well as their relatives and you come up with a larger not a smaller number. Furthermore, they say, practically more than three-fourths of the leaders of associations of all sorts have been forced out. Many believe that not only do we have sufficient forces for future violence and upheavals, but also opposition leadership with respect and following.

From this number of affected individuals one ought to deduct a smaller group which has been "revolutionized" by brutal violation of individual rights. They are the people arrested since April 21, 1967. Many say the often-mentioned figure of six thousand is incorrect. They put the number of persons arrested at 70,000 with detention periods roughly from a few days to years. The figure of 70,000 arrested was supported by a former Lt. General who wishes his name not to be mentioned. He himself has been arrested and detained for a prolonged period. I sought to crosscheck this information. From further investigation, I found nothing to warrant rejection of the 70,000 figure. It is claimed by many, and I fully agree on this, that the forces of potentially extensive violence are all present in Greece. What is lacking is organization and this might take some time because the opposition functions under a severe police regime which is in many respects harsher than in Communist states.

**Active Opposition:** There are opposition groups from all three political groupings. However, so far the Right Wing and Center Forces are playing their role. Mostly the Right Wing. The Center Forces, I was told, have not yet played their role fully, while the Left is rubbing its hands with pleasure seeing the government effectively destroying institutions which they could not. A former Minister told me that in many cases leftists organizations have betrayed other opposition groups to the authorities. For doing such things, he said, they are rewarded with state employment thus achieving another goal: infiltration of state agencies. Other Deputies and former Ministers had specific cases of such occurrences to reveal.

It appears to me that the active opposition is presently structured in three layers with only the Royalists and the Right systematically active. The Center Forces which according to some encompass a wide spectrum of intellectuals is rapidly organizing and will come forward. In the Center, I include the forces of Andreas Papandreou. The percentage of his following is disputed by many. One former Minister placed the following of Andreas at 20% of the Greek voters. Others give invariably larger or smaller figures. A former Minister of the Interior stated: Regardless of what the precise number of Andreas' following is, the Americans must realize that he is a force and any solution without him is difficult if not impossible."

**Tortures of Prisoners:** I was very much interested in examining the charges of torture by the police authorities in Greece. My findings confirm that there was both psychological and physical torture. I have asked many people to express themselves on such charges, both former officials and plain people. One Minister believed that there was no wide-scale torture, but definitely there was, and still is, taking place in "preventive cases." People identified as opposition leaders, or people who are suspected of having information on opposition groups are systematically tortured, he said. He further stated that he "knew of four such cases in which

prisoners were brutally tortured." The same views have been expressed by a former Minister of Interior. This gentleman, whose honesty was never questioned, said, "It is repugnant to think that the Secretary General of the Ministry of the Interior and other high officials will themselves beat prisoners." He personally knows of prisoners beaten by Mr. Ladas. I have specifically checked on the case of Professor Mangakis, whose wife was court-martialed and imprisoned for four years because she sought the help of foreign leaders for her husband. The government presented Professor Mangakis in a Press Conference in which he denied being tortured. Thus she was accused of slandering the authorities and a court martial sentenced her to four years in prison. It is widely believed, though, that the Conference itself was staged and at least five creditable people told me that the "correspondents" were intelligence officers. This I cannot confirm. I simply convey the allegations of people whose honesty I have no reason to doubt.

Besides the physical there is also psychological torture. It involves people who are repeatedly called into the police station for purposes of intimidation. One person, for example, told me of the pressures put upon his family a day after the constitutional referendum in which he voted "no." The man (in Northern Greece) returned in the evening from his fishing trip to find out that his entire family was in the police station for at least three hours, being drilled as to "why they voted no." Torture by police, I was told, does not involve only political crimes; it expands on any and all crimes. The individual has absolutely no protection and cannot complain anywhere, being afraid that he will be court-martialed for "slandering the authorities." There are two cases which I can refer to here. One involves a single Gendarm (horopfiylakas policeman) who sent to court 10 percent of the population of a small town in three days. When I asked why several people didn't complain somewhere, the person who offered the information said: "No one is crazy to go to the Court Martial on top of it."

Another case which gives some indication of police behavior involved a person in the area of Thebe. Sometime ago a number of robberies and murders had been committed in Greece. The police naturally were looking for suspects. Finally they concentrated on one individual as the prime suspect. He was beaten so badly to "admit" the crimes, that he lost his sanity as well as his physical health. However, it was discovered later that all robberies and murders had been committed by a group of German tourists who have done the same in England and other European countries. They were tried and convicted, and their death penalty is now being appealed.

**Economy:** Not being an economist, I cannot offer an expert opinion on the subject. However, a comparative report of the state of the Greek economy composed by a number of former deputies and specialists signed by former Minister of Commerce Emmanuel Kothiras contradicts with figures the claims of the present government. Personally, I have the following observations to make:

For the time being there is economic stability in Greece about which I am not prepared to state how long it will last. The government is only doing patchwork with repeated loans and spending without control. Salaries of officers of all ranks have doubled in the last two years and the peasantry is offered "bribe-loans" and no one knows where the money comes from. There are definitely hidden dangers for an abrupt collapse of the Greek economy. This might be precipitated by the deadly struggle currently in progress between four economic giants: Onassis, Niarchos, Andreadis and Pappas. I can say definitely that the Niarchos-Onassis conflict had and will have political implica-

tions. A number of junta officers were furious, for example, when George Papadopoulos intervened in the refinery case in favor of Onassis after two expert Committees favored Niarchos. There is a group within the junta which is pressing for "moral purification" (ethiki apokatharsis) of the "Revolution" and this group was absolutely furious when Mr. Papadopoulos intervened in favor of Onassis after the two men had a man to man talk on the refinery contract. This group, apparently, is led by the commander of ESA (Greek Military Police), Col. Ioannidis, the man who sued Mrs. Mangakis for slandering his outfit. The Colonel was furious with Papadopoulos and his men when he learned that the leader who came to power to stop favoritism intervened personally in favor of Onassis. The Onassis-Niarchos feud brought to surface other disagreements among the junta officers. The "purists" pressed Papadopoulos to put an end to the question of monarchy "one way or another." They suggested that pressure ought to be put on the King to take a position, any position, on the issues of bombs and resistance movements, as well as on the question of his return which is favored by another group of officers.

The outcome of such pressures was a severe campaign against the monarchy during the first week of September in violation of Articles of the Constitution which have not been suspended. The same pressure was also behind the Papadopoulos speech in Salonica in which he rejects in toto the parliamentary system because he said "nowhere was progress achieved with Parliamentary system."

In conclusion, I would say that the struggle on economic giants in Greece will have serious political implications. Secondly, in the long run Greece is risking economic disaster and social discontent because so far all serious economic measures favor the big business. The repatriation of Shipping Magnates to Greece has no practical benefit for the Greek state and the collection of revenues, since no one pays any taxes for several years. Many claim that the return of Greek ships under the Greek flag provides for employment of Greek hands. This view is also erroneous. I was told authoritatively that the shipping magnates have been pressing and got tacit permission to hire as many as 25% foreign crewmen. This means that they are free to hire seamen from India and Pakistan at cheap salaries. From seamen, I learned that all benefits achieved during the last twenty-five years of unionization have been eliminated by daily decrees coming out of the Ministry of Merchant Marines. For example, now a seaman who works for a ship for less than two years, but who decides to return home before the two-year period, is obliged by law to pay his way back as well as the way of his replacement. Imagine what this means for a seaman who is in Japanese ports and wishes to return home. Seamen tell stories of daily posting of orders and memos in ships telling them what "they cannot do."

There are similar developments in other trade unions. For all practical reasons, one should consider free trade unionism as dead in Greece. Such organizations which are still formally in existence now have taken up another role totally unrelated to the interests of the membership: they have become the "transmission belts" or the regime and megaphones for propaganda. One example is the case of Professor Karageorgas who is imprisoned for his participation in resistance movements. During my stay in Greece, there were resolutions passed by many associations "condemning his activities with disgust," something that is totally unrelated with their official role.

**Anti-Americanism:** There is widespread anti-Americanism in Greece and it comes from all sides, including the Government. The opposition and the average Greek is anti-

American because he believes that the present regime came to power with U.S. aid, and stays in power with their help. To my statements that they had a wrong view of the U.S. position invariably everyone would answer: "If the Americans did not like the present government, it could fall in 24 hours. They like it and they keep it." This answer was given to me by former Prime Ministers and by plain people. One Prime Minister said flatly, "The Americans can topple them in 24 hours. If they stop the jet fuel and other supplies, they cannot last long."

Another world-respected leader was bitter about the American role. "I don't say that the United States brought them to power as the average Greek does," he said, "what I am saying is that with your policies, you keep them in power."

I tried to rationalize with him, saying that the United States has a dilemma here as to what to do with an ally who fulfills its obligations to the alliance but whose regime the United States do not approve of. I mentioned to him the letter of the 50 Congressmen and Senators, and the answer of the Undersecretary of State as an example. He had many praising words for the Congressmen and Senators, but he insisted that "it is wrong to say that Greece fulfills her obligations to the alliance for several reasons: First, the alliance was set up to protect the Democratic way of life and the partners have undertaken the obligation to do that. Greece obviously violates the cardinal ideal of the alliance. Secondly," he said, "Greece's participation in NATO is only academic."

The Greek armed forces today have been transformed into a "politicized police force and the Greek people view NATO as the vehicle by which they were enslaved. Therefore, the armed forces do not fulfill their obligations to the alliance, as the Americans are led to believe. As for the occasional expression of concern about the prevailing Greek situation," he continued, "they are negated the day after they are made. Here is," he said, "the Secretary of State saying one thing the first day, and the next your government sends over an astronaut with an autograph for Mr. Papadopoulos, or Dr. von Braun, who is quoted as saying that "Greece knows how to govern itself."

One high-ranking officer (I do not mention the service to avoid the likelihood of being identified by the authorities in Greece) who has been persecuted in a number of ways by the government, wrote an extensive analysis for me of the issue of anti-Americanism and its sources. "How can the Greek former Comrades-in-Arms not be anti-American, when the Americans are silent about their fate and when they are kept in prison." He, himself, returned several honors and resigned in protest from inter-ally associations.

A former Minister of Education told me that the issue of anti-Americanism is very serious and the government of Greece is responsible for this. "In their search for respectability," he said, "they sought accomplices for what they did on April 21. At first, the people were led to believe that the coup was the outcome of a collusion between three accomplices: the palace, the Americans, and the Army. The King, with his coup of December 13, proved to the nation that he was not an accomplice to this coup, at least. The Americans did not prove yet that they are not guilty. On the contrary, by their acts, they support the view that they are."

**Origins and Make-up of the Junta:** Authoritative information regarding the origins of the present military Junta contradict another myth: that they came to save Greece from Communism. Recent editorials in the "Eleftheros Kosmos"—a pro-government newspaper—places the origin of the Papadopoulos idea "to save the nation in 1958." My information supports the following:

(a) The conspiracy started as an idea in

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1956, when the military organization, I.D.E.A., sought to convince a General to seize power and declare a personal dictatorship. The General reneged at the last moment and later became Minister in the Karamanlis government.

(b) In 1958 the "Idea" of Papadopoulos was taking the shape of an organization "within the I.D.E.A.," or the officers of the organization still in active duty.

(c) At least one General realized that "something was going on around Papadopoulos" and sought to disperse the key members of what appeared to him to be an organization. "I send," he told me, "Papadopoulos to Kilikis, Ladas to Fillates, etc." However, the General was accused by a prominent political leader of "persecuting officers friendly disposed towards E.R.E." (the rightist party). At one time, it said, the General raised the question of removing Papadopoulos from the Army for "medical reasons, since he was not old enough to be retired." However, during my interview, he avoided the question: "What was wrong with him?"

(d) Some of the key members of the present Junta, I was told by the same General, had political connections with political parties. Specifically, Ladas, Makarezos and a few others kept referring to Spyros Markezinis as "our leader." "I was teasing them," the General continued by referring to Markezinis as "their boss."

(e) The organization was tentatively identified as E.E.N.A. (standing for National Union of Young Officers).

(f) It is widely agreed, however—and there is substantial evidence to this—that the original members of the organization proceeded rapidly with the creation of power bases and satellite organizations of their own. This, they believe, will provide the seeds for developments from within. One such "satellite organization is the group of Col. Ioannidis, Chief of Military Police.

(g) It is also agreed and partially substantiated, that the government is rapidly promoting officers of trust and retires professional soldiers who were not members of the Junta but stayed with it for purely professional reasons. Newly promoted officers, when placed in key positions, tend to be "independent" of their leader Papadopoulos and the army is thoroughly splintered.

*Solutions Proposed or Expected:* The "best solution" proposed by former political leaders is a solution from the Army itself. They don't call it a counter-coup but there is no doubt about what they mean when they say, "The Army has a duty to vindicate itself in the eyes of the Greek people, and return to them what it has forcefully taken away."

A competent military leader suggests that out of 11,000 officers only a maximum of 2,500 ought to be considered committed Junta people. The rest remain professional soldiers whose effectiveness is jeopardized by a bad public image.

It is an undeniable fact that the officers corps is viewed upon as an "oppressive group and praetorian guard" by the people, and the element of time is important for a solution from within, i.e. before the officers condition themselves being also an elite group. A second solution supported by some is a "transitional government" which will prepare the nation for a return to Democratic procedures. This is not rejected by the political leaders as a "bad solution" but as "academic, because the present group has no such intention." The third "non-solution" will be violence and everybody agrees that it will increase as the time passes.

The element which will precipitate the first solution is commonly agreed to be a clear-cut declaration of opposition against the present government by the United States, or at least a clarification of the U.S. policy regarding the Greek problem. If the

United States makes it clear and known that it is not happy with the prevailing conditions in Greece, there will be developments from within the junta. On the contrary, if we insist on a "business as usual policy," there will be an increase in violence from below. Furthermore, if we promote a "gimmick-solution" by insisting a compromise between the political world and the junta be made, then the violence will continue and it will be controlled by the left, while all those politicians who would cooperate with the present regime "will be isolated together with it."

As is evident from the present report, I do not propose any solution for the Greek problem. This is left to the policymakers. What I propose, however, is a clarification of the U.S. policy and a coordination of the activities of the U.S. missions in Athens. With such a clarification, the people and the Army will know what to expect and what to do other than what they are already doing.

#### MR. PRESIDENT: VIETNAM MORATORIUM SUPPORTED BY ESTABLISHMENT

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 27, 1969

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, last week the Nation expressed itself on American involvement in the Vietnam war. The President has made the decision to de-involve, Vietnamize or deposture. There is little secret left with respect to American intentions. I pointed out yesterday that the students were not alone in their encouragement of the President's action—they were joined by a large portion of rural America.

Senator GOLDWATER and Gov. Ronald Reagan last night in Norfolk severely represented the moratorium expression of opinion to the President. They apparently think their hawkish, know-nothing views on nuclear bombardment of Hanoi should ring in a vacuum in the President's ears.

As further evidence of the broad support of the moratorium, I include at this point in the RECORD a letter from one of my Davis, Calif., constituents containing a published plea from the mayor of our town:

DAVIS, CALIF.,  
October 19, 1969.

Congressman ROBERT L. LEGGETT,  
House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN LEGGETT: The enclosures speak for themselves; however we hope this cover-letter will make it easier for you to receive the message of the 393 citizens of the city of Davis, California.

On October 8th Mr. Ralph Aronson wrote a letter to our local newspaper giving a personal statement of his sympathy for the Vietnam moratorium and his concern that the U.S. government not continue more-of-the-same in Vietnam. ("Vietnamization," in my own opinion is NOT a new solution—this having been what we originally set out to do from approximately 1954–55 on.)

The reaction to Mr. Aronson's letter was one of general agreement, but even more, it was a spur to try to communicate our own feelings as well. The 393 signees in the enclosed advertisement and attached sheet chose the method of a public advertisement as possibly a more effective form of "protest" than individual letters (that often exist in

"intention") might have been. Not only do YOU receive the message, our community received it. There was no organized "push" for these signatures—people just passed the sheet from hand to hand from Friday, October 10 until Monday, October 13. The additional signatures are those of people who did not come in contact with a "sign-sheet" before the cut-off date for publication of the advertisement. They left their signatures at the editorial office of the local newspaper that they might be included with the "group" letter to you. High school and college students were not approached in this petition—we wanted to hear from the non-vocal part of our community and felt that student groups were making their own statement. Might I add that we were surprised to find a very wide cross-section of participation from conservative to liberal elements in our town.

Sincerely,

Mrs. BERYNE MJSOLF.

WE SUPPORT AND ENDORSE MAYOR ARONSON'S REQUEST FOR "... A MORE PROGRESSIVE AND POSITIVE ACTION TO THE WITHDRAWAL OF OUR TROOPS AND AN END TO THE (VIET NAM) WAR"

(The entire text of Mayor Aronson's letter follows.)

Youth should not be blamed for the restlessness regarding the commitment of funds for SST planes—their impatience for funds for ABM over funds for poverty—or their concern for funds for Mars over solutions to problems of people or their concern for programs benefiting minorities or disadvantaged.

It is time some of their restlessness, impatience and concern is rubbed off on some, or all, of us and we take up the struggle, declare ourselves and take a stand. I cannot, in my own mind, be convinced of our leader's statements that the cessation of the Vietnam war will not release funds toward the problems in this country. Since according to them, this money cannot, or will not, be forthcoming for use at home. Is this then to be construed as a valid reason to continue this war which, in all purposes, it and all its attached problems represent the greatest concern of all?

Up to now I have been silent and apathetic to the cause, believing our statesmen were progressing toward a solution. I have allowed myself to be lulled by the pre-campaign strategy of our honorable President of the "secret" solution to the end of the war. After six months I have been more convinced that the "secret" lies in other hands than our own President and our own military and political leaders. We are being asked to enter into a 60 day moratorium not to publicly protest or demonstrate or criticize our leaders regarding their progress concerning the Vietnam war. Our honorable President seems to have forgotten that it was this same criticism and demonstration against the past political party's policy that got him elected. We have already had six years of such a moratorium regarding the apathetic attitude of the American people and, rather than a 60 day moratorium against protesting the war, I favor a 60 day peaceful, responsible, protest with letters to congressional leaders advocating a more progressive and positive action to the withdrawal of our troops and an end to the war.

I have been soothed by the declaration we are training more South Vietnamese to take over their own cause. I cannot believe that this, in itself, is a solution either, since this seems to be only a method of perpetuating a war rather than a solution to peace. If the training of South Vietnamese is itself a solution, then lets do it—if we can train our own boys in California, Texas, Georgia to fight under conditions in Vietnam, then bring 25,000, or 50,000, or 100,000 South Vietnamese here and train them quickly, easily, for fighting in their own country.



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I don't know if a Mayor of a community of 20,000 people can have an effect in this regard, but if all Mayors of cities of 20,000 can reach Mayors of larger cities, and citizens of larger cities can effectively reach their State officials to communicate this concern to our National officials, perhaps they will get the message.

No more, enough!

I am not affiliated in this proposal with any organization, local or national, radical or conventional. I take this stand as an individual and ask other concerned citizens to join me as individuals.

RALPH ARONSON,  
Mayor of Davis

We, the undersigned, subscribe to the spirit of Mayor Ralph Aronson's statement and agree to have our names appear with an advertisement in the Davis Enterprise stating this fact and to have the advertisement distributed to President Nixon and Senators George Murphy, Alan Cranston and Representative Robert C. Leggett.

Dr. and Mrs. Jack Major, Kay Ogasawara, Terry Lyon, Dorothy Dreyfus, Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd L. Ingraham, Mr. and Mrs. Horton M. Laude, Marion E. Small, Mrs. Beatrice B. Reynolds, Nora Sterling, Holley M. Grant, Christopher G. Grain, Mrs. R. Hands, Mr. and Mrs. Donald W. Kyhos, Mr. J. T. Leffingwell, Marjorie L. Doicini, Donna Walter, Charles W. Walter, Mr. and Mrs. Don Brush, Maxine Schmalenberger, Dr. and Mrs. J. D. Wheat.

Mr. and Mrs. G. W. Dean, Mr. and Mrs. Q. Paris, Mr. and Mrs. C. E. Willis, Mr. and Mrs. R. A. Oliveira, Mr. and Mrs. B. McKiesick, Duane Paul, Mr. and Mrs. Gordon C. Raussen, Mr. and Mrs. Harold Stuits, Mr. and Mrs. Theodore P. Llanos, Elvi Toricello, W. F. Trainor, Cynthia Hills, Juanita A. Hills, F. J. Hills, James R. Hutchinson, Patricia A. Hutchinson, Richard K. Creveling, Kay C. Burrill, Dona Lee Brandon, William G. Burrill.

Edwin L. Blackmore, Richard A. Crawford, David E. Lee, Thomas Cleveland, Joan Cleveland, Dr. and Mrs. Phillip Yarnell, Dr. and Mrs. Andrew J. Gabor, Mr. and Mrs. Carl Renoud, Julia R. Kulmann, Beverly Farmer, Richard W. Kulmann, Mr. and Mrs. Tony Smith, Dean Karnopp, Grace Noda, Nancy Cutler, Sandy Gee, Karl M. Romstad, C. K. Shen, Harumi Kawatomari, Sylvia Lane.

Stanley Johnson, Beth Johnson, Marvin Fisher, Cecile Carter, James R. Douglas, Linda F. Kumagai, Hisa A. Kumagai, Carroll E. Cross, Janet S. Cross, Wm. Hamner, Dave & Mary Lee, David & Jane Deamer, Ethel M. Espana, Carlos Espana, Elizabeth Meyer, Mr. and Mrs. Wilson Smith, Mary Cooper, Milton and Jeanne W. Gardner, Mr. and Mrs. Kinsell L. Coulson, Mr. and Mrs. James Biggar.

Mr. and Mrs. Glen Burch, Mr. Gerald Dickinson, Mr. and Mrs. Donald C. Swahn, Mr. and Mrs. Isao Fujimoto, Mr. and Mrs. Roland Peterson, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Lilyblade, Mr. and Mrs. Theodore F. Gould, Lois L. Poppino, Mr. and Mrs. Paul Castelfranco, Roberta M. Kenney, Linda A. Fitzgerald, Joan Weschler, Colin G. King, Adrian A. Bennett, Cynthia B. Bennett, W. Eric Gustafson, Eric E. Conn, Louise K. Conn, Grant Noda, John E. Draper.

Deborah Poineau, Elizabeth Draper, James H. Balderston, Kathy Davis, Mr. and Mrs. Neal F. Peek, Mr. and Mrs. Don Christensen, Janet L. Hall, Kenneth M. Hall, Calvin and Tippy Schwabe, Mrs. Betty J. Longshore, Ralph Stocking, Elsie Stocking, Jerome Rosen, Sylvia T. Rosen, Mrs. Jane K. Keller, Katie Keller, Anna Keller, Daniel S. Keller, Sam Smith, Otto Heck.

Shirley Kirkpatrick, Donald Ross, Peggy S. Elchorn, Jane Carey, Christine Hawthorne, Ginny Lee, Henry Hagedorn, Betty O'Neill, Charlotte Musker, Margaret Hill, Anne and

Bud Steubing, Ron and Flo Holmes, Charles and Carol Van Alstine, Bob Fitzgerald, Bud and Laura Goodman, Madelon Pytel, Alan and Terry Klinger, Stephanie F. Moore, Jinny Moore, James Ganzner.

Carol and Richard DeTar, Peggy Dougharty, Janet and Ell Weigt, Milton and Marie Morse, Susie Boyd, Erlean Hills, Betty Jane Polk, Elizabeth B. Gustafson, Dolores O. McCollm, Douglas W. McCollm, Louis F. Weschler, Dennis Barrett, Herman Pink, Martha Barclow Barrett, Mr. and Mrs. Charles V. Moore, Mr. and Mrs. Allen J. Manzano, Mr. and Mrs. Frank C. Child, R. W. Harris, Vera M. Harris, Doug Waterman.

Donna Waterman, Roland Hoermann, John F. Pamperlin, Phyllis Jacobs, Barbara D. Hoermann, Teri Wheat, Mr. and Mrs. Wm. J. Knox, Mr. and Mrs. L. L. Wade, Donald & Edith Rothchild, Celia Rabinowitz, Dick & Lois Grau, Donald M. Reynolds, P. R. Painter, Jeff Drowley, Judith P. Deyo, Viola and Frederick Peters, J. W. Osebold, Charles M. Hardin, Donald P. Kelsier.

Dolores E. Rhode, E. A. Rhode, Mr. & Mrs. Richard F. Walters, Mr. and Mrs. K. Uriu, Mr. and Mrs. Robert S. Loomis, Mr. and Mrs. Paul K. Stumph, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur R. Spurr, J. G. Wheat, Amy L. Wheat, Margery M. Vasey, Mrs. H. J. Pfaff, Olive G. Lorenz, Oscar A. Lorenz, Jeanne R. Enos, L. Reed Enos, Jan A. Stannard, Anthony A. Stannard, Dianne M. Sullivan, James J. Sullivan, Stephan Cohen.

Robert Miller, Elroy L. Miller, Pat Collins, Bill Collins, Wayne Gerrard, Rodney Shepherd, Bonnie Shepherd, Albert A. Royval, Twila Royval, Hazel V. Gerrard, Mayme A. Butler, Sheila Day, D. C. Hudson, Ben and Merry Hart, W. C. Weir, Elizabeth R. Weir, Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd Musolf, Mrs. Max Rothe, Mary C. Scott, Betsy LeNoue.

Mr. and Mrs. John M. Simmons, Mr. and Mrs. Donald Soerensen, Ann E. Denny, Mr. and Mrs. D. C. Alderman, Mr. and Mrs. Marvin Zetterbaum, Dr. and Mrs. Robert K. Carlos, Mr. and Mrs. L. Rappaport, Clarence J. Cooper, Bonnie Faria, Mr. and Mrs. Ed Costantine, The Rev. and Mrs. R. E. Senghas, Deborah E. Semeraw, Ken Greider, Mr. and Mrs. Alvin D. Sokolow, Mrs. M. Goldman, Mr. and Mrs. Stephen Sosnick, Dr. and Mrs. Robert Maisel, Mr. and Mrs. Martin P. Oettinger, Mr. and Mrs. David Volman, Mr. and Mrs. Sherman Stein.

Mr. and Mrs. James Valentine, Mrs. Margaret Seibel, Dorothy L. West, Dick Longenbaugh, Martin C. Hagan, Trude Parkinson, Margaret Neu, Pierre J. Neu, Mrs. Donna Mickle, Michael C. Hancock, Pleasant Gill, Marcella Eddy, Mrs. C. Assimachopoulos, Ronald D. Maus, Will Lotter, Jane B. Lotter, Shirley R. Maus, Thomas L. Allen, Patricia P. Allen, Robert M. Cello.

Patricia Bernauer, Irene M. Cello, Marian Hamilton, Sumner Morris, Joyce Morris, William Hamilton III, Kathleen M. Murphy, Alan Stambusky, Barbara Gunn, Dorothea Knowles, P. F. Knowles, Jerry Murphy, Rita T. Stambusky, Ruthann Seeley, John A. Seeley, Benjamin Lane, Robert E. Smith, Loren D. Carlson, Mr. and Mrs. Dennis C. Neu, David C. Lewis.

Harriet K. Lewis, Richard L. Manford, Yvonne A. Manford, Barbara R. McKinney, Charles L. McKinney, Marian G. Carlson, William F. Riddle Jr., Howard T. Nelson, Roy J. Hendrickson, Ronald D. Schechter, Gary O. Eumgio, Janice B. Holding, Mrs. Vernon Clift, Vernon Clift, Mr. and Mrs. Alden Crafts, M. J. Vepaska.

Susan C. Fegley, Sue Ellen Tatter, Pattism Tutton, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Metz, Mr. and Mrs. Mike Duckor, Dr. and Mrs. O. A. Leonard, Mr. and Mrs. James Nelsonger, Mr. and Mrs. Bickford O'Brien, Mr. and Mrs. Robert V. Hoagland, Mr. and Mrs. Donald Lindberg, John C. Wetzel, John Vanliat, Mr. and Mrs. Jim Nelsonger, Mr. and Mrs. Paul G. Smith, Barbara Larsen, Rose M. Jacobson.

## BIG TRUCK BILL

## HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 27, 1969

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, my editorials for today are from the Worcester, Mass., Telegram and the Boston Herald Traveler, in the State of Massachusetts. The editorials follow:

[From the Worcester (Mass.) Telegram, Aug. 5, 1969]

## BEWARE THE BEHEMOTHS

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

WASHINGTON.—At one time or another, every motorist has known the miserable experience—sometimes the terrifying experience—of trying to pass a tractor-trailer truck in foul weather conditions. The boxcar profile blocks the road ahead. One gropes through rain and flying spume, hands gripping the wheel. Just a couple of feet to the side, 35 tons of steel are rolling along at 80 miles an hour. At last you get around; and behold: Another truck ahead.

## NEW MAXIMUMS

A House subcommittee resumes hearings this week on a bill that brings these recollections vividly to mind. The bill would set new permissible maximum width, weight, and length limits for the interstate highway system. Truck and bus companies are ardently supporting the bill; the American Automobile Association, representing passenger car drivers, is just as dead set against it. For my own part, I wish there were some way to find a compromise down a middle lane.

Proponents of the bill make an excellent case—up to a point. The present interstate width and load limits were fixed 13 years ago, according to standards laid down in 1946. Since then, the interstate highways have come into being. It is a plausible contention that these magnificent freeways are capable of handling wider and heavier loads than the old primary highways could take.

The bill would permit the states to authorize an increase in single-axle loads from 18,000 to 20,000 pounds; an increase in tandem-axle loads from 32,000 to 34,000 pounds; and an increase in the gross load limit from 73,250 pounds to a higher figure obtained from a length and axle formula. The maximum permissible width would be increased from 96 to 102 inches.

## WIDER TRUCKS

These changes are recommended by the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads. They are not opposed by the American Association of State Highway Officials (AASHO). The point is made that roughly half the states already permit these higher load limits, under a grandfather clause inserted in the basic federal act of 1956. The proposed increase in maximum width would make it possible for trucks to carry cargoes (such as plywood) that comes in multiples of eight feet; the extra six inches, it is said, also would contribute to greater stability and to greater safety.

So far, so good. The ordinary motorist may wince at the greater width, but it is hard to object to the proposed new limits on weight. At about this point in the debate, however, the proponents run out of gas; the remainder of their case is much less impressive.

The bill proposes a federal length limit of 70 feet. It's too much. Oregon now allows up to 75 feet on designated highways, and Nevada has a 70-foot limit, but 27 states hold to 65 feet, Iowa limits length to 60 feet, and 20 states have a 55-foot limit. Both the Bureau of Public Roads and AASHO recommend 65

WILLIAMS, U.S. Senator from Delaware, and the dean of the Iowa delegation in the House, Hon. H. R. Gross.

At this point I would like to include an article from the October 18, 1969, issue of Human Events which describes the First Annual Conservative Awards Dinner.

The article follows:

#### CONSERVATIVE AWARDS DINNER

More than 300 leaders of the American conservative movement turned out Saturday night, October 4, for the First Annual Conservative Awards Dinner at the Sheraton Park Hotel, Washington, D.C. The dinner was sponsored by the American Conservative Union, National Review, Young Americans for Freedom and Human Events.

The highlight of the dinner was the presentation of awards for outstanding congressional service to Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.) and Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa). The awards were bestowed by Rep. John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio), chairman of the ACU, who reminded the guests of how thankful Americans should be for the valiant work Sen. Williams and Rep. Gross have each performed in Congress for more than 20 years.

Sen. Williams, first elected in 1946, is planning to retire next year upon the conclusion of his fourth term and many times during the evening he was urged to reconsider. But the Delaware senator who has sparked so many important congressional investigations remained firm in his resolve not to run again now that he has reached age 65. The guests were disappointed, but had to admire a man who insists upon standing by his principles even if it means giving up a job he enjoys.

Rep. Gross, a conservative known nationally for the sharp "no" he so often hurls at various spending schemes, received perhaps the biggest ovation of the night when he turned to the subject of Viet Nam. "We should win that war," he said, "or get the hell out."

The evening's keynote address was delivered by columnist James J. Kilpatrick. While noting that opposition to foolish government programs was certainly necessary, Mr. Kilpatrick also urged conservatives to "apply their talents to affirmative answers to American problems"—problems like conservation, pollution, penal reform and low-cost housing. Conservatives have the proper principles at heart, he said, but "if I had only one political wish, conservatively speaking, I would wish to see us translate broad conservative principles more frequently into specific, affirmative action." Mr. Kilpatrick applauded those men and women who for so many years have volunteered their services to the conservative cause. He said that more than ever before their dedication was needed, because "there is much work to be done."

Other remarks at the dinner were delivered by William F. Buckley Jr., editor of National Review, and Robert Bauman, secretary of ACU and a former national chairman of YAF, who served as master of ceremonies for the evening.

Among the members of Congress who attended and joined in honoring two of their congressional colleagues were Sen. Strom Thurmond and Reps. Don Clausen, Jim Collins, John Hammerschmidt, Manuel Lujan, William Scherle, and E. Ross Adair.

Guests from the White House staff included presidential adviser Dr. Arthur Burns, speechwriter Patrick Buchanan, Special Presidential Assistant Dr. Martin Anderson, congressional liaison man Bill Timmons, "inspector-general" Clark Mallenhoff and presidential staff aides Mort Allin and Tom Huston. Among the other Administration appointees in attendance were USIA director Frank Shakespeare, Ted Humes of the Labor Department and Defense Department aides William Baroody Jr. and Jerry Friedheim. Other guests included John Mahan, chair-

man of the Subversive Activities Control Board, and Ken Towsey of the Rhodesian Information Service.

Also attending the dinner were such well-known conservatives as Holmes Alexander, Lemuel Boulware, Allan Brownfeld, Ralph de Toledano, Dr. Lev Dobriansky, Willard Edwards, Victor Lasky, Fulton Lewis III, Dean Clarence Manion, Neil McCaffrey, Stefan Possony, William A. Rusher, Phyllis Schlafly, George Schuyler, Paul Scott, Ken Thompson and Tom Van Sickle.

The sponsoring organizations hope that next year's dinner will be even better attended and that conservatives from all over the country will try to get to Washington to help honor two more members of Congress who, like Sen. Williams and Rep. Gross, have done so much to strengthen the conservative cause.

#### ME GREEK REGIME TOKENISM

#### HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 23, 1969

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, a recent dispatch in the New York Times reports that the military government of Greece is undertaking a liberalization program. The press is now free—except there is a two-page list of banned topics. Summary arrests and imprisonment are barred—except in cases involving "the public order and security." Military courts will no longer have jurisdiction over civilians—except in cases of treason, espionage, sedition, disturbing the peace, spreading false information, and arousing discord. In short, the people of Greece are now free—as long as they do not do or say anything the colonels do not want them to.

Verily, the junta is preserving Greece as a bastion of freedom.

I include the article entitled "Greek Regime Eases Martial-Law Curbs, but With Exceptions" from the New York Times of October 4, 1968, in the RECORD at this point:

#### GREEK REGIME EASES MARTIAL-LAW CURBS, BUT WITH EXCEPTIONS

ATHENS, October 3.—Greece's Army-backed regime today modified three martial-law rules—on press censorship, arbitrary arrest and trial by military courts—but the new measures contained a number of qualifications, assuring that controls would continue.

Greek newspaper editors were told today that the press was now free. But they were handed a two-page list of banned topics and were told that although they no longer needed to submit galley proofs to the censors, a copy of each paper must still be submitted for approval before it goes to the newsstands.

At the same time, summary arrests and imprisonment were barred "except in cases involving crimes against public order and security" and the jurisdiction of special military courts was narrowed.

#### ANNOUNCED AT NEWS TALK

The new measures were announced by Premier George Papadopoulos at a news conference in the marble-walled Senate chamber in downtown Athens.

The timing of the measures puzzled foreign diplomats in Athens.

Some noted that that they came 24 hours after George Tsistopoulos, an Under Secretary in the foreign office, returned from the

United States, where he had talks with Secretary of State William P. Rogers, and passed on to the Greek leaders the strength of feeling in Washington in favor of substantial liberalization in Greece.

It is also possible that the announcement was intended to counteract a statement in Paris Tuesday by former Premier Constantine Caramanlis, who said that the regime was making no progress toward democracy and intended to perpetuate its oppressive rule.

It came a day too late to prevent the approval of a resolution by the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg condemning the regime.

The list of taboo newspaper topics included these:

All news and comments "directed against public order, security and national integrity," such as "slogans or statements of outlawed parties or organizations aiming at the violent overthrow of the prevailing lawful order."

Topics of a subversive nature, including incitement to citizens or the armed forces to violate orders and laws, or instigating demonstrations, mass meetings or strikes.

Publications directed against the national economy, including rumors likely to provoke anxiety on the progress of the economy or the stability of the currency, or divulging state economic secrets.

Reports likely to revive political passions and feuds.

The 50-year-old Premier said the new measures were justified by a substantial improvement of the domestic situation since the coup of 29 months ago and by the support his regime enjoyed from the Greek people.

"The patient is no longer in the plaster cast," he said, using his favorite analogy in which Greece is the patient and he the surgeon. "The patient is now in small splints. Let's hope he won't break his limbs again."

Mr. Papadopoulos told reporters he had issued orders, effective at once, abolishing press controls as well as banning arbitrary arrests and trials of civilians by special military courts. These controls had been authorized under the martial law in force since the coup.

#### "FREEDOM IS INVIOABLE"

"Personal freedom is inviolable," the Premier declared. All arrests and imprisonments from now on will be carried out in accordance with the Constitution—"except in cases involving crimes against public order and security," he said.

#### EXPLAINS EXCEPTIONS

The jurisdiction of special military courts, set up by the regime to punish security offenses, will now try only cases of treason, espionage and sedition, including charges of disturbing the peace, spreading false information and arousing discord, he said.

Most of the cases tried by special military tribunals since the coup have involved charges of sedition.

Mr. Papadopoulos said the regime was negotiating with the International Red Cross for investigating allegations of torture of Greek political prisoners. He said, "This should put an end to the infuriating campaign of lies about tortures in Greece."

Mr. Papadopoulos, asked to comment on the statement by Mr. Caramanlis, said he was not prepared to discuss the future of Greece with "anyone except the Greek people."

Mr. Caramanlis, a rightist whose attack on the regime drew wide support from most Greek political groups warned the Athens rulers to make way for democracy or face violent overthrow.

Mr. Papadopoulos said that he, as a citizen who had voted in the past so that Mr. Caramanlis could become Premier, could only say: "Pity, I regret."

Commenting on elections, he said: "We,

# EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## FACT SHEET ON CONTINUING RESOLUTION FROM COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

**HON. GEORGE H. MAHON**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 27, 1969

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, on tomorrow the House is scheduled to consider House Joint Resolution 966, making continuing appropriations for November for those departments and agencies whose regular appropriation bills for fiscal year 1970 have not been enacted.

There is considerable interest among Members as to the provisions of the resolution in comparison to the one under which most of the Government has operated since July 1, and particularly the effect of the resolution on authorized funding levels for certain education programs—more specifically the one for "category A" and "category B" aid for schools in Federally impacted areas.

I have prepared a fact sheet on the committee resolution in general and its effect in this respect on the education programs. Copies will be available during consideration on the House floor.

I include a copy of the fact sheet and a supporting tabulation:

### COMMITTEE CONTINUING RESOLUTION FACT SHEET—HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 966

(NOTE.—For impacted aid and other education programs, see items 10 and 11.)

#### A. THE PURPOSES OF CONTINUING RESOLUTIONS

1. Continuing resolutions are not appropriation bills in the usual sense. They do not make additional appropriations. They merely make interim advances that are chargeable against whatever amounts the two Houses of Congress finally appropriate in the regular annual bills.

2. Continuing resolutions are nothing but interim, stop-gap measures necessary to keep government functions operating on a rationally minimum basis between July 1 and enactment of the regular authorization and appropriation bills. They are designed to preserve the integrity and options of the regular authorizations and appropriations processes in the committees and in both Houses.

3. Continuing resolutions were never designed and never intended to "get ahead of the regular order", i.e., to resolve weighty, substantive, legislative or appropriation issues outside the framework of the regular bills. (If they were so used, a Pandora's box of disruptive and disorderly actions could well result.)

4. Continuing resolutions have always been designed to avoid controversy so as to secure prompt enactment, else they would jeopardize orderly processes and orderly continuation of essential governmental functions.

5. Continuing resolutions are thus a growth, born of long—and successful—experience. They have become standardized in their concepts and specific provisions. They apply universally, and consistently, to all departments and agencies. The basic concept over the years is this:

Legislative status of an appropriation bill when Continuing Resolution becomes effective:

Continuing Resolution funding level is always:

When neither House has acted.

When passed House but not Senate.

When passed both House and Senate.

The budget estimate or last year's level, whichever is lower.

Last year's level, or House level, whichever is lower.

The action of the two Houses; or if in disagreement, the lower of the two.

9. The committee resolution, replacing the existing resolution effective November 1st, will produce little or no change in authorized rates of interim spending levels for many programs and activities. But will permit significant changes in a handful of items in the Department of HEW, especially in the Hill-Burton hospital grants (about \$100 million more) and in certain education programs (about \$600 million more).

#### C. EFFECT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION PROGRAMS

10. The committee resolution adds about \$600 million to the authorized spending level for education programs, as shown on the attached table. \$319 million additional is for impacted area school aid (P.L. 874).

11. For schools in Federally impacted areas, the committee resolution would authorize funds at the 1969 level for both categories "A" and "B"; a total of \$506,000,000—some \$319,000,000 above the currently authorized rate. There would be no special restrictions with regard to "category B".

Payments are made periodically during the fiscal year but the final payments are not usually made until late September or October, i.e., after the fiscal year for which they are appropriated. Thus an increase in these funds at this time would have no practical effect different from that of providing them when the regular HEW bill is enacted.

#### EFFECT OF CONTINUING RESOLUTION ON EDUCATION PROGRAMS

(In millions)

	1969 level	1970 budget	1970 House bill	1970 continuing resolution		
				Present version effective July 1 (Public Law 91-33)	Committee version effective Nov. 1 (H.J. Res. 966)	Increase over present version
Supplementary educational centers (title III, ESEA) <sup>1</sup>	\$165	\$116	\$165	\$116	\$165	+\$49
Library resources (title II, ESEA) <sup>1</sup>	50	0	50	(?)	50	+\$50
Guidance, counseling, and testing (title V, NDEA) <sup>1</sup>	17	0	17	(?)	17	+\$17
Equipment and minor remodeling (title III, NDEA) <sup>1</sup>	79	0	79	(?)	79	+\$79
Impacted area aid (Public Law 874) <sup>1</sup>	506	187	585	187	506	+\$319
Higher education facilities construction grants, 4-year undergraduate facilities <sup>1</sup>	33	0	33	0	33	+\$33
NDEA student loans <sup>1</sup>	193	162	229	162	193	+\$31
Library assistance:						
Services	41	23	41	23	42	+\$19
Construction	9	0	9	0	9	+\$9
Title I, ESEA <sup>1</sup>	1,123	1,216	1,397	1,123	1,123	-----
Vocational education <sup>1</sup>	248	279	489	248	248	-----
Education for the handicapped	80	86	100	80	80	-----
Subtotal	2,544	2,069	3,194	1,938	2,545	+\$606
Other education programs	1,073	1,111	1,029	950	945	-\$5
Total, Office of Education	3,617	3,180	4,223	2,888	3,490	+\$601

<sup>1</sup>Johnson amendment items.

<sup>2</sup>Sec. 101(d) of the present continuing resolution made special provision for continuing State administrative activities only. Under the committee version funds for both State administration and program grants would become available effective Nov. 1.

## FIRST ANNUAL CONSERVATIVE AWARDS DINNER

**HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 23, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I was indeed pleased to participate in the First Annual Conservative Awards Dinner held at the Sheraton Park Hotel in Washington, D.C., on October 4, 1969.

Jointly sponsored by the two leading conservative national publications and

the two major conservative political action groups, the dinner was a success from every point of view. This was the first occasion on which the four sponsors, the American Conservative Union, Human Events, National Review, and Young Americans for Freedom, have joined together in presenting such distinguished service awards to conservative leaders in Congress.

Those present included many officials of the Nixon administration and Members of Congress who joined in applauding the distinguished recipients of the awards, our colleagues, Hon. JOHN J.



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and only we, shall decide when they will be held in Greece."

Asked if, in view of the fact that he had announced the freedom of the press, he would now allow the Greek papers to publish Mr. Caramanlis' statement, Mr. Papadopoulos replied: "I will not."

## URGENCY OF ELECTORAL REFORM

### HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 27, 1969

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues the following article which appeared in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat on October 22, 1969:

#### URGENCY OF ELECTORAL REFORM

The proposal for abandoning the antiquated Electoral College system and adopting direct election of the President and Vice President was gathering cobwebs for discouraging months. Congress now seems in a mood to pass the amendment for popular election and submit it to the states.

This is what should be done without growing any more moss on the issue. There is every evidence the great majority of the people want the constitutional amendment providing direct vote for the President.

The nation should be afforded the right to decide, by submission of the change to legislative plebiscite in all states. Shucking the archaic, frustrating Electoral College from the Constitution should have been effected long ago. Further temporizing and indecision on Capitol Hill cannot be justified.

The need for dumping the undemocratic Electoral College process was trenchantly impressed on the country last November, when it appeared the choice of a President might be thrown into the House of Congress with attendant smelly political deals. In modern America it is utterly unacceptable that Congressmen might elect a President.

But when the danger of a House presidential selection was over, and Richard Nixon elected, apathy set in. Now that apathy appears to have lifted.

The House recently passed the amendment proposition by a whopping vote—339 to 70, or 66 ballots more than the required two-thirds for an amendment to the Constitution.

This has given the program a sudden, big impetus. So thumping a majority for the reform in the House should carry great weight in the Senate. The House was overwhelmingly willing to divest itself of a 188-year-old constitutional right.

Another influence toward approval of the amendment by the Senate Judiciary Committee—the obvious first hurdle in the upper house—was the appointment of Sen. Robert P. Griffin, Michigan Republican, to replace the late Sen. Everett M. Dirksen.

Mr. Dirksen favored the so-called "district plan", less satisfactory than popular election. Senator Griffin has declared he will support direct election.

The President has sensibly shifted his attitude on this reform. For some time he was lukewarm, even mildly antagonistic, toward dropping the Electoral College, which he thought could not be effected before 1972, the next presidential election. Now he thinks it can.

There is no reason to believe it can't. It should. Present public sentiment indicates it will be approved if it comes out of Congress.

As in the House, a two-thirds majority ballot in the Senate is necessary for approving a constitutional amendment. Then the question must be submitted to the 50 state legislatures of the nation, where, 38 must

ratify the proposal to place it in the Constitution and junk the Electoral College.

The House stipulated that the complete ratification process—by Congress and three-fourths of the states—must be completed by Jan. 2, 1971, if it is to be effective for the 1972 national elections. There is no reason this cannot be done.

The measure will have to be acted on however, with reasonable dispatch. It has been in the Senate committee about a month. If it is permitted to grow moldy there, this needed reform could be lost. Should it fall of adoption now, it likely will be pigeonholed many more years, as President Nixon observed when he called on the Senate Sept. 30 to indorse the revision.

A report published last April by Newsweek magazine said one reason the President now wished to abolish the presidential elector system is that he had personal knowledge of how electors sought to bargain away their votes.

The report stated several electors on the Wallace slate offered to trade their votes to Nixon in return "for presidential favors." Other similar offers were rumored; all were turned down.

One reason for reluctance in Congress over dumping the Electoral College was a feeling states would not approve the amendment.

There is growing evidence they would. A New York Times survey recently indicated 30 legislatures already have evidenced determination to ratify, or lean in that direction. As only 38 are necessary, it looms as no insuperable task to persuade the remaining fence-sitter legislatures. The prospect that a President could ever again be elected by a minority or by logrolling deals in Congress, can be eradicated before the next presidential campaign in '72.

## SOCIAL SECURITY REFORMS: BRINGING THE SYSTEM UP TO DATE

### HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 27, 1969

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, among all the victims of inflation, none are more deserving of urgent attention and relief than the beneficiaries of social security. They have invested part of their earnings in the promise of a continuing income—and the Congress must act now to fulfill that promise, in pace with realities.

The President has taken the lead. His recommendation to increase basic benefits by 10 percent is nothing less than a positive obligation—and it is the level of increase that is actuarially sound. His recommendation to attach the future schedule of benefits to cost of living will go far to eliminate the repeated experience of playing catch-up, as benefits lag behind living-cost increases—and it will take the political gamesmanship out of this process.

Both recommendations are essential. Both are, in the broadest sense, non-partisan. And both deserve the support, now, of the Congress.

Of equal importance is the President's recommendation that the "earnings test" be raised from \$1,680 to \$1,800—the amount beneficiaries may earn without any loss of benefits. He also would eliminate the 100-percent tax, the outright

confiscation of all earnings beyond the \$3,000 level. For all earnings beyond the exempt amount, he would substitute a 50-percent tax and thus maintain an incentive for earnings at any level within the capability of the beneficiary. To say that the Nation needs the experience and productivity of its older citizens is clear beyond question—yet, under present law, we penalize them for their enterprise. This irrationality must be eliminated, and the President has recognized the urgency of such a reform.

## NEW INDIANAPOLIS POLICE PATROL INNOVATION CUTS CRIME RATE

### HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 27, 1969

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the war on crime is one that never ends, and its waging demands the initiative and inventiveness of all law enforcement agencies and individual citizens.

The city of Indianapolis, Ind., has come up with a plan, simple in concept yet effective in operation, that shows great promise. It is assigning personal patrol cars to policemen to drive off-duty as well as on. Indianapolis is the first major police department to utilize this, and the following story from the New York Times of Sunday, October 26, 1969, describes the practice, which could well be copied by other urban forces:

[From the New York Times, Oct. 26, 1969]  
POLICE IN INDIANAPOLIS DRIVE OWN CARS; NEW PATROL SYSTEM GIVEN CREDIT FOR CUT IN CRIME

INDIANAPOLIS, October 25.—In Indianapolis, policemen are assigned their own personal patrol cars to drive off-duty as well as on, and the system is given credit for helping to produce a pattern of reduced crime.

While the national average for the seven major crime categories in cities of half a million to a million increased by 13 per cent for the first nine months of this year, five of the seven categories showed a decrease in Indianapolis and all seven showed an average increase of only 1.2 per cent.

The record so far in Indianapolis this year is so encouraging to city officials that they are confident that the city's unusual pattern of big increases in most major categories may finally be broken.

Major crimes in Indianapolis increased at an average rate of 15.6 per cent in 1968 compared to 1967. Now, with the normally heavy crime months of June, July and August behind it, the Indianapolis police department thinks the average for 1969 may set a national example.

#### OFF-DUTY USE ENCOURAGED

Mayor Richard G. Lugar and Police Chief Winston Churchill give much of the credit to the system of individual patrol cars.

"Nearly all state police departments have assigned cars to individuals," says Raymond J. Stratton, deputy chief of operations, but we are the first police department to do so."

Under the Indianapolis plan, patrolmen are encouraged to use their cars, while off-duty for trips with the family to drive-in theaters or the grocery or church.

"As a result," says Maj. Frank Spallina, administrative assistant to Chief Churchill, "we may have as many as 400 cars on the street instead of the old 100 or so per shift."

Major Spallina says that "with all those

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cars running around or parked throughout the city" there is "more reluctance by juveniles to steal cars" and more hesitancy in general to commit crimes.

Several arrests have been made by off-duty policemen since the individual patrol car system went into effect in early June. Included were arrests made by off-duty policemen who stopped robberies or burglaries in progress.

A chief benefit of the program, according to Major Spallina, is the new spirit of pride it is giving the policemen, who have installed custom-fashioned equipment racks in their cars, or carpeted interiors, or who have spent their own money to improve such equipment as radios.

Major Spallina looks on the personal attention shown on the cars as healthy evidence of high morale.

In the first nine months of 1967, crime rose 16.1 per cent in Indianapolis compared to the previous year. In 1968, the increase was 21.2 per cent compared to 1967.

For nine months this year, only the categories of burglary and larceny showed increases—of 9.1 and 5.6 per cent, respectively.

In the other major categories, murder was down 18.6 per cent; forcible rape was down 7.8 per cent; robbery was down 18.3 per cent; aggravated assault was down 6.6 per cent, and vehicle theft was down 12.3 per cent.

#### RETIREMENT OF PHILLIP S. HUGHES

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 27, 1969

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I want to call to the attention of this House the departure from Government service of the Deputy Director of the Bureau of the Budget, Mr. Phillip S. Hughes—known to his friends as Sam.

I first met Sam Hughes shortly after I came to Congress. I came to know him intimately when the Korean GI bill of rights was formulated and later in the outstanding work that he performed in connection with the Survivor Benefits Act, Public Law 881 of the 84th Congress.

Sam Hughes is one of those rare individuals who has absolute integrity, who can give you an answer which you completely disagree with but which at the same time forces you to see the logic of his position and know that his view is based upon considerable thought and a lot of plain ordinary horse sense.

Sam Hughes, in the few moments that he has had of vacation, likes to climb mountains. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why he has had the ability to see so far ahead in regard to Government programs. Certainly he has never lived in a rarefied atmosphere which one associates with heights, but has certainly been able to see clearly and much more so than many of us.

The Federal Government is losing, in my judgment, one of the ablest men who ever served it. An individual with rather keen insight once wrote "hindsight tends to etch deeply the clear lines of leadership that appeared blurry close at hand." Sam Hughes' actions were never blurry and he always showed positive leadership.

Sam carries with him the best wishes of all of those of us on the Hill who have

had the good fortune to know him. We shall sorely miss his counsel and we wish him well in whatever endeavor he desires to pursue after the 21 years of distinguished service that he gave to the Bureau of the Budget.

#### HIGHER EDUCATION IN A TIME OF CHANGE

HON. ED JONES

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 27, 1969

Mr. JONES of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, in this time of unrest in our Nation, especially on our college campuses, it is reassuring to know that sanity still prevails among some of our educators. One voice of reason which rings out clearly in the Eighth Congressional District of Tennessee is that of Dr. Archie R. Dykes, chancellor of the University of Tennessee at Martin.

At the beginning of the current academic year, Dr. Dykes, one of the Nation's truly outstanding college administrators, addressed his faculty with an analysis of the challenge facing higher education and a proposal for meeting this challenge. I was deeply moved by the speech, and because I feel that all American leaders can benefit from the reasonableness of Chancellor Dykes' observations, I am including the entire text of the address:

#### HIGHER EDUCATION IN A TIME OF CHANGE

The circumstances surrounding high education today are not unlike those portrayed by Charles Dickens in the *Tale of Two Cities*, describing the era of the French Revolution. To paraphrase his classic language:

"It is the best of times, it is the worst of times,

It is the age of wisdom, it is the age of foolishness,

It is the epoch of belief, it is the epoch of incredulity,

It is the season of Light, it is the season of Darkness,

It is the spring of hope, it is the season of despair,

We have everything before us, we have nothing before us..."

Indeed, these are difficult and trying times in America, perhaps the most trying and most difficult of any period since the Civil War, more than a century ago. Yet, within our complex, frustrating, and perplexing problems, there exist the greatest opportunities our nation or any nation has ever had before it. And these same circumstances characterize colleges and universities throughout our land. Perhaps never before has higher education generally and colleges and universities individually been confronted with problems which so clearly threaten destruction, while, simultaneously, unparalleled opportunities lie before them for progress toward undreamed of achievements.

Truly, we live in a time of unparalleled change. And no one would question, I believe, that these great changes going on about us have enormous implications for all of us, in our citizenship responsibilities, in our family obligations, but especially in our duties as faculty members in an institution of higher learning.

Some time ago, an article in *Fortune* magazine, seeking to dramatize the gap between our present era and the past, quoted Robert Oppenheimer as follows:

This world of ours is a new world, in which the unity of knowledge, the nature of human communities, the order of society, the very notions of society and culture have changed, and will not return to what they have been in the past. What is new is new not because it has never been there before, but because it has changed in quality. One thing that is new is the prevalence of newness, the change in scale and scope of change itself, so that the world alters as we walk in it, so that the years of a man's life measure not some small growth or rearrangement or moderation of what he learned in childhood, but a great upheaval.

Change, then, pervasive and revolutionary change, is the dominant characteristic of our time. We are living through a series of concurrent and interacting revolutions in science, transportation, agriculture, communications, demography, civil rights, and, yes, education. Each of these revolutions has brought spectacular changes. Each has its train of tumultuous social consequences.

As a result of these great changes, we in education, like everyone else, are forever required to see our world through new eyes and to behave in accordance with new understandings and new concepts. In a world changing as rapidly as ours, ideas, understandings, beliefs, and ways of doing things rapidly become obsolete. Our best knowledge and our best understandings have an ever diminishing life before they are replaced with new knowledge and new understandings. In brief, we have intellectual obsolescence in shorter times than we have ever faced before in man's history. To persist in behaving and conducting our affairs as if change has not occurred can result in catastrophe.

For a few minutes this morning, I wanted to share with you some of my thoughts about the implications of these changes to those of us here in this room, the faculty and staff of The University of Tennessee at Martin. Let me mention just a few observations that may be relevant.

1. The first implication of these changing times has to do with what we are trying to accomplish in education. Traditionally, we have viewed the major function of education as the dissemination of information, the teaching of facts, the instilling of knowledge. This is and will continue to be an important function of education. But in the context of a world of revolutionary change, when knowledge is doubling every ten to fifteen years in some fields of study, when there is increasing finiteness to the length of time in which the best knowledge will hold true, when new facts and new information are coming into existence with unparalleled rapidity, I think we may well wonder if the primary function of education has not changed. If schooling is regarded primarily as a process of absorbing the funded knowledge of the past, it seems to me it may well lose its relevance to the world in which we live. And if teaching is regarded as simply the peddling of facts and information, its demise may come in the years immediately ahead.

The National Science Foundation now tells us that knowledge in science is doubling every ten years; that of all the research that has ever been published, more than half of it has been published since 1950; that more than half of all money spent on research has been spent in the last eight years; and that of all the scientists who have lived since the dawn of history, more than eighty percent are living and working today. We are told authoritatively that approximately 2,000 pages of printed materials are published every sixty seconds. If an individual attempted to keep informed by devoting his full time to reading, he would fall behind by more than one billion pages every year.

The explosion of knowledge, or the "information revolution," is probably the most im-

## ACTION ON RATE REQUESTS BY STATE UTILITY COMMISSIONS, JUNE-SEPTEMBER 1969—Continued

Company	Amount requested	Amount approved
<b>PENNSYLVANIA</b>		
Pennsylvania Gas & Water.....	\$2,200,000	\$1,800,000
Philadelphia Electric.....	29,707,184	29,707,184
<b>TEXAS</b>		
Lone Star Gas.....	10,818,253	6,961,445
<b>WISCONSIN</b>		
Wisconsin Public Service.....	5,167,000	2,000,000
Wisconsin Gas Co.....	6,447,000	4,021,000
Total.....	312,770,062	239,581,129

<sup>1</sup> Jointly received rate increases totaling \$6,500,000 plus opportunity to obtain additional \$7,700,000.

<sup>2</sup> Note: \$13,157 granted in April by State commission, full \$23,900,000 granted in July by Supreme Court.

<sup>3</sup> Note: 3 weeks after Florida Commission approved \$3,700,000 increase, Southern Bell filed request for \$32,000,000 rate increase.

<sup>4</sup> Note: Consumers Power reported request totalled \$57,000,000. Michigan Public Service Commission reported to subcommittee request had totalled \$108,900,000.

<sup>5</sup> In June.

<sup>6</sup> In July.

<sup>7</sup> New York Public Service Commission has advised company it will accept revised request for \$18,000,000.

## NATIONAL DAY OF PRAYER

SPEECH OF

## HON. JOHN BUCHANAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 22, 1969

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, the Congress, by joint resolution of April 17, 1952, provided that the President "shall set aside and proclaim a suitable day each year, other than a Sunday, as a national day of prayer on which the people of the United States may turn to God in prayer and meditation at churches, in groups, and as individuals." Such a day is quite appropriate in the life of this country since America was founded on the ethical and moral principles embodied in the Judeo-Christian tradition.

America's greatest strength lies in the faith and religious commitment of her people. "In God We Trust" must remain more than a mere motto for the people of America if our country is to remain strong and free.

This year, President Nixon, by proclamation on October 8, set aside Wednesday, October 22, as our National Day of Prayer. In his proclamation, the President asked that "on this day the people of the United States pray for the achievement of America's goal of peace with justice for all people throughout the world."

In observance of this day it was my privilege, along with a number of my colleagues who regularly attend the House and Senate prayer breakfast meetings to attend a prayer breakfast at the White House with Dr. Billy Graham. The remarks of both the President and Dr. Graham, together with prayer led by the Honorable DEL CLAWSON of California, were of great inspiration to those assembled.

The one prayer on the lips of all mankind, of whatever religious persuasion,

should be a prayer for peace with justice and a prayer for those in places of high responsibility in our land.

The President is to be commended for setting aside this day and it is my hope that all men everywhere shall benefit from its observance.

MRS. LOUISE BOWKER, PRESIDENT, NEWSPAPER ASSOCIATION MANAGERS, INC.

## HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 23, 1969

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I was pleased to learn that Mrs. Louise Bowker, of my State, recently has added to her many accomplishments her election as president of the Newspaper Association Managers, Inc. The NAM is fortunate to have the talents and industry of this Arkansan leading this organization.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks an article published in the Missouri Press News outlining some of Mrs. Bowker's civic and professional contributions.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Missouri Press News, October 1969]

## ASSOCIATION MANAGERS ELECT ARKANSAS WOMAN PRESIDENT

Mrs. Louise Bowker, secretary-manager of the Arkansas Press Association, was elected president of Newspaper Association Managers, Inc. at the group's 46th annual meeting August 22, in Williamsburg, Virginia. NAM is an association composed of managers of state, regional and national newspaper organizations. She is the first woman ever elected to the NAM board, having been chosen secretary-treasurer in 1967 and moving to the vice presidency in 1968.

She joined the Arkansas Press Association as office manager in April 1956, was promoted to assistant manager in 1961 and became the first woman to head the 97 year old association in 1962.

In 1962 she was chosen APA's "Man of the Year" an award bestowed on the person considered to have made the greatest contribution to the programs and progress of the Arkansas Press Association. She was elected Woman of Achievement in 1963 by Arkansas Press Women, Inc.

She is currently serving as secretary of the Arkansas Highway Users Conference; vice president of the Arkansas Council on Children & Youth; and vice president of the Mid-America Newspaper Mechanical Conference, the first woman in the country to be elected to such a board. She is a member of the Little Rock Advertising Club and is active on its legislative committee; the Salvation Army Auxiliary; North Little Rock Boys Club, and other civic organizations.

She is a native of Jonesboro, where she was graduated from the public schools and Jonesboro Baptist College, majoring in business administration. Mr. Bowker is married to S. W. Bowker, an insurance executive of North Little Rock, Arkansas.

Other officers and board members elected were: Vice President, Robert M. Shaw, Minnesota Press Association; Secretary-Treasurer, Richard W. Cardwell, Hoosier State Press Association; and Director, Ray Hamley, Maryland-Delaware-D.C. Press Association.

## GREEK REGIME TOKENISM

## HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 23, 1969

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, a recent dispatch in the New York Times reports that the military government of Greece is undertaking a liberalization program. The press is now free—except there is a two-page list of banned topics. Summary arrests and imprisonment are barred—except in cases involving "the public order and security." Military courts will no longer have jurisdiction over civilians—except in cases of treason, espionage, sedition, disturbing the peace, spreading false information, and arousing discord. In short, the people of Greece are now free—as long as they do not do or say anything the colonels do not want them to.

Verily, the junta is preserving Greece as a bastion of freedom.

I include the article entitled "Greek Regime Eases Martial-Law Curbs, But With Exceptions" from the New York Times of October 4, 1968, in the RECORD at this point:

## GREEK REGIME EASES MARTIAL-LAW CURBS, BUT WITH EXCEPTIONS

ATHENS, October 3.—Greece's Army-backed regime today modified three martial-law rules—on press censorship, arbitrary arrest and trial by military courts—but the new measures contained a number of qualifications, assuring that controls would continue.

Greek newspaper editors were told today that the press was now free. But they were handed a two-page list of banned topics and were told that although they no longer needed to submit galley proofs to the censors, a copy of each paper must still be submitted for approval before it goes to the newsstands.

At the same time, summary arrests and imprisonment were barred "except in cases involving crimes against public order and security" and the jurisdiction of special military courts was narrowed.

## ANNOUNCED AT NEWS TALK

The new measures were announced by Premier George Papadopoulos at a news conference in the marble-walled Senate chamber in downtown Athens.

The timing of the measures puzzled foreign diplomats in Athens.

Some noted that that they came 24 hours after George Tsistopoulos, an Under Secretary in the foreign office, returned from the United States, where he had talks with Secretary of State William P. Rogers, and passed on to the Greek leaders the strength of feeling in Washington in favor of substantial liberalization in Greece.

It is also possible that the announcement was intended to counteract a statement in Paris Tuesday by former Premier Constantine Caramanlis, who said that the regime was making no progress toward democracy and intended to perpetuate its oppressive rule.

It came a day too late to prevent the approval of a resolution by the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg condemning the regime.

Rep. Gross, a conservative known nationally for the sharp "no" he so often hurls at various spending schemes, received perhaps the biggest ovation of the night when he turned to the subject of Viet Nam. "We



TABLE 1.—UTILITY RATE INCREASES PENDING, BY STATE COMMISSION, JUNE 1, 1969, AND RELATED DATA—Continued

Commission	Increases pending	Name of company	Category	Amount	Date requested	Status of request
Wisconsin Public Service Commission—Con.		Wisconsin Telephone Co.	Telephone	\$1,000	Mar. 24, 1969	Hearing held.
		General Telephone Co. of Wisconsin	do	\$2,800	Apr. 7, 1969	Do.
		Dodge County Telephone Co.	do	(?)	Apr. 8, 1969	Hearing pending.
		Valders Telephone Co.	do	(?)	Apr. 14, 1969	Do.
		Munich Natural Gas Utility	Gas	\$4,700	Apr. 16, 1969	Do.
		Chippewa County Telephone Co., Inc.	Telephone	\$44,100	Apr. 25, 1969	Do.
		Waukegan Telephone Co.	do	(?)	May 19, 1969	Do.
		Black Earth Telephone Co.	do	(?)	do	Do.
		Shawano, Wis.	Electric	(?)	May 23, 1969	Do.
		Madison Gas & Electric Co.	Gas	\$500,000	May 29, 1969	Do.
Wyoming Public Service Commission	2	Cheyenne Light, Fuel & Power Co.	Electric	\$168,000	Nov. 7, 1968	Commission's order entered June 13, 1969, rejecting company's proposal and requiring refunding tariffs permitting a total increase as follows: Electric, \$48,419; gas, \$50,852.
			Gas	\$142,000		

<sup>1</sup> See footnote 2, table 2, below.

<sup>2</sup> Cases for which no amount of revenue requirement is indicated represent either small com-

panies or instances where actual additional revenue requirements have not been indicated at the present stage of the proceeding.

TABLE 2.—TABULATION OF UTILITY RATE INCREASES PENDING AS OF JUNE 1, 1969, BY STATE AND CATEGORY

State	Electric	Gas	Telephone
Alabama	None	None	None
Alaska	\$219,000	None	None
Arizona	None	None	(?)
Arkansas	None	\$1,062,877	\$493,600
California	60,137,000	49,153,000	46,424,000
Colorado	None	None	31,500,000
Connecticut	None	340,600	None
Delaware	None	None	None
District of Columbia	24,900,000	None	13,282,000
Florida	None	34,820	17,070,548
Georgia	None	None	2,983,089
Hawaii	1,621,400	None	None
Idaho	None	None	14,440
Illinois	2,150,000	1,472,000	50,000
Indiana	None	708,000	136,800
Iowa	450,000	None	345,350
Kansas	None	None	6,114
Kentucky	None	None	920,052
Louisiana	None	None	17,000,000
Maine	None	None	None
Maryland	24,900,000	(?)	34,000,000
Massachusetts	None	5,521,900	3,120,000
Michigan	1120,634,725	67,108,000	139,435
Minnesota	(?)	(?)	(?)
Mississippi	None	None	None
Missouri	17,500,000	11,025,000	45,021,500
Montana	None	None	None
Nebraska	(?)	(?)	None

TABLE 2. TABULATION OF UTILITY RATE INCREASES PENDING AS OF JUNE 1, 1969, BY STATE AND CATEGORY—Continued

State	Electric	Gas	Telephone
Nevada	None	None	None
New Hampshire	None	None	None
New Jersey	None	None	None
New Mexico	\$3,411,662	4,377,701	None
New York	22,000,000	\$1,300,000	\$175,081,000
North Carolina	None	None	3,449,850
North Dakota	None	1,208,783	3,000,000
Ohio	None	1238,088	127,739
Oklahoma	360,000	None	None
Oregon	None	None	11,804,400
Pennsylvania	29,707,184	779,761	None
Puerto Rico	None	None	None
Rhode Island	None	379,000	9,200,000
South Carolina	None	None	894,491
South Dakota	(?)	(?)	29,417
Tennessee	None	None	2,052,212
Texas	(?)	16,133,641	(?)
Utah	None	None	(?)
Vermont	2,364,000	None	None
Virginia	None	None	822,526
Washington	None	None	26,700,000
West Virginia	36,600	2,877,000	98,200
Wisconsin	6,852,000	11,880,000	122,010,800
Wyoming	168,000	142,000	None
Subtotal	317,411,571	175,742,171	468,006,763
Grand total	961,160,505		

<sup>1</sup> Other increase(s) pending with no set dollar amount requested or established. See table 1 above.  
<sup>2</sup> No regulation.

<sup>3</sup> On July 30, 1969, Public Service Co. of New Mexico filed for an electric rate increase of \$4,219,547.  
<sup>4</sup> Does not reflect 25 applications for which no dollar amount was available.

UTILITY RATE INCREASE REQUESTS FILED WITH STATE UTILITY COMMISSIONS SUBSEQUENT TO JUNE 1, 1969  
(In millions of dollars)

Company	Category	Amount
COLORADO		
Public Service Co. of Colorado	Electric-gas	\$1.9
CONNECTICUT		
Connecticut Natural Gas	Gas	4.4
FLORIDA		
Southern Bell Telephone	Telephone	32.0
GEORGIA		
Southern Bell Telephone	do	29.7
IDAHO		
Idaho Power	Electric	8.4
ILLINOIS		
Commonwealth Edison	do	45.0
MASSACHUSETTS		
New England Telephone & Telegraph	Telephone	52.0
MINNESOTA		
Northern States Power	Electric	2.7
MISSOURI		
Kansas City Power & Light	do	7.3
NEW JERSEY		
Jersey Central Power & Light	Electric	12.7
New Jersey Power & Light	do	5.8

UTILITY RATE INCREASE REQUESTS FILED WITH STATE UTILITY COMMISSIONS SUBSEQUENT TO JUNE 1, 1969  
Continued  
(In millions of dollars)

Company	Category	Amount
NEW MEXICO		
Community Public Service	Electric	\$0.3
Public Service of New Mexico	do	4.2
Southwestern Public Service	do	1.9
NEW YORK		
Consolidated Edison	do	117.5
Iroquois Gas Corp.	Gas	8.8
OHIO		
Ohio Bell Telephone	Telephone	80.0
United Telephone of Ohio	do	14.0
Cleveland Electric	Electric	17.5
PENNSYLVANIA		
Duquesne Light	do	19.0
Metropolitan Edison	do	20.7
TENNESSEE		
South Central Bell Telephone	Telephone	4.6
TEXAS		
Lone Star Gas	Gas	3.1
WISCONSIN		
Wisconsin Public Service	Electric	5.1
Total		498.6

ACTION ON RATE REQUESTS BY STATE UTILITY COMMISSIONS JUNE-SEPTEMBER 1969

Company	Amount requested	Amount approved
CALIFORNIA		
General Telephone Co. of California	\$46,300,000	\$46,300,000
Southern California Edison	60,137,000	46,668,000
Southern California Gas	5,939,000	(?)
Southern Counties Gas	4,310,000	(?)
CONNECTICUT		
Southern New England Telephone	23,900,000	23,900,000
FLORIDA		
Southern Bell	5,775,625	3,701,500
MICHIGAN		
Consumers Power	57,700,000	37,822,000
Michigan Consolidated Gas	27,000,000	4,200,000
MISSOURI		
Missouri Public Service	5,300,000	5,100,000
NEW YORK		
Niagara Mohawk	21,800,000	(?)
NORTH CAROLINA		
Lee Telephone Co.	239,000	100,000

Footnote at end of table.

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should win that war," he said, "or get the hell out."

The evening's keynote address was delivered by columnist James J. Kilpatrick. While noting that opposition to foolish government programs was certainly necessary, Mr. Kilpatrick also urged conservatives to "apply their talents to affirmative answers to American problems"—problems like conservation, pollution, penal reform and low-cost housing. Conservatives have the proper principles at heart, he said, but "if I had only one political wish, conservatively speaking, I would wish to see us translate broad conservative principles more frequently into specific, affirmative action." Mr. Kilpatrick applauded those men and women who for so many years have volunteered their services to the conservative cause. He said that more than ever before their dedication was needed, because "there is much work to be done."

Other remarks at the dinner were delivered by William F. Buckley Jr., editor of *National Review*, and Robert Bauman, secretary of ACU and a former national chairman of YAF, who served as master of ceremonies for the evening.

Among the members of Congress who attended and joined in honoring two of their congressional colleagues were Sen. Strom Thurmond and Reps. Don Clausen, Jim Collins, John Hammerschmidt, Manuel Lujan, William Scherle, and E. Ross Adair.

Guests from the White House staff included presidential adviser Dr. Arthur Burns, speechwriter Patrick Buchanan, Special Presidential Assistant Dr. Martin Anderson, congressional liaison man Bill Timmons, "inspector-general" Clark Mallenhoff and presidential staff aides Mort Allin and Tom Huston. Among the other Administration appointees in attendance were USIA director Frank Shakespeare, Ted Humes of the labor department and Defense Department aides William Baroody Jr. and Jerry Friedhelm. Other guests included John Mahan, chairman of the Subversive Activities Control Board, and Ken Towsey of the Rhodesian Information Service.

Also attending the dinner were such well-known conservatives as Holmes Alexander, Lemuel Boulware, Allan Brownfeld, Ralph de Toledano, Dr. Lev Dobriansky, Willard Edwards, Victor Lasky, Fulton Lewis III, Dean Clarence Manion, Neil McCaffrey, Stefan Possony, William A. Rusher, Phyllis Schlafly, George Schuyler, Paul Scott, Ken Thompson and Tom Van Sickle.

The sponsoring organizations hope that next year's dinner will be even better attended and that conservatives from all over the country will try to get to Washington to help honor two more members of Congress who, like Sen. Williams and Rep. Gross, have done so much to strengthen the conservative cause.

BRIG. GEN. FRED W. VETTER, JR.

HON. J. CALEB BOGGS

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES  
Thursday, October 23, 1969

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, it has often been said that "little things mean so much." And I am certain that the commander of the Dover, Del., Air Force Base believes it, for his example at the base illustrates that phrase accurately.

In January of this year, Brig. Gen. Fred W. Vetter, Jr., assumed the top post at one of the Military Airlift Command's largest installations.

Initially, the general expressed a desire to improve and maintain the physical appearance of the property and to strengthen the ties to surrounding communities. This ambitious officer set a personal example for all to follow.

In the quest of better community relations, the air base recently hosted a "Salute to Delaware," a daylong program of aircraft displays, parades, demonstrations, and a performance by the precision flying team, the Thunderbirds. Attendance was in the thousands despite the fact that it was a weekday.

Delawareans are proud of this military base. I am confident that all Delawareans join me in commending and thanking General Vetter for the fine job he is doing.

An Associated Press article written concerning General Vetter, by Edgar Miller, was published recently in the Delaware State News. I feel it is an excellent character sketch and illustrates quite well why those under his command and the citizens of the first State appreciate this fine officer and the job he is doing.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article published in the Delaware State News of October 17 be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GENERAL PUTS SELF ON SPOT AT AIR BASE

(By Edgar Miller)

DOVER.—Brig. Gen. Fred W. Vetter Jr. left himself wide open shortly after taking command of the 436th Military Airlift Wing at Dover Air Force Base last January.

"Put me on the spot," he challenged the base's 25,000 officers, enlisted men and dependents in an unusual—for a general—column in the base's weekly newspaper, *The Airlifter*.

One of his first takers did just that.

The writer was a sergeant with two children who said that with a third straight hardship assignment staring him in the face—this time in Greenland after previous tours in Korea and Vietnam—his wife was threatening to divorce him if he didn't give up his Air Force career.

Vetter investigated, found the man's complaint was indeed legitimate and replied:

"The assignment of this man was carefully investigated and discussed with higher headquarters. He has been released from the assignment..."

Such swift, decisive action made the column an immediate hit and Vetter now is deluged with mail, so much that he can only publish a representative selection. But he gives personal attention to all letters and each writer gets a personal reply.

The letters have had results in several areas, from film processing at the post exchange to spraying for Japanese beetles in flower gardens.

While there are a few which are "petty and self-serving," most letters serve a useful purpose, Vetter says.

"It's amazing the number of good and practical suggestions we are picking up," the general says.

Some of the letters really do put him on the spot and "can be utter dynamite" if not handled right, Vetter says.

Of course, Vetter's reaction to a given letter might not always be what the writer had in mind.

Take the case of the three lieutenants who complained that officer of the day duty offered "very little in the way of a sense of

job accomplishment" and suggested it be discontinued.

Vetter agreed that junior officers weren't getting enough out of the long, tedious hours of OD duty at night and on weekends so he expanded their chores to include "educational as well as meaningful responsibilities" so they wouldn't be bored any more.

The column has done much to give Vetter a reputation on the base as a man who gets things done—in a hurry.

He has particularly emphasized split and polish—often to the anguished groans of many airmen—at all levels of base life, from his own office down the base housing area.

As a result, the base has taken on a neat and trim appearance. Housing area roads have been resurfaced and buildings are being painted throughout the base. "The men look smart and one senses a new feeling of urgency and pride," one staff officer, Lt. Col. Maurice G. Steele, said.

Vetter begins his day with a brisk mile run at 6:30 a.m. through the housing area. During the run he takes note of any unkempt lawns or houses. If he spots one he jots down the address and the occupant gets a call from him later. He also calls those who have done a particularly good job of keeping up their quarters.

Vetter's hobby is big game hunting and his office walls are covered with trophies from hunts on several continents. His latest trophy is still being mounted—the 61-inch antlers of a moose shot in Alaska.

A native of Snohomish, Wash., who now calls Houston, Tex., home, Vetter began his career as an aviation cadet in 1942. He was promoted to general in April 1968.

Vetter's lean, 5-foot-11 frame, his dashing salt and pepper mustache and graying temples and his straight military bearing led one newsmen to write in a biographical sketch:

"If Hollywood were type-casting for an Air Force wing commander, Fred Vetter Jr. would get the role."

## THE 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNION OF POLES IN AMERICA

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 23, 1969

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, October 26, 1969, marks the 75th anniversary of the Union of Poles in America. A fraternal service organization, the Union of Poles in America was founded in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1894 and has since provided innumerable benefits to the Polish-Americans of Ohio. But more noteworthy is the great service this organization has provided to our community through its many juvenile and adult social programs. The Union of Poles is headquartered in Cleveland and its national president, Mr. Richard E. Jablonski, also resides in that city. As a Representative for the city of Cleveland, I commend the Union of Poles for their 75 years of unselfish service and I wish them continuing success for the future.

In saluting this organization, I would like to provide my colleagues with the following historical review of the Union of Poles in America prepared by Mr. Richard E. Jablonski:

The Union of Poles in America, under the protection of our Blessed Mother, came into

October 23, 1969

being as a result of the merging of two Unions, The Polish Roman Catholic Union under the protection of the Immaculate Heart of Mary and The Polish Roman Catholic Union, under the protection of Our Lady of Czestochowa. This merger occurred at the joint convention in Cleveland, Ohio on May 30, 1939.

The Polish Roman Catholic Union, under the protection of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, was organized on July 1, 1894, in Cleveland, Ohio. Its first president was A. Skarupski.

The Polish Roman Catholic Union, under the protection of Our Lady of Czestochowa, was organized on March 11, 1898, in Cleveland, Ohio. Its first president was Francis Szeplachowski.

Both of the unions, after many preliminary discussions, held special conventions during the month of May 1938. Finally it was decided to hold a common convention on May 30, 1939 in Cleveland, for the purpose of finalizing the merger. Its first president was Joseph Missal.

During the 30 years of existence, the Union of Poles has considerably increased its membership and financial resources. The financial resources are now approaching the \$4,000,000 mark. The entire organization stands on a firm financial basis and is one of the leading fraternal organizations in America.

From an earned surplus, dividends have been paid to its members every year for the past 25 years.

During World War II, the Korean War and the present War in Vietnam, the Union of Poles has guaranteed the entire payment of life insurance in case of death of an insured member serving in the Armed Forces—none excepting the policy with war reservations.

The Union of Poles is a participating member in the Polish American Congress and for many years has taken an active part in the social, cultural, and economic affairs of the "Polonia."

The Union of Poles in America, a fraternal organization, strongly believes in serving its country; and taking an active part in helping the free world emerge a very great power in the service of mankind, for a better, stronger, and happier society of Free and Independent Nations.

Today, we observe, together with the "Polonia," the Diamond Jubilee, the 75th year of the founding of the Union.

**JIM COMSTOCK, WEST VIRGINIA'S  
AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY,  
PORTRAYS STATE WITH IMAGINATION IN UNIQUE NEWSPAPER**

**HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH**

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES  
Thursday, October 23, 1969

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, West Virginia is fortunate to have within its borders a journalist of the talent and capacity of Jim Comstock, whose base of operations is Richwood in the forest lands of my State.

His keen powers of observation and his ability to find new insights in nearly every situation make the West Virginia Hillbilly a most popular and eagerly awaited weekly newspaper. Under the guidance of Comstock, his partner, Bronson McClung, and their erudite master of the print shop, C. Donnee Cook, the Hillbilly has become an institution known across the United States and overseas.

It is more than just a weekly newspaper. It devotes itself primarily to the discussion of life in West Virginia, its strengths, its weaknesses, its heritage, and its future. Hillbilly likewise is ever alert to ways in which West Virginia can be improved.

But it is also a light-hearted publication, filled with humor and Comstock's own, often-irreverent comments on events of the day.

In the course of bringing Hillbilly to its present state of journalistic eminence, Jim Comstock himself has become a sought-after personality who frequently graces speakers' platforms in West Virginia and other States. He reports on his travels and observations weekly in a lengthy column called the Comstock Load.

Elsewhere in the publication there may be discussions of many subjects under intriguing headlines such as these from recent editions of Hillbilly: "West Virginia Cole Slaw Signs As American As Apple Pie," "Memories of a B. & O. Dispatching Man," "A Mighty Mingo Chieftan," "How the Teacher Nipped a Riot," "All You Need Is a Peach Tree Limb To Find Water," "By Rail Up Shaver's Fork River," "Look What a Big Dog Dragged In," "In the Land of Buckwheat Cakes," "Hillbilly Ramblings," "The Man in the Henhouse," "Have Sleeping Bag, Will Travel," and "Old Licker in a New Jug," a regular compilation of quotations and poetry. Hillbilly also features a regular heritage page, a lively exchange of letters from readers and periodic reviews of various industries that contribute to the West Virginia economy. A picture of a pretty West Virginia girl always brightens Hillbilly's pages.

Mr. President, Jim Comstock recently spoke at Salem College, my beloved alma mater, telling of the trials and tribulations of an editor. His appearance was reported in the September issue of the Salem College Bulletin, and I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDITOR JIM COMSTOCK GIVES ADDRESS AT SALEM COLLEGE

"I founded The West Virginia Hillbilly because I wanted to tell the world that West Virginia is a notch above the other states," Editor Jim Comstock told the Salem College students.

Comstock, West Virginia "ambassador extraordinary," spoke at Salem College and was received by the students with enthusiasm.

He told of his special "ramp edition which caused quite a stink with the subscribers and especially with the Post Office Department." He explained that the stunt drew national attention on the wire services and resulted in The National Geographic doing an article about the paper, ramps and Richwood—the home of the Comstock and McClung publications.

"Every Monday morning I have 16 blank pages in front of me to fill," Comstock said. "To a literate person that paper, when published, has meaning. I ask myself, 'Is there some little thing in it that will lift the world?'"

#### READERS HAVE POWER

The West Virginia Hillbilly really belongs to the readers, and the readers have the

power, he declared. Among the many things which Hillbilly readers have done are—founding a "Past 80 Club," building a hospital in Richwood, sending a boy to Williamsburg, Pa., for rehabilitation, saving the scenic Cass steam railroad—the last of its kind in the country—for a tourist attraction, starting the drive to buy Pearl Bucks' birthplace home in Hillsboro for West Virginia.

MELVIN MILLER

Comstock told the story of Hillbilly's collapse a couple of years after its birth and of Melvin Miller who came to Richwood to encourage the two publishers to start again. Miller, who had just graduated from Bethany College, was on his way back when his small sports car failed to make a curve and he was killed.

Inspired by Melvin Miller's faith, Comstock and McClung started the publication again. The first issue of the reborn paper was dedicated to Miller in Comstock's story, "Here, Melvin Miller, Is Your Paper."

"Each week I ask myself, 'Have I done something good? Have I been true to the dreams of a boy who wanted to start a paper?'"

#### PRESS AGENT FOR STATE

Comstock is one of the state's best press agents. He has publicized its writers, sculptors, painters and musicians; worked to bring in new industries; and plugged its tourist attractions.

In Hillbilly he has satirized West Virginia's politics, described its beauties in glowing words, and kept alive its rich folk heritage.

#### AUTHORITY ON APPALACHIA

Otto Whittaker, who compiled and edited the recent book, Best of "Hillbilly," says that Comstock probably knows more than any man alive about the yesterdays and todays of Appalachia and how it got that way, and for the past year he has been enlarging this knowledge with a fellowship from the Ford Foundation.

In addition to editing the Newsleader and Hillbilly, Comstock is compiling and editing a 25-volume encyclopedia on West Virginia. "In this encyclopedia we hope to preserve West Virginia's heritage which is rapidly being lost," he said.

#### STUDENTS FOR WHAT?

**HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Thursday, October 23, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I have repeatedly called the attention of the Members to the rampage perpetrated in Chicago on October 9, 10, and 11 by militant members of the SDS.

It is important that people around the country understand the developments in Chicago and therefore I insert into the RECORD a very effective commentary carried in the Sunday, October 19, Chicago Heights Star, a publication whose staff kept very close to the situation:

#### STUDENTS FOR WHAT?

By all accounts, militants of the self-styled Students for a Democratic Society alienated or at least embarrassed all but the most knuckle-headed of their admirers during the group's most recent descent upon Chicago. They came to tear the city apart, and they remained to demonstrate how badly decent people would fare if they indeed achieved whatever brand of society they really want.



October 21, 1969

## KOREA TODAY

## HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 21, 1969

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, this month's Army Digest carried an interesting and informative article on our military presence in Korea. I include it in the RECORD at this point:

## KOREA TODAY: THE VIGIL CONTINUES

Along 17½ miles of tense and troubled frontier, you hear the accents of Iowa farm boys, Georgia mill workers, Harvard Law grads. Some are regulars, long-term professionals; others are performing an obligation of citizenship. All have a hard and endless job—watching the line along the American sector of the Demilitarized Zone, which straddles Korea's 38th Parallel.

An entirely new generation has grown up since a gray Sunday in June 1950 when North Korea dispatched 117,000 tough, Soviet-equipped regulars south to strangle the infant Republic of Korea.

From 16 nations came a swift response. American troops spearheaded an international army, the first of its kind and purpose—the United Nations Command. It met the crisis to force the North Koreans, and the Chinese Communists who intervened to rescue them, to the conference table at Panmunjom—where recriminations still fly like shots.

Today, actual shots still fly as Communists continue to break the unquiet peace.

Soldiers of the United Nations Command are involved almost daily in some Communist-initiated act of violence along the 151-mile DMZ. Their vigilance continues against hostile raiders and infiltrators trying to move south. Throughout Korea, UNC forces react swiftly to eliminate enemy agent teams and infiltrators who strike hard and often at their positions.

In January 1968, a 31-man North Korean commando team crept into Seoul on a deadly mission—to assassinate ROK President Chung Hee Park. Intercepted a short distance from the Presidential Mansion, they were hunted down and killed or captured.

Since 1967, there have been about 1,600 incidents involving Communist violations of the Armistice, some 40 percent of which were small firefights. More than 550 enemy infiltrators and agents have been killed and nearly 50 captured.

As General C. H. Bonesteel III, commanding general, UNC/USFK/Eighth U.S. Army, observed: "With the exception of the conflict in Vietnam, nowhere else in the world today is there so direct and inflammable a confrontation between Free World forces and vicious, strong and aggressive Communists as there is along Korea's DMZ."

Despite Communist orations at the Panmunjom truce table, there is nothing to indicate that the situation has changed appreciably since the signing of the Armistice, July 27, 1953, when General Maxwell D. Taylor, then Eighth Army commanding general, told his troops: "There is no occasion for celebration or boastful conduct. We are faced with the same enemy, only a short distance away, and must be ready for any moves he makes."

Some of the United Nations countries who made Korea a proving ground of Free World resistance to Communist aggression have left token forces. The ROKs themselves man most of the 151-mile armed frontier. And the presence of the U.S. 2d and 7th Infantry Divisions, and 314th Air Division tells the Reds: "We're still here—and still ready."

Across the American sector of the line

stretches a security system that includes modern observation devices and a newly completed barrier fence. But the real barrier is in the hearts of the South Koreans, backed by their American and United Nations allies. Behind that protective line, this ruggedly anti-Communist country has achieved political stability and impressive economic progress, making it one of the success stories of the United States assistance program.

## STRONG TRADITION

Korea is a proud nation. Its people have kept their national and cultural integrity for thousands of years, despite invasions by the Chinese, Mongols and Japanese.

Korea's location is of strategic importance. Geographically, it occupies a position athwart Communist approaches to the North Pacific. The Korean peninsula lies at the apex of three great power triangles—Russia, Red China and Japan. The capital, Seoul, is less than 500 air miles from Peking, the Chinese Communist capital, and from Harbin and Mukden, China's great industrial centers. It is even closer to Russia's ice-free port of Vladivostok.

Red China and the Soviet Union maintain substantial forces nearby. Just north of the Demilitarized Zone stands the North Korean army, third largest in the Communist world. But the ROKs remain undaunted.

Since the 1953 armistice, the Republic of Korea has built a well-led well-organized and thoroughly capable military force, which numbers among the largest in the non-Communist World. Its force of more than 500,000 is organized into two armies, five corps, 17 divisions. In addition, it has two divisions serving in Vietnam. A newly organized Home Defense militia, composed mainly of ex-servicemen, but including some 15,000 women volunteers, numbers about 1.9 million.

For the past three years, ROK soldiers have served with allied units in Vietnam. Their 48,000-man force there is noted for its toughness in combat and rugged effectiveness in civic action and psychological operations.

## PROGRESS

Behind the protective shield of its determined soldiers, Korea has achieved an economic miracle. New roads, highways, factories, the stepped-up tempo of manufacturing and construction mark its long strides toward modern development. Exports, which amounted to only \$32 million in 1960, exceeded \$500 million in 1968. The Gross National Product has been climbing between 8 and 12 percent a year for the past five years.

Not only new industries but cultural and educational institutions as well are springing up all over the republic. Its literacy rate is among the highest in the world.

Korea's growth as a peaceful, prospering nation provides an inspiring example to other developing countries. In less than two decades, it has shown the world how a society can modernize and prosper under free institutions.

To developing nations around the world, Korea's visible progress toward growth and stability presents an attractive alternative to the repressive methods of totalitarian rule.

Amid the heightened tensions brought about by infiltrations and forays from the north, Korea, the Land of the Morning Calm, maintains its vigil—and its serenity. Today, ROK forces make up the bulk of the United Nations Command. Shoulder to shoulder with other members of the United Nations Command, U.S. Forces Korea and the Eighth U.S. Army, they share a common determination to stand their ground on cold and barren ridgelines to show aggressors that freedom is not an empty catchphrase—that it will be defended whenever and as often as necessary. This is Korea today.

## WICHITA FALLS PUBLISHER THE FRIEND OF THREE PRESIDENTS

## HON. GRAHAM PURCELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 21, 1969

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Rhea Howard of Wichita Falls, Tex., was recently singled out by the Dallas Times Herald as a "Friend of Three Presidents." Not only has Mr. Howard been a friend of three Presidents, but he has also been instrumental in the growth and development of his community, his State, and his Nation through his active work in the newspaper business and the Democratic Party.

The Governor of Texas, Gov. Preston Smith, once described Mr. Howard as a man who "had the nerve to walk out front, with his back to the crowd." This rare quality of leadership, Mr. Speaker, has stood for a number of years as an inspiring standard of public service to his fellow Texans. His courage and conviction have championed many causes, and it is with a great deal of pride that I would like to share the accomplishments of this Texan with my colleagues, to whom I commend Rhea Howard as an exemplary statesman:

[From the Dallas Times Herald, Oct. 8, 1969]

HELPS BUILD CITY: WICHITA FALLS PUBLISHER FRIEND OF THREE PRESIDENTS

(By Lois Luecke)

WICHITA FALLS.—A Texas publisher who earned the friendship of three U.S. presidents and whose counsel was sought by the White House says a newspaperman has to be a champion for both the community and the area in which he lives.

"I don't see how any man who runs a newspaper can dig a hole and crawl in, leaving the battleground of civic life. He must be a part of his city. He must take sides in issues. He must help solve the problems," he says.

At 77, Rhea Howard, editor and publisher of the Wichita Falls Times and Record News, a newspaper veteran of 62 years and a long-time Democratic party leader in Texas, daily practices his philosophy of journalism.

"There is no such thing as a city standing still," he will tell you. "Wichita Falls has gone forward and the newspaper has had something to do with it. A man who puts out a newspaper has to keep abreast of the times—maybe ahead of the times—to provide leadership."

Howard followed in his illustrious father's footsteps when he became head of the Times Publishing Co. upon Ed Howard's death in 1948. He was 55 when he took the helm of the newspaper his father founded in 1907. In his 21 years as publisher, associates have seen not only a continuity in the fulfillment of the Times' founding principles but a new era of involvement based on personal commitment and leadership.

He was tapped, and answered the call, for help in nearly every civic endeavor; he threw himself wholeheartedly into his political party's campaigns and has been a delegate to the last five national Democratic conventions.

Howard was one of 22 Texas publishers invited by President John F. Kennedy in October 1961 for a briefing and consultation on national and international affairs—an occasion which Howard deems "the highlight of my newspaper career."

A close friend of former President Lyndon

"That the flag of the United States be 13 stripes, alternate red and white; that the union be 13 stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation."

Since Congress did not specify the arrangement of the 13 stars on the blue background, Betsy had them arranged in a circle, based on the idea that no colony should take precedence.

General Washington described the symbolism of the flag as follows:

"We take the stars from heaven, the red from our mother country, separating it by white stripes, thus showing that we have separated from her, and the white stripes shall go down to posterity representing liberty."

In 1916, President Woodrow Wilson proclaimed June 14 as the anniversary of the creation of the first stars and stripes and as Flag Day, which is annually observed throughout America.

Our flag is a proud symbol of the history of our people and our country. Its 13 stripes for the original 13 colonies and its stars for every state will always serve to remind us of our struggle from a small, young country to the greatest nation on earth.

#### NATIONAL BUSINESS WOMEN'S WEEK

#### HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 21, 1969

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, the week of October 19 marks the 41st anniversary of the National Business Women's Week, a time specifically devoted to dramatizing the contributions of women to the professional and business world.

The first observance took place in 1928. In the years since then, women have made tremendous advances in our society. From an early effort of business and professional women to achieve acceptance and status based on their ability and accomplishments, NBWW has grown to be a nationwide observance of the contributions of women in every segment of our society.

The objectives of National Business Women's Week are noteworthy: to publicize achievements of business and professional women everywhere, on the local, State, and National levels; and to publicize the objectives and program of the national federation.

The National Federation of Business and Professional Women itself has an impressive membership of more than 180,000 women active in all the 50 States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. Founded in 1919, its growth is exemplified by its emblem, the Nike—Winged Victory of Samothrace, which symbolizes progress. And the Federation of Business and Professional Women can indeed take pride in the progress it has made toward attaining its objectives, which are fourfold:

First, to elevate the standards for women in business and in the professions;

Second, to promote the interests of business and professional women;

Third, to bring about a spirit of co-

operation among business and professional women of the United States; and

Fourth, to extend opportunities to business and professional women through education for industrial, scientific, and vocational activities.

The membership of this federation represents a force which is being effectively molded for the promotion of excellence in business and government. Its voice is the voice of conscience and concern. A leader since its founding in 1919 in the effort to advance women's rights and upgrade the status of women in this Nation, its members are to be commended, encouraged, and supported in their good efforts.

I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to the action items of this year's legislative platform adopted by the Federation of Business and Professional Women at its national convention last summer. These are proposals that would benefit men as well as women, and deserve our careful consideration. They include:

First, continued support for legislation to amend the Constitution of the United States to provide that equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex.

Second, active support for pending legislation providing for a broadened head-of-household benefit under the Internal Revenue Code; increased personal exemptions for dependents under the Internal Revenue Code; and a more equitable distribution of the tax burden.

Third, the proposal and support of legislation providing for uniform laws and regulations for men and women as to working hours, working conditions, rates of pay, equal employment opportunity, including retirement for age; equal treatment for working men and women in the area of survivor and retirement benefits; and increased child care deductions under the Internal Revenue Code.

Fourth, the proposal and support of State legislation to provide for uniform jury service and uniform qualifications in the selection of men and women to serve on grand or petit juries in any court.

Fifth, support of legislation that will bring about more effective crime control and law enforcement.

Mr. Speaker, these are legislative matters which have waited long and in vain for congressional attention. For nearly 25 years in both the Senate and the House I have been sponsoring and supporting the equal rights amendment to the Constitution and legislation which would guarantee equal conditions of employment to all American citizens, regardless of age or sex. This session, I have once again introduced such legislation, and once again I hope that it will be passed.

This Nation has only gradually awoken to the energy, creativity, and potential which our womanpower possesses. I think the contributions of women to American life were possibly best summed up by President Kennedy when he said, in 1961, that:

As was foreseen by the early leaders, women have brought into public affairs great sensitivity to human need and opposition to selfish and corrupt purposes. These political contributions and the manifold activities of women in American communities are the outgrowth of a long tradition by pioneering by American women. They stand as an encouraging example to countries in which women are only now achieving equal political and social status.

During this week which is dedicated to publicizing the achievements of business and professional women everywhere, it is with admiration for these able women that I extend my best wishes to them. I congratulate President Harmon and the more than 3,800 local organizations which make up the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs on their progressive and essential work.

#### A SELECT COMMITTEE ON CONGRESSIONAL MAILING STANDARDS

#### HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 21, 1969

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, to say that the proper use of the franking privilege often raises complex, technical, and difficult questions for Members of Congress is to state the obvious. The franking problem is a continuing one. Every year we are faced with new questions of frankability and past answers do not always fit the new questions that arise. In our fast-paced world there is a constant changing of ideas, events, modes, and methods of communication. The result is often honest confusion for the Member confronted with a totally new franking question.

In the past Members could submit congressional material to the Post Office Department for approval and for rulings on the frankability of the matter. However, last December's decision by the Post Office that it could no longer make such rulings has left a void in this area.

Mr. UDALL of Arizona has proposed a resolution to establish a Select Committee on Congressional Mailing Standards which would fill up this gap. I join with him and with others in supporting this measure as an effective way to meet a continuing and often thorny problem. This proposal would direct the bipartisan select committee "to provide guidance, assistance, advice, and counsel, through advisory opinions or consultations or both, to any Member of the House of Representatives, upon his request in connection with the mailing or contemplated mailing by the Member of franked mail."

Such an advisory body could do much to protect both Members of Congress who had honest doubts on a question of frankability and the public who has the right to make sure that the franking privilege is used in an ethical manner. It would allow any doubts to be resolved in advance and would assure that the franking privilege was not abused.

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ganize the fall offensive. Leaders of the New Mobilization Committee include: Arnold Johnson, an official of the Communist Party, USA; long-time Socialist Workers Party leaders Fred Halstead, Harry Ring, and Gus Harowitz; Peter Vinther of the Young Socialist Alliance, the youth section of the Socialist Workers Party; David Dellinger, self-professed non-Soviet Communist; Irving Beinin, staff employee for the Communist news-weekly Guardian; Prof. Donald Kalish, reportedly, by his own admission, somewhat to the left of the Communist Party; and Leroy Wolins, leader of Veterans for Peace in Vietnam and an identified member of the Communist Party. The evidence therefore points to Communist domination of the New Mobilization Committee's plans and operations.

Two other groups playing key roles in the fall offensive are the Student Mobilization Committee and Students for a Democratic Society. SDS plans activity in Chicago around the theme "Bring the War Home." I reported to the House on September 18, 1969, the plans of the SDS to launch massive demonstrations in Chicago during the period of October 8 to 11, 1969.

The Student Mobilization Committee, which has specifically endorsed and whose functionaries are actively supporting the Vietnam moratorium, was initiated by Communist Party member Bettina Aptheker in 1966. During 1968, however, the Student Mobilization Committee passed into the hands of members of the Young Socialist Alliance, and it remains today under tight control of the Young Socialist Alliance. The Student Mobilization Committee is organizing its own student strike for November 14, just before the New Mobilization Committee's Washington and San Francisco marches. YSA member and SMC leader Carol Lipman serves with Vietnam Moratorium Committee organizer David Hawk on the New Mobilization Committee's steering committee.

These few facts are only a minute sample of the overwhelming mass of evidence that the fall offensive, of which the Vietnam moratorium is an integral part, is not designed as a legitimate protest movement aimed at correction of defects in our foreign policy. It is rather a propaganda maneuver designed and organized by Communists and other revolutionaries who desire a victory by the North Vietnamese, not to help, but to weaken and harm the United States.

#### INCREASE OLD-AGE BENEFITS UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY

(Mr. SKUBITZ asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, almost every day I receive heart-rendering letters from elderly people telling me that they can not make it on their meager social security checks. All their lives they have worked hard to set aside something for their old age. Now that inflation has gobbled up their savings they are forced to depend on their social security check as a means of survival.

For this reason I introduced a measure early this session which increases social security benefits under the old age, survivors, and disability insurance program. In addition, it provides for an automatic adjustment of benefits to increases in the cost of living.

I am delighted that the President has asked for an increase in social security benefits.

However, I do not favor the President's proposal of an across-the-board increase. Any increase given to those now on social security is an outright gift to the recipient—not something earned. Therefore, it seems to me that the increase should be based on need and surely those in the lower category need more consideration than those in the top category. After all, the fellow who gets a minimum \$55 a month must pay as much for a loaf of bread or electricity or medicine as one who receives the maximum.

If enacted, my bill would raise the minimum social security benefits from \$55 to \$80 and would create an actual percentage increase ranging from 45.4 percent for those recipients at the lowest level to 5.6 percent for those at the highest benefit level. The people who would be assisted most by such a change are those at the lowest end of the scale and have the greatest need for increase in their social security payments.

In addition to the present need for greater benefits, the rising cost of living will make further increases necessary in the future. As suggested by the President's proposal, my bill provides for benefits to automatically increase as the cost-of-living index rises. This would be on a percentage basis applying equally to all benefits.

Who pays the bill for any social security increases? The President apparently wants to charge it to those who now pay social security.

I cannot agree with this proposal. In my opinion, the costs should be borne out of the general fund. Can anyone here advance one single reasonable argument to show why one who pays social security should pick up the chit while the President, the Supreme Court Justices, and Members of Congress, who respectively received \$100,000, \$39,500, and \$12,500 salary increases, should go scot-free. Any reason why any person not on social security should go home free?

My bill differs from the President's proposal in that it authorizes a contribution from general funds for the amount of the increased benefits. These would be benefits over and above what the recipients previously contributed to social security. The responsibility for taking up the slack belongs to all of society and should be financed by all segments of our economy—not just those persons paying into the social security fund.

I might add that a recent poll of my district shows that 74 percent of the persons polled favor my proposal of taking funds out of the general funds so that all taxpayers pay their fair share.

One of the most appealing aspects of my social security program is a provision to allow older persons to collect benefits while still earning an income. My bill would raise the present earning limit of

\$1,680 to a new limit of \$1,800. The President's bill calls for this change.

Under the present retirement test, persons who earn more than the exempt amount of \$1,680 continue to have \$1 in social security benefits withheld for every \$1 they receive.

To avoid this, my bill would eliminate this \$1 reduction for each \$1 earned and replace it with the same reduction for each \$2 earned above \$3,000. This change increases the incentive to work for older persons who badly need this income to meet today's inflation.

Often our elderly citizens must suffer because of meager incomes, and every rise in the cost of living increases their plight, for this burden hits hardest those who live on a fixed income.

If enacted, my bill would immediately raise the benefit payments to the elderly and would not allow the cost of living to destroy these gains by reducing their purchasing power. Thus, the present and expected future problems of social security recipients can be substantially relieved.

In conclusion, I agree with the administration proposal that the social security benefits should be increased on a cost-of-living basis and that people should be allowed to earn more before losing benefits.

In any event, something should be done as soon as possible. Three out of every ten older persons are living in poverty. Most of them were able to support themselves in decency until they became older.

Unless positive action is taken, these older persons are going to suffer even more. For this reason I feel it is urgent that we make the needed changes in the social security laws.

GREECE *4/1/e*

(Mr. YATRON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. YATRON. Mr. Speaker, during the recent period of congressional recess I, along with my wife Millie and daughter Theana, was a guest of the Pan-Arcadian Society of America at its annual convention in Athens, Greece.

I was extremely pleased to have been offered the opportunity to make this 2-week journey for a couple of reasons. One, Greece is the country of my parents' birth. I was consequently nurtured in ways Greek since the days of my youth. This opportunity was the very first that I have had to see the country about which I had heard so much in the past. For the first time, I met relatives who had been but names before. I and my family were the recipients of their hospitality and welcomed to our own family.

The second reason which prompted my visit to Greece at this time was the desire to make my own appraisal of the current Greek Government. As a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, I have felt it incumbent upon me to ascertain the realities of Greece's current political situation. Certain newspaper stories and magazine articles have been published, Mr. Speaker, which place



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the government in Athens in an extremely unfavorable light. Although I was apprehensive that these stories of torture and repression might prove true, I was quite anxious to arrive at my own conclusions on the matter. It is these conclusions about which I should now like to comment.

Mr. Speaker, Greece is justifiably proud of being characterized as the cradle of democracy. I myself am certainly pleased that this designation has been bestowed upon the land of my ancestors. It is, therefore, at once paradoxical and even, on the surface at least, unfortunate to verify the existence of a military government in Greece.

Be that as it may, however, I must submit that the government which now rules Greece is a necessary expedient. When the conditions which have prompted its establishment have disappeared, however, I would be most anxious to observe the resumption of parliamentary processes in Greece. When this time arrives, I hope it will be acknowledged by the present government and that these leaders will relinquish their positions and allow themselves to be guided by the choices of free Greeks voting in a fair election.

Because the ruling junta has served to forestall a possible Communist takeover in Greece, however, its existence was at least born of justifiable aims. Certainly a Greece run by Communists would be far less palatable than a Greece run by former colonels. This is obviously so especially when one views Greece in the context of its role as a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Greece has been an integral part of NATO since its formation 20 years ago. Greece continues to serve as an important link in the chain which constitutes our military defense network.

It must also be said here that the junta has enacted certain vitally needed reforms that for one reason or another were not implemented by King Constantine and the Greek Parliament. Farmers have seen their debts erased by the Government, social security benefits have been increased, students no longer pay tuition at Greek universities, the educational system as a whole has been vastly improved, the Greek economy is a vigorous one, and civil peace predominates.

If I may, Mr. Speaker, I should like to emphasize this latter point. The absence of a law-and-order problem in Greece was one of my most satisfying observations. Yet this is hardly consonant with the armed camp visions that one usually associates with a dictatorial government. Conversely, whereas crime is rampant in other large cities of the world, its existence in Athens, the surrounding countryside, and throughout the Greek nation is unobtrusive. The feeling, instead, was one of safety in the streets.

The question that must now be posed, of course, is whether external appearances of order mask nefarious conduct behind the scenes. And, more specifically, whether political prisoners are being brutalized into cooperative submission. In order to determine the credibility of reports indicating that repressive and

coercive conduct is prevalent within the confines of Greek police stations, I made a special effort to get out and talk with the Greek citizenry. I sought the people's impressions of their Government and whether they felt it encouraged or even tolerated the repressive activities attributed to it. In following this course, Mr. Speaker, I probably spoke to 100 different people during my 2 weeks in Greece. None of these gave me any evidence to support the truth of the reports about torture. In fact, none could even acknowledge the accuracy of such reports. And none, Mr. Speaker, had ever been the victims of these alleged brutalities.

While I recognize that 2 weeks in Greece is hardly a sufficient period upon which to base a definitive critique on the Greek Government's activities, Mr. Speaker, I am able to state that my impressions were—and it is only my impressions on which I comment—that the reports of systematic torture perpetrated for political reasons in Greece are not well founded. If there was any substance to such reports it seems that I would have been able to gain at least some indication of this from the scores of persons with whom I conversed.

In my discourses with Prime Minister George Papadopoulos, I was assured that his government was neither conducting nor sanctioning the conduct of closed-door malevolence for political reasons. In fact, Mr. Papadopoulos recognized that free elections must be held in Greece. Although he was unwilling to establish a date for such elections, he did indicate a desire to hold them at the earliest possible opportunity. His position was, however, that Greece must first gain the strength with which to adequately govern itself and the tenacity to resist negative influences.

I must say, Mr. Speaker, that I am extremely hopeful these conditions will materialize at an early date. I yearn for the return of democracy to Greece. And though the path of its return may wind, I am hopeful democracy's strength at the end of this interim period of autocracy will be sufficient to justify a temporary digression from the previous way.

## THE MORATORIUM

(Mr. VANIK asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, the moratorium is a worthy effort by the young people of America to express their grave concern over an issue which deeply involves all Americans, but which involves our young people more critically than any other group. This peaceful expression is in the best tradition of our democracy and should be encouraged. I expect to address myself to this issue on the floor of the House of Representatives next Wednesday.

## JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

(Mr. NELSEN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, October 3, 1969, I introduced for myself and Mr. GERALD R. FORD, Mr. SPRINGER, Mr. O'KONSHI, Mr. HARSHA, Mr. BROY-HILL of Virginia, Mr. WINN, Mr. STEIGER of Arizona, Mrs. MAY, Mr. HOGAN, Mr. CRAMER, Mr. POFF, and Mr. MCCLORY, H.R. 14188, a bill to amend chapter 23 of title 16 of the District of Columbia Code to revise proceedings regarding juvenile delinquency and related matters, and for other purposes. My distinguished colleagues from the Democratic side of the aisle, Mr. McMILLAN, Mr. DOWDY, Mr. FUQUA, Mr. HAGAN, Mr. HUNGATE, Mr. BLANTON, and Mr. KYROS, introduced a similar bill, H.R. 14224 on October 7, 1969.

I include in the RECORD the text of a statement setting forth my reasons for introducing H.R. 14188:

For some time now there has been general concern on the part of the Administration, many of the Members of Congress, representatives of the District Government, representatives of various community organizations, and citizens of the community itself with the rapidly increasing serious and violent crime being committed by juveniles in the Nation's Capital. For instance, I note that a recent statistics show that in the last six years, robbery by 16- and 17-year olds has increased 258 percent. At the same time, Mr. Speaker, I have been concerned with the recognized deficiencies in existing legislation for protecting the due process rights of arrested juveniles.

The Department of Justice, in consultation with expert representatives of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the District Government, has undertaken an extensive revision of the Code of Juvenile Procedure for the District of Columbia. The Administration's proposed Code of Juvenile Procedure for the District of Columbia, which is contained in this bill, is held to be a balanced and comprehensive approach to the problem of juvenile crime in the District of Columbia. It supplements the provisions of H.R. 12854, which I introduced on July 15, 1969 and which was subsequently referred to the District of Columbia Committee. H.R. 12854 provides for a comprehensive reorganization of the current court system and the judicial environment in which family problems would be handled in the District of Columbia. The restructured court of general jurisdiction, the Superior Court, would have a Family Division in which would be vested all of the jurisdiction of the now existing Juvenile Court of the District of Columbia and the Domestic Relations Branch of the Court of General Sessions of the District of Columbia. It is intended that all family-related problems, such as delinquency, parent-child problems, etc. would come within the jurisdiction of the Family Division of the Superior Court.

In its proposed legislation, the Administration has provided that those 16- and 17-year olds who commit specified crimes of violence most dangerous to the peace of the community, such as murder, rape and robbery, will be ineligible for treatment as juveniles. Instead they will be prosecuted as adults with the whole panoply of correctional services available, including supervision and treatment pursuant to the Federal Youth Corrections Act. Retention within the juvenile system of these matured, sophisticated and experienced 16- and 17-year olds who commit such violent crimes would appear in many instances to only undermine the rehabilitative potential of other juveniles. Together with its proposed waiver provisions in H.R. 12854 and H.R. 13689, the Administration has chosen to limit the benefits of juvenile treatment to those youngsters

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## PROJECT THEMIS PROGRAMS—FUNDING BY FISCAL YEARS—Continued

[In thousands of dollars]

Military department	State and Institution	Program topic	Fiscal year		
			1967	1968	1969
N A A N A N A AF N A AF A AF N A N	Texas:	Optimization research.....	400	200	155
	Texas A. & M.....	Meteorology research.....	430	215	215
	Do.....	Aircraft dynamics subsonic flight.....		388	194
	Do.....	Human pattern perception.....	272	100	135
	Texas Christian.....	Information processing.....	380	190	190
	University of Houston.....	Coherent and incoherent EM radiation.....		350	175
	Rice University.....	Remote sensing of gamma ray signatures.....	400	200	400
	Do.....	Automatic navigation.....		502	200
	Southern Methodist.....	Statistics in calibration methods.....		470	296
	Do.....	Performance and man-machine effectiveness.....	398	200	235
	Texas Tech.....	Chemistry of combustion.....		410	200
	Utah: University of Utah.....	Isolation and sensory communication.....			257
	Vermont: University of Vermont.....		342	171	170
	Virginia:	Learning control systems.....		408	200
	University of Virginia.....	Atomic interactions in gases.....			400
	Do.....	Cryogenic instrumentation.....			400
	Do.....	Vehicle engineering and control.....		416	208
	Virginia Polytech, Blacksburg.....	V/STOL aerodynamics.....			
	West Virginia: West Virginia University.....		19,375	28,180	29,239
Total.....					

U.S. SENATE,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,  
Washington, D.C., October 8, 1969.

Dr. JOHN S. FOSTER, Jr.,  
Director, Defense Research and Engineering,  
Department of Defense, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. FOSTER: I noted the enclosed article in this morning's Washington Post, concerning a contract with the University of Mississippi under Project Themis.

As you know, both the House and the Senate have added a provision to the military procurement bill which requires that all Department of Defense research have a "direct and apparent relationship to a specific military function or operation." I am interested in having your views on how this amendment will be implemented by the Department after it becomes law, along with some estimate of the types of contracts, and the amounts in dollars, that may be cut out in carrying out this intent of the Congress. I would also like to know if in your view the contract described in this article would be possible under the terms of the amendment.

Sincerely yours,

J. W. FULBRIGHT.

### ISSUES WHICH PREVENT PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Mr. SCOTT, Mr. President, in spite of cease-fire agreements that supposedly became effective many months ago, border fighting and guerrilla warfare continue to disturb the peace of the Middle East.

It is more than 2 years since the end of the June 1967, Arab-Israel war, and still no negotiations have taken place between the parties to the conflict.

It is time that the people of the United States turned very serious attention to the obstacles which have made it impossible to achieve peace in the Middle East.

These matters are discussed in an informative editorial appearing in the current issue of Prevent World War III, which is published by the Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc., of 50 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019.

I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### ISSUES WHICH PREVENT PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Although Middle East peace seems no nearer today than it was a year ago, the

issues which prevent it have at least become somewhat more clearly visible.

Among the many causes which keep belligerency alive, the following stand out:

Refusal of the Arab states to negotiate with Israel.

Soviet determination to claim the whole Middle East area as a sphere of influence.

Escalation of the guerrilla fighting—to the extent that the 1967 "ceasefire" has become almost meaningless.

Failure of the United Nations to achieve an even-handed approach to the contending forces in the region.

The much discussed "Four Power Initiative" can hardly be expected to make progress on any of these basic matters. Except that it may provide a forum for some talk about Soviet intentions, this series of meetings has served mainly to arouse deeply disturbing fears of an "imposed settlement." This is a somewhat ridiculous apprehension. Indeed, when one stops to consider that such a "settlement" would be meaningless unless coupled with a long-term American-Soviet armed guarantee—which the two powers are certainly not apt to agree upon in the foreseeable future. Meanwhile, the sensibilities of the Israelis, and the feelings of some Arab governments as well, have been trodden upon—and tensions have, if anything, been increased.

#### ARAB INTRANSIGENCE CONTINUES

The official Arab map of the Middle East today shows Israel only as "occupied territory of Palestine"—exactly as we noted on this page a year ago. Until the 14 governments of the Arab League—or at least the four whose territories surround Israel—are ready to modify this unrealistic approach, there is little possibility of real progress.

The state of Israel is recognized today, and has been recognized for 20 years, by virtually all of the world's sovereignties, including those of the Soviet Bloc as well as the Western world. Israel is a full-fledged member of the United Nations, and no international lawyer would dare question her statehood. Nevertheless, President Nasser and his allies cling to the timeworn myth that "Israel does not exist."

The myth, however, is getting to be pretty thin: after fighting three wars in a generation with a "nonexistent" enemy, reasonable observers would think that negotiations are in order.

To the contrary, however: one cannot even get an official Arab spokesman to debate with an official Israeli spokesman on neutral territory—as American TV producers and leaders of discussion clubs have long since discovered.

#### ISRAEL'S STATEHOOD NOT IN QUESTION

One cannot even argue about the "seniority" of the governments concerned. None of

the Middle Eastern states existed in the days of World War I—and the juridical existence of eight of the Arab states is actually shorter than the 20-year history of Israel. Indeed, Israel was the 59th country to be admitted to the United Nations. In that regard, she is a comparatively "old" country, 67 others having been admitted since. (Only 6 of the Arab League states were members of the United Nations at the time of Israel's admission; the other 8 are all "younger" states, by this standard.)

Impatience with this "we won't talk" attitude is beginning to be more and more visible in America. On the 21st anniversary of Israel's existence, for example, a clear majority of all the members of the Senate and House of Representatives joined in a widely publicized statement "in Favor of Direct Arab-Israel Peace Negotiations," in which the legislators declared that "there is no substitute for face-to-face negotiations." "The parties to the conflict must be parties to the settlement. We oppose any attempt by outside powers to impose halfway measures not conducive to a permanent peace," the lawmakers said.

We wholeheartedly agree with this view—which has also been enunciated by President Johnson and by President Nixon.

The mission of Ambassador Jarring was initiated with the idea that it might pave the way to talks, by at least exploring attitudes on specific issues. Thus far, talks seem as far away as ever.

Secretary of State Rogers has made it clear that the purpose of the much-publicized "Big Power" talks would not be to impose a peace—but only to try to get the belligerent parties together. It is clear that the Soviets—on whose help as a supplier of armaments the Arab governments have been almost wholly dependent—could do a great deal to promote such talks. Thus far, however, the voice of Moscow has not been heard on the point, and there are no indications of any change forthcoming.

The result, of course, is a stalemate—and so it must remain until changes in the attitude of the Arab governments make it otherwise.

There are many cases in the world where responsibility for failure to negotiate can be divided between two or more parties. In this particular instance, there is not even a possibility for dividing the responsibility.

#### SOVIET AMBITIONS VERSUS PEACE

Israeli diplomacy, correctly enough, has taken the position that its responsibility is primarily concerned with the conduct of relations with the neighboring Arab states.

From a world point of view, however, and particularly from the American standpoint, the problem of peace in the Middle East is a far different one. It is a problem of meet-

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PROJECT THEMIS PROGRAMS—FUNDING BY FISCAL YEARS—Continued

[In thousands of dollars]

Military department	State and institution	Program topic	Fiscal year		
			1967	1968	1969
AF	Florida:				
	University of Florida	Solid state materials			
A	do	Logistics and information processing	400	200	200
N	Florida State	Geophysical fluid dynamics	340	170	170
N	do	Prediction of tropical weather phenomena	600	300	350
A	Georgia:	Computer aided instruction		500	250
	Georgia Tech			480	230
AF	do	Low speed aerodynamics			
N	University of Georgia at Athens	Interface phenomena	339	170	170
N	Hawaii:	Statistical analysis and information retrieval	350	195	200
	University of Hawaii				215
AF	do	Astronomy research			
A	University of Hawaii at Honolulu	On-line computer systems	350	175	220
AF	Illinois:	Vector borne tropical diseases		409	205
A	Illinois Institute of Technology	V-STOL aerodynamics			400
AF	Illinois Institute of Technology at Chicago	Degradation of structural materials		409	205
N	Indiana:				400
AF	Indiana University	Environmental hazards			
N	Notre Dame University	Deep sea engineering	400	198	200
N	Iowa:		400	200	200
	Iowa State	Automatic navigation and control			
AF	do	Ceramic and composite materials	400	200	200
A	University of Iowa	Vibration and stability of military vehicles	449	224	225
N	do	Application and theory of automata		500	250
A	Kansas:			400	200
	University of Kansas	Remote sensing instrumentation			
AF	do	Social and behavioral science	400	200	200
AF	Kansas State	Performance in altered environment	400	200	200
N	do	Nuclear radiation effects on electronic components	400	200	200
AF	Kentucky:			577	283
	University of Kentucky	Metal deformation processing			
A	Kentucky University at Lexington	Research in electrochemical processes		408	204
AF	do	Environmental stress physiology			400
A	University of Louisville	Performance assessment and enhancement			400
A	Louisiana:			399	200
	Louisiana State	Infectious and communicable diseases			
AF	do	Digital automata	342	171	170
N	Massachusetts:		398	400	200
	University of Massachusetts	Deep sea structures			
N	Boston College	Elementary chemical kinetics	360	180	180
AF	Michigan: Michigan State University at East Lansing	Behavioral studies			440
N	Minnesota:				400
	University of Minnesota	Infrared detector and laser technology			
N	do	Gas turbine technology	380	190	190
A	Mississippi:	Organization performance and human effectiveness	400	200	200
	Mississippi State				415
AF	University of Mississippi	Rotor and propeller aerodynamics			
A	Missouri:	Biocontrol systems	278	139	140
	University of Missouri at Columbia			409	204
N	University of Missouri at Rolla	Fluid transport properties			
AF	do	Aqueous aerosols in atmospheric processes	446		220
A	do	Basic studies on electronic materials		400	200
AF	Washington University at St. Louis	Terrestrial science research			400
AF	do	Control, guidance, and information studies			400
AF	Nevada: University of Nevada	Optimum detection systems			400
AF	New Hampshire: Dartmouth College	Cloud physics			400
AF	New Jersey:	Time shared computing systems	399	199	250
	Rutgers University		460	290	290
AF	Stevens Institute	Fluid flow aerodynamics			
A	do	Nonlinear physics of polymers	400	200	
N	do	Cryogenic sciences and engineering	324	162	162
	do	Evaluation of terrain vehicle systems	342	171	170
N	New Mexico:			460	200
	New Mexico Institute M & T	Environmental sciences			
AF	University of New Mexico	Radiation effects on electronics	406	203	268
	New York:		370	185	185
N	SUNY-Albany	Modification of environment			
N	SUNY-Buffalo	Environmental physiology	399	199	200
N	Rensselaer Polytechnic	Electrochemical power sources	600	300	350
N	do	Radiation effects		460	230
	do	Optimum digital signal processing		430	215
N	Yeshiva University, New York City	Research on thin film materials			400
	North Carolina:				390
AF	North Carolina State	Materials response phenomena			
A	do	Digital encoding systems	400	200	200
D	North Dakota:			396	200
	North Dakota State	Control of vectors of diseases of military importance			
N	Union of North Dakota	High pressure physiology		393	197
A	Ohio:			527	263
	Case-Western Reserve	Research in R. & D. management			
AF	Ohio University	Low level navigation	300	150	150
A	Kent State University	Liquid crystal detectors	407	200	200
A	University of Cincinnati	Internal aerodynamics in air-breathing engines		410	205
	Oklahoma:			400	200
N	Oklahoma State	Electronic description of the environment			
N	University of Oklahoma	Mechanism and theory of shock	482	241	240
	Oregon: Oregon State	On-line computer environmental research		405	202
A	Pennsylvania:		580	290	290
	Drexel Institute of Technology	Powder metallurgy			
AF	do	Forecasting by satellite observations		510	255
N	Jefferson Medical College	Pathogenesis of acute diarrheal disease		408	204
N	Lehigh University	Nonlinear wave propagation		390	195
N	do	Low-cycle fatigue in joined structures		400	200
	do	Fluid amplification		400	200
N	Hahnemann Medical College	Biomanics in stress			400
	Rhode Island: Rhode Island University at Kingston	Photoelectronic imaging devices			520
A	South Carolina: Medical College of South Carolina	Resuscitation and treatment of wounded			400
N	South Dakota: South Dakota School of Mines	Modification of convective clouds			184
N	Tennessee:		260	368	100
	University of Tennessee, Knoxville	Dynamic sealing		130	
AF	do	Remote sensor research	300	150	150
AF	University of Tennessee, Tullahoma	MHD power generation		408	204
A	Vanderbilt University	Coating science and technology		400	200
				550	275



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ing the Soviet ambition to make of the entire area an added sphere of influence and control. With the ending of the British and French colonial controls, a vacuum has developed—and Moscow sees an opportunity to realize a centuries-old ambition to gain an outlet to Africa, the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean.

Difficult though the question of Arab intransigence may be, the problem of Soviet penetration is even more threatening.

Except for Soviet arms, Nasser's Egypt would never have been able to mount an offensive against Israel—nor would the multitude of guerrilla bands now flourishing on Arab soil.

For the first time, the Soviets have a major naval force in the Mediterranean. They have strengthened their position with the addition of a new Communist-oriented Arab state at the strategic entrance to the Red Sea—the People's Republic of Southern Yemen.

Egypt's Nasser publicly acknowledges that "the Soviet Union has made up for all the arms that we have lost," and the head of Iraq's new dictatorship swears eternal loyalty to Marxist ideology.

It is obviously to the Soviet advantage to keep the Middle East in turmoil—and the best means of doing this is to keep the Arab hatred of Israel inflamed. Anti-Israel policy in Moscow today, indeed, goes even to such far-out extremes as requiring that gift food-boxes sent by Israeli Jews to relatives in the Soviet Union be returned unopened.

These attitudes are reflected in the propaganda which flows both from the Arab capitals and from Moscow. It is directed in fairly equal parts against the United States and Israel.

On the eve of the Six Day War, for example, Nasser's radio proclaimed:

*"We challenge you, Israel. No, in fact we do not address the challenge to you, Israel, because you are unworthy of the challenge. But we challenge you, America. . . . To Israel and to American gangsterism we hold death in store."*

For El Fatah and the guerrillas, this hatred extends also to the United Nations—as shown in El Fatah's basic "political statement" of last October, which denounced "the Security Council Resolution and all the Zionist and imperialistic schemes laid before the United Nations."

#### DETENTE ENDANGERED

To the non-communist world, the challenge of a possibly Soviet-dominated region covering the entire Middle East becomes a life-and-death matter. In terms of world peace, the present precarious balance between the "super-powers" would be upset, and the danger of any Middle East local war becoming a world holocaust would be multiplied. This is the kind of situation which President Nixon must have had in mind when he warned that "the island of American democracy cannot survive in a sea of totalitarian dictatorships."

For the United States, the preservation of national self-determination in the Middle East thus becomes a vital matter. For the world, unrestricted communist expansion in that area could spell the end of the Cold War "detente."

Both American and Soviet diplomacy must therefore be addressed to the question of making the Middle East an "open" region, and all peace-loving members of the United Nations should support that end. To the extent that the Soviets have armed their client states, the United States must make certain that the remaining democratic nations (Israel, Turkey, Iran) are strengthened, in the hope that a balance of arms may at least delay an upheaval. The ultimate objective should be agreement by outside powers to limit or end all military support to Middle East states—but that is a far-off prospect. In the meanwhile, a strong Israel is the best hope for a balance of power that

will at least delay the unfortunate day when the Middle East might become the scene for an inescapable East-West confrontation.

#### NEEDED: A CEASEFIRE FOR TERRORIST

If peace ever is to be secure in the Middle East, the problem of the guerrillas—and the open support given them by the Arab governments—is perhaps the first question that cries out for attention.

What we are witnessing today is a "cease-fire" instituted by the United Nations, and accepted by the "official" governments—while large-scale fighting in fact continues, exactly as before, under the aegis of El Fatah, the Palestine Liberation Organization and related guerrilla groups.

It is difficult for fair-minded people to realize exactly what is taking place. When the United Nations succeeded in establishing a ceasefire, most observers assumed that it applied to everybody. The Arabs, however, have not taken that view; in their opinion, guerrillas, terrorists and self-styled "freedom fighters" are to be permitted to operate outside the ceasefire rules.

Opening the first session of Egypt's new National Assembly, in Cairo, January 20, 1969, President Nasser praised "the growth of the Palestinian resistance organizations, their increasing role, and the consequent escalation of their operations."

*"These organizations have a positive role in sapping a part of the enemy's energy and blood,"* Nasser said. *"Brothers, I want to convey on your behalf a greeting of admiration and appreciation to the four resistance organizations—Fatah, the Popular Front, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Arab Sinai Organization. . . . The UAR unconditionally places all its resources at the disposal of these organizations,"* he continued, with strong applause from the Assembly audible over the international radio.

#### EL FATAH IGNORES U.N.

Nasser left no doubt as to how his position related to United Nations policies: "It was the right of the Palestine resistance organizations to reject this (United Nations) resolution," he said—in spite of the fact that "the UAR itself has accepted" it.

In other words, we see here the strange picture of a government which on the one hand declares its acceptance of an international ceasefire, while at the same moment it announces that "all of its resources" have been placed behind a continuation of the identical warfare by "unofficial" or guerrilla groups. The peace of the world can never be secure under such circumstances.

This is not a new policy with the Arab states, as a perusal of nearly any official Arab publication for the last year would demonstrate.

For example, we find the following comment in the September, 1968, issue of ARAB NEWS AND VIEWS (official publication of the Arab Information Center, in New York, as spokesman for the 14 Arab League states):

*"Recent Arab commando actions in Israeli-occupied territories may be described as major operations in the struggle to regain Arab territory. . . . Throughout the Arab world, Arabs have expressed pride over the recent successes of the Palestinian commandos. Headlines in newspapers from Beirut to Baghdad lauded the activities and spoke of the commandos striking at 'Israel's heart.'"*

Another page of the same publication records a resolution of the Arab Students Organization of the United States and Canada calling upon the UAR, Jordan and Syria "to encourage armed struggle along the ceasefire lines."

And on February 8, 1969, the newly-elected leader of the combined "liberation organizations," Yassir Arafat, declared that these guerrilla units would *"move with their men and equipment into occupied Palestine (i.e.,*

*Israel) to fight along with their comrades in arms."*

*"We see a peace achieved through the muzzles of guns carried by revolutionaries determined to liquidate the Zionist entity"*—proclaimed the Voice of Fatah in a broadcast to the Arab world by Radio Cairo at about the same time that President Nasser was addressing the Assembly.

We could lengthen this discussion indefinitely with similar quotes from Iraqi and Jordanian leaders.

What we have in the Middle East today seems, indeed, to be a dual system of international relationships: one official, and one unofficial. The "official" government proclaims support for U.N. resolutions—while at the same moment, the "unofficial" one rounds up recruits for commando bands, and boasts of guerrilla achievements. Meanwhile, the "official" government goes on making appropriations for support of the "unofficial" units, while at the same time proclaiming its "peaceful intentions."

For Americans to understand the meaning of these commando activities, it is necessary to use a little imagination. During the 18 months from the effective date of the U.N. cease-fire, until the end of 1968, 281 Israeli civilians and soldiers were killed by terrorists or guerrillas. A little bit of arithmetic will suffice to translate this into American terms. Considering the ratio of Israel's population to ours, this would be equivalent to about 20,800 Americans being killed during the same time, by terrorists crossing our borders from Canada or Mexico. If this were actually happening here, it is easy to imagine the result: no public meeting could be held, no candidate for office could be heard, no newspaper could be printed, without major attention to "the bandit menace."

#### HOW THE UNITED STATES RETALIATED

In actual history, the last time such a situation occurred on this continent, it involved a few casual raids by a Mexican guerrilla leader named Francisco Villa, who attacked a town and burned a number of ranches in New Mexico and Western Texas, killing several United States citizens in the process. The reaction of President Woodrow Wilson was definitive: he sent General Pershing with a good part of the American army, to pursue Villa half-way across Mexico, in retaliation.

We must therefore understand the extreme burden put upon the peace of the Middle East by the operations of these El Fatah and PLO units. Israel has, we believe, been more than patient under the circumstances—much more patient than the United States would have been.

Israel, like any other sovereign government, has found it necessary to retaliate—and international law reserves that right to any power whose boundaries are thus invaded.

Meanwhile, almost continuous fighting has developed along the Suez Canal line, involving regular armed units of the opposing armies.

How much longer can this situation continue to exist without escalating into full-scale warfare? That is the most urgent question of the day.

There is no effective counsel of moderation in such a case. It is the duty of a government to protect its citizens against illegal attack across its borders. No government can long exist if it does not perform this duty. It is likewise a first responsibility of sovereignty for any government to prevent groups based on its soil from violating its borders to make unauthorized warfare upon a neighbor. This is a duty which none of the Arab states is performing. As a result, the peace of the world falls into constant peril.

#### DOUBLE STANDARD AT THE U.N.?

Because of the manner in which the Security Council of the United Nations is weighted, and because of the constant threat

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of a Soviet veto in the background, an appallingly one-sided attitude toward the Arab-Israeli conflict has developed at the United Nations.

When Israel reports to the UN observers that Arab guerrillas have crossed the borders, nothing is done. Indeed, reports of more than 1200 such crossings have been recorded in the period since the 1967 ceasefire.

When an El Al plane is attacked at Athens, and an Israeli citizen killed, the matter is passed over without action by the Security Council. When Israel, acting in accordance with long established international practice, retaliates at Beirut—killing no one, and taking extraordinary precautions to see that no one is injured—the Security Council promptly votes a reprimand.

The story could be continued almost without end. As matters stand, one of the most used gambits of Arab propagandists is the theme, "Israel has been reprimanded." An even-handed editor would have to balance reports along this line with headlines such as "United Nations Ignores Arab Warfare."

The disparity in treatment accorded the two protagonists is so obvious that it hardly requires proving—and it is equally dangerous to the peace of the Middle East and to the future credibility of the United Nations itself, as an instrument for the protection of world order.

The Arab plea that "we are not responsible for the guerrillas" has long since worn so thin that no one believes it. The Palestine Liberation Organization was established four years ago at a formal meeting of the Arab League states, and given an initial budget of 2.3 million dollars—a sum which has since been many times multiplied. As we have already noted above, President Nasser quite openly assured the guerrillas of the fullest support—not in a secret meeting, but in his opening address to the Egyptian parliament, this very year. Everyone knows these facts—but the Security Council pretends not to know them. This is an insanity which, if persisted in, can only bring the United Nations itself into disrepute.

## A TEST FOR U.N.

Even if we grant that retaliation is dangerous to stability, the alternative is even worse, for this principle would then put every country in the world at the mercy of whatever guerrilla band might wish to invade it. International law has therefore long recognized the right of retaliation—and it is time that the United Nations should act in accord with this age-long practice, or else itself take steps to put an end to illegal commando and terrorist depredations.

Of course, some delegates are silent because they do not want to risk a Soviet veto: but can we achieve peace by that method? The answer is a resounding "No."

Some of the problems we have discussed can be met by the action of one or more of the parties in the Middle East. The question of Arabs and Israelis "talking with each other" is such an issue. The perils of Soviet penetration are a matter of power politics. But the question of the guerrillas, and the problem of securing even-handed justice at the United Nations, are things which confront the diplomats at the world organization—and subjects to which they should turn earnest and prompt attention.

## THE SEABED ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENT

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, the United States and the Soviet Union yesterday presented a draft seabed arms control agreement at the Geneva Disarmament Conference.

For the past 2 years, Mr. President, I have been urging that the United States assume leadership in seeking an agree-

ment to prevent the spread of the nuclear arms race to the seabeds. The Subcommittee on Open Space of the Foreign Relations Committee in July of this year held a public hearing on the seabed arms control issue. As chairman of that subcommittee, I am heartened by the United States and Soviet Union agreement on a draft treaty.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the text of the draft treaty and the text of a joint statement issued by myself and the senior Senator from New Jersey (Mr. CASE), the minority member of the subcommittee be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

**DRAFT TREATY ON THE PROHIBITION OF THE EMBLACEMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND OTHER WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION ON THE SEABED AND THE OCEAN FLOOR AND IN THE SUBSOIL THEREOF**

The States Parties to this Treaty.

Recognizing the common interest of mankind in the progress of the exploration and use of the seabed and the ocean floor for peaceful purposes,

Considering that the prevention of a nuclear arms race on the seabed and the ocean floor serves the interests of maintaining world peace, reduces international tensions, and strengthens friendly relations among States,

Convinced that this Treaty constitutes a step towards the exclusion of the seabed, the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof from the arms race and determined to continue negotiations concerning further measures leading to this end,

Convinced that this Treaty constitutes a step towards a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control, and determined to continue negotiations to this end,

Convinced that this Treaty will further the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, in a manner consistent with the principles of international law and without infringing the freedoms of the high seas,

Have agreed as follows:

## ARTICLE I

1. The States Parties to this Treaty undertake not to emplace or to place on the seabed and the ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof beyond the maximum contiguous zone provided for in the 1958 Geneva Convention on the Territorial Sea and the Contiguous Zone any objects with nuclear weapons or any other types of weapons of mass destruction, as well as structures, launching installations or any other facilities specifically designed for storing, testing or using such weapons.

2. The States Parties to this Treaty undertake not to assist, encourage or induce any State to commit actions prohibited by this Treaty and not to participate in any other way in such actions.

## ARTICLE II

1. For the purpose of this Treaty the outer limit of the contiguous zone referred to in Article I shall be measured in accordance with the provisions of Section II of the 1958 Geneva Convention on the Territorial Sea and the Contiguous Zone and in accordance with international law.

2. Nothing in this Treaty shall be interpreted as supporting or prejudicing the position of any State Party with respect to rights or claims which such State Party may assert, or with respect to recognition or non-recognition of rights or claims asserted by any other State, related to waters off its coasts, or to the seabed and the ocean floor.

## ARTICLE III

1. In order to promote the objectives and ensure the observance of the provisions of this Treaty, the States Parties to the Treaty shall have the right to verify the activities of other States Parties to the Treaty on the seabed and the ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof beyond the maximum contiguous zone, referred to in Article II, if these activities raise doubts concerning the fulfillment of the obligations assumed under this Treaty, without interfering with such activities or otherwise infringing rights recognized under international law, including the freedoms of the high seas.

2. The right of verification recognized by the States Parties in paragraph 1 of this Article may be exercised by any State Party using its own means or with the assistance of any other State Party.

3. The States Parties to the Treaty undertake to consult and to cooperate with a view to removing doubts concerning the fulfillment of the obligations assumed under this Treaty.

## ARTICLE IV

Any State Party to the Treaty may propose amendments to this Treaty. Amendments must be approved by a majority of the votes of all the States Parties to the Treaty, including those of all the States Parties to this Treaty possessing nuclear weapons, and shall enter into force for each State Party to the Treaty accepting such amendments upon their acceptance by a majority of the States Parties to the Treaty, including the States which possess nuclear weapons and are Parties to this Treaty. Thereafter the amendments shall enter into force for any other Party to the Treaty after it has accepted such amendments.

## ARTICLE V

Each Party to this Treaty shall in exercising its national sovereignty have the right to withdraw from this Treaty if it decides that extraordinary events related to the subject matter of this Treaty have jeopardized the supreme interests of its Country. It shall give notice of such withdrawal to all other Parties to the Treaty and to the United Nations Security Council three months in advance. Such notice shall include a statement of the extraordinary events it considers to have jeopardized its supreme interests.

## ARTICLE VI

1. This Treaty shall be open for signature to all States. Any State which does not sign the Treaty before its entry into force in accordance with paragraph 3 of this Article may accede to it at any time.

2. This Treaty shall be subject to ratification by signatory States. Instruments of ratification and of accession shall be deposited with the Governments of —, which hereby designated the Depositary Governments.

3. This Treaty shall enter into force after the deposit of instruments of ratification by twenty-two Governments, including the Governments designated as Depositary Governments of this Treaty.

4. For States whose instruments of ratification or accession are deposited after the entry into force of this Treaty it shall enter into force on the date of the deposit of their instruments of ratification or accession.

5. The Depositary Governments shall forthwith notify the Governments of all States signatory and acceding to this Treaty of the date of each signature, of the date of deposit of each instrument of ratification or of accession, of the date of the entry into force of this Treaty, and of the receipt of other notices.

6. This Treaty shall be registered by the Depositary Governments pursuant to Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

## ARTICLE VII

This Treaty, the English, Russian, French, Spanish and Chinese texts of which are

October 7, 1969

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

Government Employees Financial Corporation (94/100ths sh.) 31.02

Stock dividends, Splits:

Cole Drug Company, Inc., (300 shs.) 1 additional share for each sh. held 5-7-68.

Georgia-Pacific Corporation (24.90 shs.) stock dividend.

Georgia-Pacific Corporation (25.15 shs.) stock dividend.

Georgia-Pacific Corporation (25.41 shs.) stock dividend.

Georgia-Pacific Corporation (25.67 shs.) stock dividend.

Government Employees Financial Corporation (2.06 shs.) stock dividend.

Gulf & Western Industries (10.05 shs.) stock dividend.

International Tel. & Tel. Corp. (100 shs.) 2 for 1 stock div.

Ivest Fund, Inc. (4.129 shs.) dividend.

Ivest Fund, Inc. (38.081 shs.) capital gains.

Synalloy Corporation (10 shs.) 5 for 4 split.

Exchanges:

Guaranty Insurance Trust, 3000 shs. exchanged on 1-2-68, for 210 shs. Mortgage Guaranty Insurance Corporation, and on 8/21/68 this was exchanged for 630 shs. of MGIC Investment Corporation.

Southeastern Broadcasting Corporation, 2,932 shs. exchanged for: Multimedia, Inc., 2,932 5% conv. cum. pref. and Multimedia, Inc., 11,728 Common.

Carolina Natural Gas Corporation, 500 shs. exchanged for Piedmont Natural Gas Company, Inc., 60 shs. \$6 cum. conv. 2nd P/d.

Liberty Life Insurance Company, 7,022 shs. exchanged for The Liberty Corporation, 7,022 shs. 1 for 1 basis.

Gifts, Receiver:

The Liberty Corporation (100 shs.) Xmas present from mother.

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Sales:

Synalloy Corporation (1/2 sh.) \$6.59

The Investment Life & Trust Co. (2/10 sh.) .65

The South Carolina National Bank (9/10 sh.) 32.67

[These were occasioned by stock dividends]

Purchases:

The Liberty Corporation (1/2 sh.) 8.34

Georgia-Pacific Corporation (7/100 sh.) 6.60

Georgia-Pacific Corporation (62/100 sh.) 29.76

Gulf-Western Industries (95/100 sh.) 38.57

Government Employees Life Ins. Co. (82/100 sh.) 42.03

G & W Land & Dev. Corp. (7/10 sh.) 7.00

Stock dividends:

Georgia-Pacific Corporation (25.93 shs.) stock dividend.

Georgia-Pacific Corporation (2,619 shs.) 2 for 1 stock split.

Georgia-Pacific Corporation (52.38 shs.) stock dividend.

Govt. Employees Life Ins. Co. (3.18 shs.) stock dividend.

G & W Land and Development Corp. (17.3 shs.) 1 sh. for each 20 shs. Gulf & Western owned 7-18-69.

The Investment Life and Trust Co. (29 shs.) stock dividend.

Jefferson-Pilot Corporation (50 shs.) stock dividend.

The Peoples National Bank (30 shs.) stock dividend.

Synalloy Corporation (2 shs.) stock dividend.

The South Carolina National Bank (69 shs.) stock dividend.

United Nuclear Corporation (4 shs.) stock dividend.

Exchanges:

The Broadcasting Company of the South later Cosmos Broadcasting (337 shs.) Exchanged for: The Liberty Corporation (1,011

shs.) Common and (337 shs.) \$40 Voting Preferred conv. series.

Surety Investment Company (379 shs.) Exchanged for The Liberty Corporation (1,389 2/3 shs.).

## MEMORANDUM

(List of Securities Owned by Clement F. Haynsworth, Jr. from January 1, 1957 to date)

As previously supplied to you, a company by the name of Communications Satellite Corporation was listed as a stock owned by Judge Haynsworth. Subsequent checking indicates that Judge Haynsworth never purchased this particular stock and that the broker in question made an error in listing this particular stock as being sold to him. This error was not discovered until the new chronological list was prepared.

HARRY HAYNSWORTH.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, will the Senator from South Carolina yield?

Mr. HOLLINGS. I yield.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, let me say at the outset that I am one of those who has not yet determined how to vote on the nomination. But let me ask the Senator from South Carolina if he feels he can get his story told by the liberal press in America, when the nomination was made by a Republican President of a conservative Democrat from the State of South Carolina.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Judge John J. Parker was appointed to the Supreme Court, but not confirmed, some 30 years ago under similar circumstances.

The inference left by the press is that Justice Goldberg disqualified himself on labor decisions. He never did; he disqualified himself on the Darlington case, but he had been their lawyer.

Judge Haynsworth was not Deering-Milliken's lawyer, but that has not been told.

No one contends that Justice Thurgood Marshall should disqualify himself from civil rights cases. But they say Judge Haynsworth has made money on textiles, that he is a textile judge.

I think it is highly important that those who know the judge, and have read every one of his decisions, over a 12-year period, that he has ever participated in, can come here with admiration and support for Judge Haynsworth. I have tried to get that in the papers, but instead, the story has been distorted until he has been made to feel that he was indicted rather than appointed, because they have taken the ball and started running with it toward a predetermined touchdown, saying, "Why has he not withdrawn?"

Mr. DOLE. The Senator's discussion has been very helpful to me as one who has not made a decision, but I believe he will find the press and the media more interested in taking a position than in telling the truth. The press which defended Mr. Fortas would naturally be against a Republican President's nominee for the Supreme Court. It is an unfortunate fact that 90 percent of the media are liberals in their thinking, not looking for a conservative judge or interested in telling the true story to the American people. I think the Senator is making a valiant attempt today; I hope it will be successful.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

## CHINESE THREAT: THE MOST EXPENSIVE ILLUSION OF OUR TIME

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, this country has devoted a great deal of its enormous military spending to combat the expansion of Communist China.

In Vietnam—perhaps the major reason for our immensely expensive involvement has been to stop Communist expansion. One article in a recent issue of the New York Times characterized President Nixon's strong commitment in Vietnam to be based on the notion that our active military presence constitutes the cork in the bottle that contains Communist expansion.

But Vietnam is only part of a vastly expensive military effort to contain Red China. It includes our many expensively manned far Pacific bases, our hugely expensive aircraft carriers, the other components of our Far Eastern fleets and their reserves, as well as a major Air Force commitment.

The reason for all this is because of the fear that without a vigorous and active military presence Red China would sweep throughout Asia and perhaps extend far beyond.

Mr. President, this is probably the most expensive illusion of our time.

What kind of a threat does mainland China really constitute to this country? How serious a threat does it really represent in Asia? Could China execute a successful invasion elsewhere in Asia? Could she mount a serious attack in the Pacific?

Consider the facts: In spite of the most vigorous sometimes vicious denunciation by Red China of U.S. involvement in Vietnam, there has been no verified report of a single Chinese soldier involved in the Vietnam war. Why? Not because of any moral or peaceful compunction on the part of the Chinese but for the simple reason that China does not have the economic strength to support any military effort except on its borders even in a country as nearby as Vietnam.

China lacks the transportation facilities. It has no navy worthy of the name. It has a pitifully inadequate air force. Its highway system, rail system and rolling stock are so feeble that they are barely adequate to provide border protection.

Within the borders of China its 750 million people widely equipped with small arms would constitute a highly formidable, probably an impossible force to overcome without using massive nuclear arms. But as a world conquering invader, Red China is simply not in the ball game.

China's own nuclear arsenal is primitive bush league compared to that of the United States and Russia.

But most significant of all, Mr. President, China has not been gaining economic strength. She has been losing it.

A couple of years ago our Joint Economic Committee conducted an in-depth study of the economy of China. We commissioned 20 of the leading scholars in the world to do the job. That study showed an erratic course of progress and setback for the Chinese economy.

Without a strong and growing economy, the Chinese threat dissolves in smoke. And the most recent reports from the Chinese Communists celebration of



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their 20th year in power show how unlikely it is that China will constitute a serious threat in coming years.

Maoist China faces its third decade with massive problems and handicaps. Here is the only major country in the world that has not grown economically in the past 10 years. China's gross national product is probably no higher than it was 10 years ago. But it has an annual population growth of 15 million to 20 million. This has destroyed attempts to raise the standard of living or the military power, except for a rudimentary nuclear power.

Mr. President, the dangerous dispute with the Soviet Union over borders and ideological influence and the continued hostility toward not only the United States but most other countries add to the strains and uncertainties.

Certainly the United States along with other Pacific powers should maintain a constructive military presence in the Pacific. But we are spending far more than can possibly be justified now. And other independent Pacific nations should carry their share of stopping any Red Chinese expansion.

As the New York Times reported Thursday:

Given stability, practical domestic guidelines and policies of peaceful adjustment in foreign relations, the Chinese Communist state would stand a good chance of pulling out of its present slump and making new progress. But these factors appear difficult to assure under a leadership headed by Mr. Mao or any other leader now on the horizon.

Mr. President, I submit, the only justification for our enormous military expenditures lies in the threat of potential enemies. Two nations constitute the overwhelming basis for this threat: the Soviet Union and the mainland Chinese.

The military threat of the Soviet Union like that of China is limited by economic constraints. The Office of Strategic Studies in London tells us that the Soviet spends about half as much on her military operations as the United States. She has half the gross national product of this Nation. She is constrained by an industry and agriculture that simply cannot afford to give up more resources to the military without seriously weakening the Soviet's long-term economic and hence its military power.

But in Red China we confront an even more conspicuously overestimated adversary. And the cost of this overestimate in military overspending, in inflation, in an onerous tax burden, in shamefully inadequate housing and in a series of other neglected domestic problems is very great indeed.

This country can afford to cut \$10 to \$15 billion from its military budget now. In fact we cannot afford not to make those cuts.

## JUDGE HAYNSWORTH

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, in my judgment President Nixon should certainly withdraw the nomination of Judge Clement F. Haynsworth as Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. There are approximately 436 U.S. district court judges and U.S. Court of Appeals judges. It is difficult for me to compre-

hend how the President selected Judge Haynsworth for nomination to the Supreme Court. Admittedly, that judge has been highly proficient in making a fast buck. If the President thinks it is desirable to appoint a judge who is regarded to hold views considered very conservative there certainly should be a number of judges with this viewpoint, who unlike Judge Haynsworth, cannot be said to have ever rendered judicial decisions favoring segregation and delaying integration as directed by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Surely, of the approximate 436 judges of various Federal courts there are many, many whose judicial careers have been outstanding and, in fact, who are superior as jurists in every respect to Judge Haynsworth. There, Mr. President, in addition to judges of the U.S. district courts, and of the U.S. Courts of Appeals, there are eminent judges in the supreme courts or in the courts of highest jurisdiction of the 50 States. In fact, in our 50 States, just as is the situation in my State of Ohio, there are trial judges in the various counties of those States who are highly trained and experienced, have served in a most creditable manner, are greatly admired and highly respected for their wisdom, integrity, are known to be devoted to the law and are men of the highest character and of judicial caliber.

Judge Haynsworth in at least two cases clearly violated the canons of judicial ethics—in his vote in 1963 which decided a case for a company which had contracts with a firm in which he owned a one-seventh interest; and in 1967 when he bought 1,000 shares of stock in a company on which he had helped render a favorable legal verdict and before that verdict was announced. In the former he made a profit of some \$400,000 on an initial investment in 1950 of approximately \$3,000. This from a company in which he was not just a casual investor, but an insider.

Canon 26 of the code of judicial ethics promulgated in 1908 by the Committee on Professional Ethics of the American Bar Association reads:

A judge should abstain from making personal investments in enterprises which are apt to be involved in litigation in the court, and after his accession to the bench, he should not retain such investments previously made longer than a period sufficient to enable him to dispose of them without serious loss.

Also, United States Code, title 28, section 455 states:

Any justice or judge of the United States shall disqualify himself in any case in which he has a substantial interest, has been of counsel, is or has been a material witness, or is so related to or connected with any party or his attorney to render it improper, in his opinion, for him to sit on the trial, appeal, or other proceedings therein.

It is crystal clear that Judge Haynsworth violated canon 26 and the United States Code on at least two occasions.

President Nixon on several occasions has stated that he is a strict constructionist in interpreting the Constitution. In his recent announcement reiterating his support of Judge Haynsworth, it is clear that he is far less strict in interpreting the canons of judicial ethics, and

that section of the United States Code pertaining to the conduct of Federal judges.

Although Judge Haynsworth has denied any impropriety and has expressed sorrow over these incidents, the fact is that judges of the U.S. courts and especially the Supreme Court of the United States must, like Caesar's wife, be above suspicion. There should be no shadow or taint of impropriety on an Associate Justice of the highest court of our land. This is especially imperative today in view of the conditions which gave rise to the Supreme Court vacancy for which Judge Haynsworth has been nominated—the circumstances which prompted the resignation of Associate Justice Fortas.

As the distinguished junior Senator from Michigan (Mr. GRIFFIN), the assistant minority leader, wrote in an article published by the University of Michigan Law School in April 1969:

The Senate must not be satisfied with anything less than application of the highest standards, not only as to professional competence but also as to such necessary qualities of character as a sense of restraint and propriety . . . Thus, when the Senate considers a nomination to one of the nine lifetime positions on the Supreme Court of the United States . . . the importance of its determination cannot be compared in any sense to the consideration of a bill for enactment into law. If Congress makes a mistake in the enactment of legislation, it can always return at a later date to correct the error. But once the Senate gives its "advice and consent" to a lifetime appointment to the Supreme Court, there is no such convenient way to correct an error since the nominee is not answerable thereafter to either the Senate or to the American people.

In pressing forward with the Haynsworth nomination, President Nixon is damaging the image of the U.S. Supreme Court in the eyes of millions of Americans. He is further disillusioning many younger Americans over the honesty of today's society and government—of the establishment, so to speak.

Mr. President, for these reasons alone, I shall vote against confirmation of Judge Haynsworth as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

However, there are other compelling reasons for rejecting this nomination.

Judge Haynsworth's decisions in a series of civil rights cases clearly suggest that he is opposed to desegregation. Among our most serious domestic problems are those dealing with civil rights and the problems of minority groups. During the past 15 years, the Supreme Court of the United States has taken leadership in helping redress their grievances and in assuring civil rights and civil liberties to all regardless of their race or creed. It would be unfortunate indeed if millions of citizens believed that the Supreme Court was no longer concerned with equal treatment for all and human dignity. From his past record, Judge Haynsworth's appointment to the Court might well leave that impression and perhaps have grave consequences.

I believe it is significant that in every one of the seven labor cases on which Judge Haynsworth sat that were reviewed by the Supreme Court, he voted against

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Hill and throughout the State Department. But he will be especially missed by those of us who serve as members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Skip provided each of us with years of valuable counsel and experience as well as courteous and efficient personal service during the committee's trips abroad. It was on those occasions that many of us got to know Skip personally and were privileged to share his friendship.

His death is an untimely loss for all of us. Mrs. Broomfield joins me in extending our sincere condolences to Mrs. White and their son, Scott.

ME

## GREECE: THE CARAMANLIS STATEMENT

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 3, 1969

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, this week there was a significant new development in the Greek political situation. I refer to the statement of Constantine Caramanlis, the former Prime Minister who served his nation and the free world during the 1950's and early 1960's.

The New York Times editorial has called him "the most respected and effective leader of post-war Greece." He has been long known as one of the most pro-American statesmen in Europe. Mr. Caramanlis is still vigorous and relatively young, only 62, and he is perhaps the only man who would be suitable to serve in the interim period after the end of the Greek dictatorship.

While the critical question remains as to who will bell the cat, there is now a clearer, democratic alternative, the so called "Caramanlis solution." This solution has the support of the leadership of the two biggest parties in Greece which accounted for nearly 90% of the vote in the 1964 election.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I submit an editorial from the New York Times of October 1, 1969; a London dispatch from Alvin Shuster; and an important article from the October 3 Monitor, for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Oct. 1, 1969]

## CARAMANLIS FIGHTS THE JUNTA

At long last the most respected and effective leader of postwar Greece has plunged wholeheartedly into the expanding effort to rid his country of a brutal and incompetent military dictatorship. Constantine Caramanlis waited a long time from his self-imposed exile in Paris to commit his enormous prestige to the fight against the colonels, but his savage, detailed indictment of them yesterday removes all doubts about where he stands.

Mr. Caramanlis goes beyond appeals to Greece's armed forces to throw out Colonel Papadopoulos and his henchmen; he offers, in effect, to lead an interim Government that would prepare the way for Greece's return to constitutional democracy. This is exactly what nearly every Greek democratic leader of stature, at home or in exile, has hoped and worked for.

It is exactly the formula agreed on in July—and made public abroad at consider-

able risk—by the leaders inside Greece of the two biggest parties, Panayotis Canellopoulos of Mr. Caramanlis's National Radical Union and George Mavros of the late George Papandreou's Center Union. Even before this agreement, Greek democratic forces had been prepared to bury old differences and unite behind the leadership of Mr. Caramanlis to oust the colonels.

The junta will doubtless pull out all stops in a desperate effort to discredit Mr. Caramanlis. On the only other occasion when he spoke out—to brand the colonels "putschists" and "imbeciles" in December 1967—the junta tried clumsily to link his stand with that of Communists.

But the Greek people know Mr. Caramanlis as an impeccable conservative, who gave their country its greatest period of stability and economic growth of the postwar period. They also know, despite the barrage of junta propaganda, that he has spoken the truth in charging the colonels with isolating Greece politically, and morally, demoralizing the armed forces, undermining the economy and creating a highly explosive climate in the country.

The Caramanlis statement presents the Nixon Administration with its moment of truth about Greece. The State Department must face the fact that its policy for Greece—of trying to flatter and nudge the colonels along the road to constitutional Government and elections—is bankrupt. Not one political leader of stature has been willing to join forces with the colonels even temporarily.

United States influence at this critical juncture could be decisive. That influence must be exercised to uphold the principles of democracy and freedom for which this country involved itself with Greece under the Truman Doctrine twenty-two years ago.

CARAMANLIS URGES OVERTHROW OF GREEK REGIME—FORMER PREMIER, IN EXILE IN PARIS, ENDS LONG SILENCE—APPEALS TO MILITARY TO OUST THE FORMER COLONELS  
(By Alvin Shuster)

LONDON, September 30.—Constantine Caramanlis, the former Premier of Greece now in self-imposed exile, ended nearly two years of silence today and appealed to his country's military forces to help overthrow the army-backed regime. He offered, in effect, to lead a new government.

Denouncing the present Government as a tyrannical failure, the 62-year-old founder of the right-wing National Radical Union said arbitrary rule had now become entrenched and the despair of Greeks had reached new depths.

He accused the regime of deception in pledging to restore democracy and said it intended to remain in power indefinitely by terrorizing the people and hoodwinking international public opinion.

If the present Government headed by Premier George Papadopoulos fails to retire voluntarily, he said, it is up to those officers who joined it in good faith to bring about a change.

## SUPPORT HAS INCREASED

"But, beyond them, the whole of the country's armed forces must undertake the task," he continued. "It is they who, having their origins among the mass of the people, bear the grave responsibility, on behalf of the nation, of protecting its freedom, security and independence."

Since the army seized power in Greece on April 21, 1967, support for Mr. Caramanlis as an alternative has increased within the country. At present, he is generally regarded by opponents within Greece as perhaps the only man able to rally the nation behind him in a new government.

In a 1,000-word statement, Mr. Caramanlis charged that the former colonels heading the regime had disrupted the armed forces by dismissing hundreds of high-ranking and battle-experienced officers, had undermined

the economic future of the country, and had isolated Greece politically and morally from the family of free nations.

## AN EXPLOSIVE SITUATION

"Finally, by their tyrannical rule, their idle boasting and their hit-or-miss methods, they have created an explosive situation in Greece and deprived Greece of international repute," he said.

Mr. Caramanlis, whose statement was made available in London and Paris, led Greece from 1955 to 1963, achieving the longest period of stability in Greece's turbulent postwar politics. After his defeat six years ago by the Center Union, headed by the late George Papandreou, he moved to Paris where he lives on the top floor of a luxury apartment house.

Unlike the left-of-center Andreas Papandreou, the son of the former Premier, who has often been outspoken in trying to mobilize opposition to the regime from his exile in Sweden, Mr. Caramanlis had remained quiet.

Accordingly, Mr. Caramanlis's followers had become increasingly concerned about his silence, fearing his support would begin to dwindle unless he took a strong new stand against the regime. They felt that time was running out on efforts to push the regime from power, and that opposition elements, wondering about his views, needed a unifying focus.

Friends attributed his long silence to a feeling by Mr. Caramanlis that he did not want to speak unless he felt a statement would have some impact in bringing about a change in government.

The former Premier had kept his silence since Nov. 28, 1967, when in an interview published by the Paris newspaper Le Monde he called for the quick departure of the "putschist" rulers. The interview was Mr. Caramanlis's first outright condemnation of the regime—he had previously deplored "tragic" developments in his country at the time of the coup.

## EFFECT IS UNCERTAIN

What effect his statement today will have remains to be seen. The Greek Government leaders seem to have a firm grip on the country, although there are indications of certain unhappy elements within the army.

Mr. Caramanlis said his statement—which will reach Greece in the foreign press and on Greek-language and foreign-language broadcasts—was issued to mark the first anniversary of the approval of the Constitution drafted by the regime. Many of its provisions on basic rights remain in suspension because of martial law imposed when the army took power.

The statement, however, was viewed as part of an effort by Mr. Caramanlis to give the impression, particularly to the United States, that chaos and anarchy would not follow the demise of the present Government and to encourage new pressures on the former colonels.

## CALLS FOR REFORMS

Mr. Caramanlis, for example, alluded to the "demagogic policies" of the regime's predecessors and said that basic reforms were needed in Greek politics to prevent a return to the political turmoil that prompted the military takeover.

"It is time," he said, "that the military men in power realized that the geopolitical position of Greece and the character of our people do not lend themselves to dictatorship of any kind; and it is time that the political forces of Greece realized that a return to the habits and political formations of the past would not be a restoration of normality, but only another kind of abnormality."

## A TRANSITORY GOVERNMENT

Mr. Caramanlis, who tried and failed to bring about constitutional and political reforms when in power, apparently sees his role as the leader of a strong transitory gov-

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ernment that would take immediate control, initiate major constitutional changes and organize free elections. He himself would undoubtedly then be a candidate.

Although Mr. Caramanlis has had differences with the monarchy and believes its political powers should be curbed, it is understood he has been in touch with King Constantine, who fled to Rome in December of 1967 after attempting a countercoup against the present Government.

By offering himself as the alternative to the present regime, Mr. Caramanlis was also trying to calm those fearful that a left-wing government would follow the colonels. In short, he was saying that a right-wing dictatorship would be replaced by a right-wing democratic government.

"I must take this opportunity also," he said, "of assuring those who are anxious about the future that I would not have broken silence if I did not believe that the country can be restored without danger to conditions of normalcy, and if I were not prepared to make my personal contribution, if need be, towards that end."

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Oct. 3, 1969]

## CARAMANLIS: REMARKS IMPRESS GREEKS

ATHENS.—Former Premier Constantine Caramanlis's indictment of Greece's present rulers and his appeal to them to step down apparently made a tremendous impression on those Greeks who heard it first over foreign radio stations.

But it will be some time before the full impact of the statement can be assessed.

Although the appeal was moderate in tone the former Premier urged the country's armed forces to take appropriate action should the present government refuse to bow out peacefully.

"It is their responsibility and mission," he said, "to protect the people's liberty, security, and independence."

He indicated that he himself would be ready to participate in a new transitional government which would have the task of restoring the country to normalcy.

Mr. Caramanlis, a moderate conservative, is one of the few Greek politicians with high prestige and untarnished image.

He has been living in voluntary exile in Paris since 1963. His statement was issued in Paris and London.

The Greek Government at first refused to allow its publication here. But two Athens dailies suspended publication for a day rather than print only the government's answer to Mr. Caramanlis without also carrying the former Premier's statement.

The newspapers won the day when the government finally consented to publication of the full Caramanlis text.

## TWO PATHS TO DEMOCRACY

Mr. Caramanlis's last published statement was made on Nov. 29, 1967, during the Greek-Turkish crisis, when he urged the quick departure of the leaders of the Greek coup of April that year.

Taking the position that he can no longer remain silent since the military insists on perpetuating itself in power, Mr. Caramanlis now argues that democracy can be restored in Greece through one of two ways: either through voluntary withdrawal of the present government, or through its toppling by force.

Conceding that the first alternative could be safe and also constructive, Mr. Caramanlis warned that the second alternative might be provoked by uncontrolled powers which could put the country through trials.

This was interpreted as meaning that the Communists would eventually take an active part in the toppling of the military regime when it suited them.

In other parts of his statement Mr. Caramanlis accused the military government protagonists of "lacking the courage to directly admit that they aim at perpetuating themselves in power."

Instead, he continued, "they have created a contradictory and tyrannical regime without any ideological orientation which has committed many mistakes."

Mr. Caramanlis then specifically blamed the regime for disintegration of the armed forces through "sovietization" and cashiering or retirement of battle-tested high-ranking officers, for a poor economic policy which had dangerously increased the balance-of-payments deficit, and for the moral and political isolation of the country.

Mr. Caramanlis maintained that the regime in power could not cover up its shortcomings through "theocratic ideas" reminiscent of the Dark Ages or such slogans as "Greece of Greek Christians," not, at any rate, when the regime's methods had not been very Christian.

Many here interpreted this as an indirect attack on the military rulers for their arbitrary arrests, and persecutions and tortures alleged to have occurred.

## UNSUITABLE FOR DICTATORSHIP

Mr. Caramanlis alluded to a previous recommendation of his for the transfer of power to a government, generally accepted and vested with extraordinary powers, which could in due time prepare the country for a safe return to normality.

Lest he be misunderstood, he served notice to both the military in power and the politicians.

He told the military that Greece, by virtue of its geographical position and the idiosyncrasy of its people, was not suitable for any form of dictatorship. He warned the politicians that "a return to the schemes and the habits of the past would not mean a return to normality but only a different form of anomaly."

In closing Mr. Caramanlis assured all that he would not speak out unless he felt the country could safely return to normality. He expressed his willingness personally to contribute toward that end, if need be.

Mr. Caramanlis cannot easily be discredited by the regime in view of his prestige and untarnished record.

As Premier from 1955 to 1963, he was one of the main architects of Greece's postwar recovery and development.

Mr. Caramanlis also has established himself as a moderate statesman. He chose to go into self-exile rather than openly attack the crown as an institution when a crisis erupted between him and Queen Frederika in 1963.

He tacitly admits that the country's political situation was chaotic before the 1967 coup and he wants to look toward the future and not the past.

The military rulers, therefore, will have to be careful in what they say about him. As a veteran politician put it, "Caramanlis's statement is so self-evidently true."

Some think that leading politicians and other elements now will come out in favor of Mr. Caramanlis.

Already former Premier Panayiotis Kanellopoulos has told foreign correspondents that he is in full agreement with the Caramanlis statement.

It is reported that George Mavros of the Center Union and Demitrios Papaspyrou, President of the last Parliament, will make similar statements shortly.

## SKIP WHITE TRIBUTE

SPEECH OF

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 2, 1969

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked and saddened to hear of the passing of

my warm and personal friend, "Skip" White.

Skip White was one of the greatest men it has been my privilege to know. He rendered magnificent service to the Nation and was loved and respected by Members of the Congress.

There were so many good characteristics about Mr. White. He was always thoughtful, pleasant, and helpful. He was intelligent, industrious, and a dedicated public servant. Skip White possessed the quality of warmth and friendship that drew people to him. Above all, he loved this Republic. He served our country and the cause of freedom throughout the world with a very special devotion and dedication.

Skip White will be greatly missed by his colleagues in the State Department, by every Member of Congress who knew him, and by a host of friends the world over. Skip White used our office frequently to make calls and hold conferences in connection with the Wednesday morning State Department briefings for House Members. Mrs. Dorn and my staff looked forward to his visits, as he was always courteous and kind. They join me in my deepest and most heartfelt sympathy always to Mrs. White and to all of his family.

HOUSE PASSAGE OF H.R. 14000

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 3, 1969

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 14000, the fiscal year 1970 military procurement authorization bill, has been passed by the House. I felt compelled, out of concern for national defenses and the national interest, to support final passage, despite the fact there are many expenditures in the bill I opposed and expressed my opposition by voting on a number of amendments offered. It grieves me, and my colleagues who feel as I do, that the bill appeared in this final form. Notwithstanding the objectionable portions, my position was motivated by a sense of responsibility and concern for my country and for the hundreds of thousands of American boys who are currently serving in the military services, who require continued support until the end of the war when they can once again return to their homes.

Nonetheless, Mr. Speaker, it is incumbent upon me to etch into history a brief but vitally important footnote relating to the manner in which this bill was considered by the House of Representatives.

As reported out of the Committee on Armed Services H.R. 14000 authorized appropriations totaling \$21,347,860,000. This report—No. 91-522—ran to 176 pages, and was dated September 26, 1969. The report followed extensive hearings on military procurement authorization which total thousands of pages of testimony. Yet the bill was first taken up on the House floor on October 1, 1969, which hardly gave time for due consideration of either the hearings or the report, and was passed shortly thereafter.



Recent estimates indicate that our Nation's need for electric power is doubling every decade. To meet this need, numerous, large power generating plants will have to be constructed. Many of these plants will be nuclear fueled.

These nuclear-fueled powerplants will need vast amounts of water for cooling purposes. The return of this water, which is usually 11 degrees to 23 degrees hotter than when it was taken into the powerplants, can have a disastrous effect on the water quality of the water into which it flows.

Under title I, no Federal agency will be allowed to issue a license or permit for the operation of a powerplant if its water discharge would seriously and adversely affect the water quality of the water into which it is ejected.

The second title of S. 7 establishes an Office of Environmental Quality to develop standards to protect and enhance the environmental life in all areas affected by Federal and federally assisted projects and programs.

The need for an office to integrate national environmental policies has become readily apparent as the effects of technology, population, and urbanization on environmental life are increasingly felt.

The Senate has already begun to recognize the need for greater coordination of Federal programs in the environmental area. Earlier this session, we passed the bill, S. 1075, introduced by the Senator from Washington (Mr. Jackson), establishing a three-member Board of Environmental Quality Advisers to be appointed by and to report to the President. Either this group of advisers or the Office of Environmental Quality proposed by S. 7 would be a step in the direction of better Federal coordination. Ultimately, I think we will be successful only by establishing a Department of Human Environment and Natural Resources to control environmental programs presently scattered through 18 departments and agencies of our Government. Following preliminary hearings by my Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization on this subject, I wrote the President's Advisory Committee on Executive Organization—the Ash committee—asking them to give priority to this problem.

The President, if he is to successfully define a comprehensive Federal conservation policy, must have the advice and counsel of Americans from all walks of life.

The Office of Environmental Quality at the White House proposed by S. 7 would mobilize competent spokesmen from the private and public sector to participate in a national effort to preserve and protect our environment.

Through the Office of Environmental Quality, the capacity of the President and the Congress to give continuing, thoughtful attention to the varied and interrelated problems which compromise our environment would be greatly increased and could serve as a forerunner to the creation of a Cabinet-level Department of Human Environment and Natural Resources.

The legislation will provide for the establishment of environmental advisory committees and biannual environmental

forums. These advisory committees and the forums will allow concerned citizens to express their ideas and recommendations on environmental problems.

Through the Office of Environmental Quality, their ideas and recommendations will filter up to the President, giving him the benefit of many approaches to environmental problems and giving this Nation the opportunity to formulate an overall conservation and environmental policy. Now regrettably, there is no comprehensive policy—only a hodgepodge of many Federal programs, operating with a kind of independence of their own and with little or no coordination.

Too often we have taken the rich natural resources of this continent and turned them into unusable and ugly stains on the landscape. Our rivers, lakes and coastlines have been subjected to such wanton disregard that today, filth and waste threaten their continued existence.

Fortunately, Congress has wakened to this peril and enacted legislation to combat this disgrace. However, existing laws have left some serious gaps, which threaten the success of these prior efforts.

The bill will fill these gaps, and take the needed forward steps to repair and prevent the continual damage to our environmental life.

#### THE GREEK GOVERNMENT'S NONINVITATION

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, when it comes to insuring that the Greek people have a government responsive to their wishes and one that does not acquiesce in the practice of torture on its citizens, we see little progress.

To my mind, the danger in Greece is that, in desperation, the people there may turn toward communism as being the only way of escaping the ugly embrace of their present regime. As of now, this is not the case, since the opposition to the regime seems still to be centered amongst citizens who have middle-of-the-road or conservative philosophies.

But in time I believe there is a real danger of the pendulum of opposition swinging to the left. This is one more reason why the sooner the regime is changed, the better off both Greece and the free world will be.

In connection with the Greek Government's practices of permitting torture and police station abuse to be used as a method of discouraging political opposition, I placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 12, 1969, an excellent article written by Christopher Wren that was published in Look magazine of May 27, 1969. Following the publication of this article, the Greek Government went through the motion of inviting Look to send a representative to Greece to see for himself.

At that time, I commended the Greek Government for this response. In my comments on the Senate floor on June 26, I said:

I am very glad indeed that the Greek Embassy responded by issuing a press release in which Look Magazine was invited to send a representative over to Greece to investigate the truth of the article.

I said further:

I trust, too, that since the Greek Government has invited him, every effort will be made by Greek officials to let Mr. Wren travel and visit where he wishes.

However, if ever there was an invitation that was false and not meant to be accepted, that was it! In this regard, I ask unanimous consent that the article published in the current—October 7—issue of Look describing the eventual outcome of this invitation—or, rather, noninvitation—be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### GREECE: THE TORTURE GOES ON (By Christopher S. Wren)

Last June 7, George Papadopoulos, the Greek colonel who runs Western Europe's only new dictatorship since World War II, mused before an Athens news conference that he might agree with the view that the press was a "whore." The self-appointed Prime Minister was referring to Look magazine's disclosure of political torture in Greece (May 27, 1969).

His indignant response was delivered once the offending article, *Greece: Government by Torture*, was safely off the newsstands (in Athens, copies were bought up by the junta): "How could we consider ourselves part of a civilized society when we accept the most imaginary and malignant accusations produced by a mentally deranged person . . . and how could we reproduce those accusations for the use of tens of millions of readers throughout the world?" Under the sub-head "Feeble Author," the censored Athens *News* picked up the cue: "Papadopoulos said this article was written by a mentally deranged person." It was later quietly explained the Prime Minister really meant not this writer, only his sources.

Papadopoulos thereupon invited Look to send to Greece "a duly authorized representative with the purpose of investigating the truth. He could be accompanied by the person who supplied the writer with the false accusations. . . ."

The Prime Minister promised that if he were shown torture did take place, he would hang the culprits in Constitution Square. The last such public executions in central Athens, Greeks recall, were carried out by the Nazis during the Occupation. The Prime Minister never bothered to send his invitation to Look. It appeared the next week among the routine Greek Embassy press releases handed out to the Washington press corps. Still, Look accepted.

Since the details had come from torture victims within and outside Greece, Look had no single "person who supplied the writer with the false accusations." It proposed sending James Becket, an American lawyer who has investigated torture charges within Greece for Amnesty International, the worldwide organization concerned with political prisoners. Becket had given some of his documentation to Look. Congressman Don Edwards of California was suggested as an observer. Rep. Edwards, chairman of the U.S. Committee for Democracy in Greece, offered skill as a former FBI agent and current member of the House of Representatives Judiciary Committee.

Following the Prime Minister's invitation, further evidence and offers of assistance came in to Look from Europe. Thirteen prisoners in Averoff prison, Athens, smuggled out a signed statement that they wanted to talk about their torture. A Scandinavian diplomat wrote: "I could furnish you with a number of names of people who have been tortured much worse than those you mention in your article."

September 29, 1969

A month later, the Greek Prime Minister finally authorized the consul general in New York to inform Look that Representative Edwards and Becket, as "participants of movements inspired by prejudice and anti-Greek hysteria" were not welcome in Greece. The article's author was "absolutely unacceptable." As for the Prime Minister's promise to summarily execute anyone guilty of brutality, this, the consul general explained, was merely a "Greek metaphor" used "by the Prime Minister to emphasize the depth of his convictions. . . ."

Yet as long ago as April, 1968, the Greek junta was given *prima facie* evidence that political prisoners had been abused. Anthony Marreco, a British lawyer for Amnesty International, was allowed into three Greek prisons. Afterward, he gave Minister of Interior Stylianos Pattakos the histories of ten prisoners whom he had interviewed and believed were tortured. Pattakos dismissed them as Communists and Marreco's findings as Communist propaganda. Pattakos closed the matter: "The Greek Government has to protect its people against its Communist enemies." Amnesty International is now banned from Greece as "Communist," just as it has been banned from the Soviet Union as "CIA-controlled."

The Greek dictatorship insists that torture claims have been refuted by the International Red Cross and the so-called British Parliamentarians Committee. It was in fact the subsidiary International Committee of the Red Cross that visited Greece. Its initial report dealt with prison-camp conditions, not torture. A second report concluded that the ICRC did not wish to declare whether or not prisoners were tortured. Because the ICRC cannot release its findings without the permission of the host government no other reports have been published. The ICRC in July, 1968, and again in February, 1969, privately protested to the junta its misrepresentation of the reports.

The Red Cross has secured from the junta some improvement in prison conditions. But its business is mercy, not politics. Restricted to diplomatic channels, it can see only what the government decides to show. In World War II, for instance, a Danish Red Cross team finally allowed into the Theresienstadt concentration camp in June, 1944, found new flowerbeds and freshly painted barracks. To tidy up, the Nazis had shipped 2,780 Jews to Auschwitz.

The British Parliamentarians Committee turns out to be five British Members of Parliament who were junketed with wives to Greece for the 1968 Easter holidays by Maurice Fraser Associates. Fraser, a former gambling-casino promoter, had persuaded the junta to pay his new firm \$253,000 a year to handle its public relations in Britain. Two of the MP's did visit the prison camp on the island of Leros, where torture did not occur. The spokesman, Gordon Bagier, MP, scoffed: "Quite frankly, I am getting a bit fed up with the sensationalist reporting to come out of Greece. We found that reported torture had always 'happened to someone else.'"

After a long court fight the following fall, the London *Sunday Times* won the right to publish a secret memorandum from Maurice Fraser to the junta that he had a British MP in his employ. Confronted with it, Gordon Bagier confessed that Fraser was paying him £500 (\$1,200) a year.

The junta has grown desperate for good publicity. It reprints in government pamphlets—*The Foreign Press About Greece*—favorable letters to the editor under the masthead of the foreign newspaper that has carried them. The casual reader will take the unlabeled private letter for an official editorial endorsement. The government recently extended roundtrip New York-Athens air fare and 24 days of full hospitality to a California radio-TV team of four, in the hopes of some friendly spot reports.

But when Christopher Janus, Jr., a 25-year-old vacationing Peace Corps teacher, visited Greece on August 2, he was detained overnight and departed without explanation to Nairobi. His father, Christopher Janus, a Chicago stockbroker of Greek descent, had written two articles for the *Chicago Sun-Times* after visiting Greece in 1967 and 1968.

Janus, who was decorated by an earlier Greek Government for his work in Greece during the civil war, had simply repeated what a lieutenant colonel in Athens told him last year: "A little torture is necessary to preserve civilization."

The Look article has been translated, mimeographed and circulated inside Greece along with the novels and poetry banned by the regime. But a half-dozen new escapees from Greece separately insist that the beatings in the police stations have been stepped up in an attempt to stem the bombings and other stiffening resistance among the Greek people.

Six weeks after the article appeared, Athens radio felt free to boast: "The U.S. Government recently decided to include Greece among the four countries to which 90 percent of U.S. military aid for 1970 will be distributed."

When 50 American congressmen petitioned the Secretary of State in a July 30 letter for "a clearer sign of U.S. moral and political disapproval of the dictatorship," an Assistant Secretary of State, William B. Macomber, conceded that "we see an autocratic government denying basic civil liberties to the citizens of Greece," but insisted that the junta was meeting Greece's NATO treaty obligations. Calling the NATO argument an excuse for U.S. inaction, Rep. Don Edwards took issue: "... the present dictatorship violates the very principles of NATO, the very reason for NATO, the protection of free people through the preservation of governments chosen by the people."

American taxpayers' money still flows to a government that relies on torture to survive. Among the new allegations of brutality is a letter from a woman who wrote Look that her aunt, a middle-aged dressmaker, was arrested and, the niece heard, tortured the week after Papadopoulos issued his angry denial. "She was released after having been kept for 40 days under strict confinement [and] continuous interrogation. . . . Before her release, she signed a declaration saying that she was treated 'very politely and kept under very human conditions of imprisonment.' She has been warned, of course, that in case she is going to say anything to anyone related to her interrogation, she will be rearrested and 'properly treated.' Her name, like dozens of others, has been sent to the Human Rights Commission of the Council of Europe, which has been examining such cases and will announce its conclusions later this fall.

If, in the meantime the Prime Minister is anxious to examine the validity of the pyramiding charges of torture, he has only to honor his pledge of June 7 to let Look into Greece to "investigate the truth" he says he so desperately wants.

#### ABOLISHMENT OF RURAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT SERVICE

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, disquieting rumors have reached me to the effect that last Thursday, September 25, without fanfare and without—to the best of my knowledge—any public notice, the Rural Community Development Service of the Department of Agriculture was abolished and its personnel ordered to return to their respective agencies.

The RCDS, as its name implies, was established to coordinate the efforts of

the Department to further rural industry and nonfarm employment in an era of increasing farm mechanization and less demand for farm labor. It was the first Government-wide effort, to my knowledge, attempting to redress the problem of rural-urban imbalance, a disastrous population trend that has crowded some 70 percent of the American people into less than 2 percent of the U.S. land mass.

Now, without fanfare, without formal announcement, this program is dead—again, according to information reaching me.

Certainly the RCDS did not solve the problem of too little opportunity in the countryside. But hopeful beginnings were made; more than 3,000 interagency committees, one in each U.S. county, were formed; a formal apparatus to provide information to industry seeking rural locations was established; multi-county conservation-industrialization panels were formed and operated successfully in many areas.

The Secretary of Agriculture, if we are to believe the testimony he presented to the House Agriculture Committee last week, believes in more rural jobs. The Secretary all but admitted in this testimony that farm programs alone hold out little hope for providing the so-called marginal operator with a decent living.

Why, then, has he abolished the one USDA agency specifically set up to deal with this problem?

Mr. President, I believe that we who believe that something can be done to stem the flood of rural to urban migration deserve the answers to this question.

#### PHILADELPHIA AND PITTSBURGH URGE ENACTMENT OF URBAN AND RURAL EDUCATION ACT

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, on July 15, 1969, I introduced the Urban and Rural Education Act of 1969, S. 2625. Because of the importance of the bill in helping to deal with the education crisis that exists in rural and urban America, I have been placing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD some of the letters endorsing the measure.

Today, I ask unanimous consent that two letters from the State of Pennsylvania be printed in the RECORD; one letter from Superintendent Kishkunas of Pittsburgh, and the other from Superintendent Shedd from Philadelphia, both calling for the enactment of the bill. Superintendent Shedd said that he is "quite excited about its possibilities."

Superintendent Shedd continued:

This Act, is indeed a significant start in providing this funding and affording us the opportunity to overcome the educational handicaps faced by so many of our children.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SCHOOL DISTRICT OF PHILADELPHIA,  
Philadelphia, Pa., August 26, 1969.

HON. GEORGE MURPHY,  
U.S. Senate,  
Committee on Armed Services,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MURPHY: After having carefully reviewed the Urban and Rural Education Act of 1969, I am quite excited about its

were increased for two cruisers and two smaller vessels. Funds totaling \$154.5 million were added for general ship construction and conversion. All these additions were in excess of the Administration's submission. Rivers added the money in a successful Committee amendment.

#### Sponsors

Reps. Nedzi (D-Mich.), and Whalen (R-Ohio).

#### Contractor Profits Study Amendment Effect

This amendment would require the General Accounting Office to provide the Armed Services Committees by December 31, 1970, with a study of the profits made by contractors and subcontractors on negotiated contracts with the DOD. It provides the GAO with subpoena power to obtain needed information.

#### Explanation

There is no recent study of profits on negotiated defense-related contracts which is comprehensive or objective. Partial studies have developed widely differing figures. A DOD-supported study indicated that profits were generally low, however a study by a recently-appointed Assistant Secretary of the Treasury indicated the profits were 155% of the industry average. There is no dispute over the ability of GAO to carry out such a study. The amendment is supported by the Comptroller General.

#### Senate action

This amendment passed the Senate by an 85-0 vote. It was endorsed by Chairman Stennis of the Senate Armed Services Committee.

#### House committee action

None.

#### Sponsor

Rep. Jacobs (D-Ind.).

#### Bomber defense amendment Effect

This amendment would incorporate the specified cuts made by the Senate Armed Services Committee into the House Armed Services Committee's bill. The Senate deleted \$45.0 million for the new AWACS airborne radar system, \$16.0 million for an improved CONUS interceptor, and \$75.0 million for the new SAM-D missile.

#### Explanation

The House should support the careful analysis given these items by the Senate Armed Services Committee and delete them.

The Soviet manned bomber threat is small and primitive, and there are no signs that a new bomber force is being developed. Our present system was hastily constructed at a cost of tens of billions of dollars, is of low effectiveness, and, in view of the threat, has almost no use. Development of a multi-billion dollar improved system should be deferred until the threat is carefully re-examined. There is also little point in developing protection from bombers when a workable ABM is not available.

Proponents of the new system argue that they will deter the Soviet Union from constructing another manned bomber; and if they do not, the Russians will have to spend billions extra on their bomber program to penetrate U.S. defenses.

#### Senate action

The Senate Armed Services Committee not only deferred funding of the program, but required the Defense Department to produce a detailed analysis of the Soviet bomber threat before submitting further requests for funds.

#### House committee action

No similar amendment was offered in the Committee. Chairman Rivers specifically exempted these systems from his across-the-board R & D fund cut in H.R. 14000.

#### Sponsor

Rep. Reuss (D-Wis.)

#### The Aircraft Carrier Amendment Effect

This amendment would defer authorization of funds for the third and fourth nuclear carriers, CVAN-69 and CVAN-70, pending a study of the foreign-policy and strategic roles of carriers, their vulnerability, and their costs. The study would be made by the Senate and House Foreign Affairs and Armed Services Committees. Funds deferred by this amendment would total \$483.0 million.

#### Explanation

The U.S. is the only nation in the world to maintain an extensive carrier fleet, and the purpose of that strategy has never been critically examined. Naval capital ship force levels have been set at 15 since 1921, except during wartime. Carriers are symbols of the U.S. "world-policeman" foreign policy. The annual operating costs of carriers exceed \$5 billion, exclusive of investment in the new multi-billion-dollar nuclear task forces.

Opponents argue that carriers are substitutes for land bases, are necessary for quick involvement in overseas conflicts, and can deter brushfire wars by demonstrating the U.S. presence.

#### Senate action

A similar amendment was defeated in the Senate by a vote of 75 to 7 after its sponsors (Mondale & Case) unsuccessfully tried to withdraw it in favor of a substitute approving CVAN-69 but requiring a study of the role of carriers before funding any additional carriers. As a result, the two sponsors and other supporters voted against their original amendment and in favor of their substitute amendment which was approved by a vote of 84 to 0.

#### House committee action

The House Armed Services Committee not only approved DOD's request for CVAN-69 by authorizing \$383.0 million (\$5.9 million more than requested), but it also approved an additional \$100.0 million—which was not requested—for CVAN-70.

Chairman Rivers also formed a Sea Power Subcommittee this year to publicize the status of the U.S. and Soviet fleets and the difficulty the Navy has encountered in proceeding with its \$30 billion shipbuilding program.

#### Sponsors

Reps. Moorehead (D-Pa.); and Gude (R-Md.).

#### Manpower amendment Effect

This amendment would require that the overall strength of the Armed Forces be reduced by the number of men withdrawn from Vietnam.

#### Explanation

An estimated 800,000 men have been added to the Armed Forces as a result of the war, of which only 540,000 have been stationed in Vietnam at one time. In order to return to peacetime levels, men withdrawn from Vietnam will have to be either discharged from the Armed Forces or, if redeployed, be matched by cuts in other forces. This amendment would provide for such conservative reductions. The restriction would be eliminated in the event a President—or Congress—declared national emergency.

#### Senate action

The Senate approved a similar amendment by a vote of 71 to 10.

#### House committee action

The Committee rejected tying troop level reductions to Vietnam troop withdrawals. However, the Committee bill does require a troop reduction of 176,000 by June 30, 1970.

#### Sponsor

Rep. Mikva (D-Ill.)

#### GREECE—BASTION OF FREEDOM IN MEDITERRANEAN

#### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, in the entire Mediterranean area, the left consistently attacks only the Governments of Greece and Spain. This program follows the pattern which I last week pointed out in connection with the continued leftist assaults on the Governments of South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portugal.

Whenever free men have defeated communism they can immediately expect to be subjected to the repeated slurs and smears of the international left.

Americans are rightfully concerned about the threat of a Red Mediterranean—especially since an attack on one of our warships, flying the American flag, in daylight and in international waters has already cost American lives. And Americans should be aware that the Russian fleet is welcomed in all ports of the Mediterranean except those of Greece and Spain.

The present Government of Greece is pro-American and anti-Communist. The distorted press constantly maligns the Government of Greece as a military dictatorship, but fails to remind its readers that this coup by loyal Greek officers foiled a Communist takeover of their country.

To balance hysterical extremists attacks by the left on Greece largely by those who have never visited that country or by those who are fugitives from Greek justice, it is truly refreshing to read an objective report by a distinguished American writer of unquestioned patriotism who gives his personal one-the-scene account of the situation which actually exists in the cradle of democracy—Greece.

Mr. Speaker, I include two reports from Greece by Victor Riesel, as follows:

#### NOW HEAR THIS

(By Victor Riesel)

ATHENS, Greece.—It's all very relaxed in the gardens and foyers of the old Parliamentary palace. You pass the usual single guard with the usual single gun. Then into the usual vaulted gilded rooms of ancient royalty.

And soon you are with a very informal Prime Minister who doesn't mind if you spill hot Greek coffee on his new desk and doesn't look, act, talk nor dodge questions like a military dictator world intellectuals make him out to be.

After an hour of coffee and questions Prime Minister George Papadopoulos chuckled when I said on departing I had come expecting to find a tough soldier but had found him to be a social devolutional and intellectual.

He is both. Why then do American intellectuals and many world labor leaders attack him and his military junta each day? The answer is that he is not their kind of intellectual.

Prime Minister Papadopoulos is anti-Communist. He is pro-American. He runs the only Balkan nation outside the iron curtain.

His nation—parliament-less though it is—loathes the dictatorships to the north. In the words of one of the Prime Minister's cabinet members. Greece is an ally of the



viet Union, there is no hard evidence that the Soviets intend or would even be able to challenge the U.S. deterrent in the next decade. Should a threat materialize, the evidence will be clear enough to allow adequate time to permit countermeasures. In any event, Safeguard is not the optimum response to a Soviet threat. There is doubt about the workability of the system. Even if it did work, it could be easily overwhelmed.

#### Senate action

The Safeguard ABM request was approved by the Senate in a series of votes following an intensive two month debate. The two key votes were the Smith amendment to proceed with any alternative but Safeguard, which failed in a 50 to 50 deadlock, and the Hart-Cooper amendment to proceed with R & D but defer deployment, which failed by a vote of 51 to 49.

The earlier vote in the Senate Armed Services Committee also carried by a narrow margin, 10 to 7 with 1 abstention.

#### House committee action

The Committee, in an unusual move, heard testimony both for and against the ABM from witnesses inside and outside the DOD.

Rep. Leggett moved to delete \$345.5 million from the procurement request and \$200.0 million from the R & D request. The amendment was defeated by a vote of 30 to 8.

#### Sponsors

Reps. Leggett (D-Calif.) and Whalen (R-Ohio).

#### F-5 Freedom Fighter amendment

##### Effect

This amendment would delete \$36 million in R & D for the Northrup F-5 Freedom Fighter, leaving \$12 million for R & D and all of the \$4 million for procurement. The remaining funds are to be used to subsidize the private industry development of the aircraft.

##### Explanation

The amendment supports the Administration. DOD feels it should not underwrite the costs to private industry of developing another aircraft with which to equip our allies and sell to other nations. The DOD believes that developmental costs of the F-5 should be low, and that, if it is saleable, Northrup will easily make good its investment. Accordingly, the DOD requested no funds for this program.

#### Senate action

Because the DOD did not request these funds, the Senate did not deal with the F-5. The Senate-approved bill contains no money for the F-5 subsidy.

#### House committee action

Chairman Rivers has been concerned for some time about the expense of equipping allies with aircraft from our present forces, and about loss of sales to U.S. companies from foreign competition. He maintains that the Air Force should pay for the development of a cheaper aircraft. On the last day of markup, when \$52 million of C 5A funds were released, he transferred the money to the Northrup F-5. Rep. Leggett moved to change this amount to \$26 million; but this motion was defeated in the Committee.

#### Sponsor

Rep. Leggett (D-Calif.)

#### SRAM amendment

##### Effect

This amendment would duplicate the action of the Senate Armed Services Committee in cutting \$17.0 million from R & D and \$60.4 million from procurement, a \$77.4 million total. The amendment would leave \$67.7 million for R & D.

##### Explanation

The SRAM air-ground strategic nuclear missile program is two years behind schedule, has a cost overrun of 194% of the orig-

inal estimate, and has yet to produce a successful series of flight tests. The R & D program is considered one of the worst-managed in years. The missile was designed for the B-52, which may not still be flying when SRAM becomes operational, and the FB-111, which was not finally designed when SRAM design started. Every time the FB-111 design changed, SRAM design had to be altered. The missile calls for a motor which did not exist when the proposal was approved, and still does not work. Nevertheless, a successful SRAM could lessen the need for AMSA, and for that reason further R & D might be warranted.

#### Senate action

The Senate Armed Services Committee moved to slow down development by cutting R & D by \$17.0 million. Because no working models were yet available, the Committee voted to delete procurement request of \$0.4 million for production and \$40.0 million for B-52 interface modification.

#### House committee action

Rep. Leggett introduced this amendment in the Committee, but was defeated. Chairman Rivers exempted SRAM in H.R. 14000 from his 9.8% across-the-board R & D cut.

#### Sponsor

Rep. Leggett (D-Calif.)

#### GAO auditing amendment

##### Effect

This amendment would require DOD to submit quarterly reports on major weapons systems and projects in R & D or production. The reports would be audited by the General Accounting Office and transmitted to the Congress. The GAO would be empowered to conduct independent audits of the projects and to subpoena books which defense contractors have in the past refused to supply.

##### Explanation

Recent testimony has indicated that major defense contractors have kept two sets of accounts when cost overruns or delays were developing in projects. Similarly, the services have hidden information on mismanagement from the Secretary of Defense. DOD has also attempted to prevent Congress from receiving information on cost and schedule changes in major contracts. The amendment would establish a reporting system designed to improve the quality and quantity of information sent to the Congress on major defense programs.

#### Senate action

The Senate passed a similar amendment (the Schweiker amendment) by a vote of 47-46. The Senate Armed Services Committee has set up an informal reporting system partially accomplishing the purpose of the amendment. The Schweiker amendment focused on contracts, rather than programs (which include contracts). It is generally felt, therefore, that the House amendment is an improvement over the Senate-passed language.

#### House committee action

A similar amendment was defeated in the House Armed Services Committee. H.R. 14000 require the DOD to provide all information requested specifically by the Armed Services Committees, and to keep the Committees informed about current DOD activities. In Committee testimony, Comptroller-General Staats generally endorsed some kind of cost-reporting system for the Congress.

#### Sponsors

Reps. Podell (D-N.Y.) and Whalen (R-Ohio).

#### CBW amendment

##### Effect

This amendment would establish a semi-annual reporting procedure on expenditures and programs for CBW and prohibit development of delivery vehicles for lethal agents. It would also prohibit secrecy in

foreign and domestic shipping and storage of material, thereby improving U.S. compliance with international treaty commitments. It would also ensure notice of open-air testing, and put a ceiling on stockpiles as of June 30, 1970. It does not cut any funds from the bill.

##### Explanation

DOD research, testing, shipping, and storage programs for CBW have repeatedly proved unsafe in recent years, culminating in accidents and injuries both in the U.S. and abroad. The program has been conducted in such secrecy that neither the Congress nor the electorate can review or even be aware of the costs and dangers involved. Current CBW shipping and storage practices present a public danger of contamination by accidentally released toxic agents.

Secretary Laird has stated that this amendment is consistent with both public safety and national security.

#### Senate action

A slightly more restrictive amendment amendment passed the Senate 91 to 0, with Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Stennis voting for it.

In the Senate Armed Services Committee, all funds for R & D on offensive chemical and biological agents were deleted, a total of \$16.0 million.

#### House committee action

A similar amendment was offered but rejected in the House Armed Services Committee. Part of the R & D funds for CBW may be affected by the Committee's 9.8% across-the-board R & D cut. The DOD apparently did not reaffirm its support for this amendment to the Committee, and the Committee did not alter the original DOD request.

#### Sponsors

Reps. Nedzi (D-Mich.) and McCarthy (D-N.Y.)

#### Naval shipbuilding amendment

##### Effect

The amendment would eliminate \$1,023.3 million added to the bill by Chairman Rivers, thereby restoring the level of funding to the Administration's reclamation (revised request following Senate action).

##### Explanation

The Administration's request was only slightly modified by the Senate Armed Services Committee and the Administration concurred in this action. Chairman Rivers' billion-dollar increase primarily affects support vessels rather than frontline ships. National security is not impaired by deferring funding until required in the Navy's established shipbuilding and conversion program. The huge sum proposed to be added in H.R. 14000 could seriously upset the entire Naval modernization plan. Passage of the amendment would support the Administration's position as reflected in the original request and in the reclamation.

#### Senate action

The Senate Armed Services Committee added \$152.7 million for an additional nuclear attack submarine but deleted \$186.7 million for three FDL (Fast Deployment Logistics) ships. Extensive floor debate on the role of carriers culminated in passage of an amendment to re-study the entire role of carrier-centered fleets before approval of the next capital ship, CVAN-70. The Senate Authorization was concurred in by DOD.

#### House committee action

Chairman Rivers approved funds for shipbuilding and conversion exceeding the Senate and the Navy's program by \$1,023.3 million. The House Armed Services Committee did not restore the FDL ships, deleted by the Senate, but added funds for construction of two additional nuclear ships (one carrier and one cruiser), six additional major vessels, and eighteen additional lesser ships. (See page 14 for complete add-on). Conversion funds

Americans and will continue as long as it is not "the slave of the Slavs."

Apparently many an American intellectual, and especially the bearded Victor Reuther (heavy spending director of the United Auto Workers Union International Dept.), take all this as a personal insult.

Walter Reuther, for example, has visited Yugoslavia and accepted Marshall Tito's hospitality. But the Detroit rethead would not visit Greece. Why? Doesn't the state-controlled radio of Yugoslavia daily blister the U.S. foreign policy? Of course it does.

Doesn't Greece cooperate with the U.S. and its armed forces and its foreign and commercial policies each day? Of course it does. Why then is there empathy for Marshal Tito's Yugoslavia and enmity for Prime Minister Papadopoulos's Greece?

For example, European labor leaders have forced the International Labor Organization (ILO) of Geneva, Switzerland to investigate Greece's handling of the labor movement here, called the General Confederation of Greek Labor (GSEE) which had and still has some 400,000 members. Western European labor leaders, many egged on by the Reuthers, want Greece expelled from the ILO because the movement here has been reorganized by the military junta.

But, now hear this! These very same labor leaders happily sit with Communist "union" chiefs on the ILO governing board. They rub shoulders with Communist Bloc labor men who often are members of the secret police or controlled by them, sent to Geneva by Bulgaria (represented on the governing board), Hungary, Poland, the Soviet Union, etc. The ILO approves aid to Poland and the dispatch of electronic and computer scientists to Communist lands. They sit with Ahmed Fahim, whom I have met personally in Cairo, head of the United Arab Federation of Labor. Mr. Fahim is rigidly controlled by Col. Nasser's secret police. He is violently anti-Israel and despises America.

Western labor leaders and intellectuals will fraternize with these men, yet they want Greece booted from the ILO—which under the direction of an American Director General, Dave Morse, is investigating Greek labor.

Well, the Greek labor law is tough. It says that the old crowd has had it real fine and now Greek labor leaders must work in the industry at least 100 days a year and must have worked that much time each year for the past six years to qualify for leadership.

And the law says that a union can strike for only three days if it doesn't get the approval of the rank and file at a membership meeting. Well, perhaps there will be no strikes under the military rule. But no one here gets shot, no one is imprisoned in slave labor camps as they are in the USSR. And what of the Czech labor movement. And what of the Soviet "Labor Federation"? Is it not headed by Alexander Sholepin, former head of the Soviet secret police.

Of course, it is. Yet Victor Reuther approves of this Soviet movement—and incidentally of the Soviet educational system. Very much so. But he and his colleagues and friend Melina Mercouri, the actress, and her husband of old Hollywood and Zorba the Greek fame doesn't approve of Greek educational reform. Why?

Until the military revolution led by Col. George Papadopoulos in April, 1967 (he is now minister of education as well as prime minister) the universities here were corrupt. College students had to pay anywhere from \$15 to \$20 for each book. The books were written by the professors who received heavy royalties. And the books were bought in college bookstores which sent lists of purchasers to the professors so they would know who was the "good" student and the bad.

The professors lived handsomely. So well, indeed, that they would stay on forever. It got so that 73 was middle age. They bought land and built villas. The educational system

was in the worst, most corrupt chaos. At one law school, some 750 students would crowd into a theatre, which was a movie house at night, to hear the professor's lecture.

Professors were paid to give final exams. And you know the rest.

Now all universities and colleges are free. All books are free. All professors retire at 65. The acquisitive ones, all quite wealthy, were discharged, purged, booted out; call it what you will. Student bus fares, mess hall costs and dormitory payments have been drastically slashed.

The Ministry of Education, where in the past not one employee could speak a foreign language fluently, has been reorganized. There is a law that all letters and applications must be answered in a week. In the past such mail was ignored for four years.

New universities are going up.

Some of the world's most modern colleges are being built here by the military junta the intellectuals need so much. I'm asked especially to flag professor John Kenneth Galbraith to come and see. He'll notice, incidentally, no sandbags, no militia on the streets and in the universities as in Communist cities; just outdoor cafes where you can cuss the government and the service.

A \$50 million college is being built on 400 acres here in Athens, another on 800 in Patras, still another 800 acres are being readied for a university at Ioannina. And the university of Salonika is being expanded. Yet this is a small nation of 8 million.

Today students need only qualify scholastically to enter universities. They qualify by taking exams, even as in the U.S.—academic exams. Not political.

Let's not mistake it. This nation is being ruled by a military junta. It replaced one of the most corrupt, dirtiest, landgrabbing regimes in history. The documents are here to prove it.

There is no democracy as we know it. There is no parliament. But I have read some of the old pork barrel laws. They make our House of Representatives look like a mock Congress.

But freedom for freedom, Greece will match and, as in the days of Marathon, outpace the Communist totalitarianism to the north. Why then is this vital ally of the U.S. being hacked by the same camarilla which woos the avowed enemies of America? Makes no sense.

#### Now Hear This (By Victor Rlesel)

ATHENS, GREECE.—Absorbing the Greek has been a tough assignment for the communist international apparatus and its underground here which plays political blackmail by threatening anticommunist Americans with unpleasant plastic bombs.

The point of the bomb is to have us rush to the nearest cable office and warn President Nixon not to be friendly to this little beach-lined nation because of its military government.

For those of us who know that "Never on Sunday" is not Greece's national anthem, this blackmail by explosion obscures a few facts of geopolitical life: Greece—and some do believe our own national interests—is in a Maoist-Moscow pincer.

Over in Albania, ruled by Premier Enver Hoxha's Communist Worker Party, is a concentration of Peking air, naval, submarine, military and nuclear missile "Advisers." That's on one Greek border. On another is the operational head-quarters of the Soviet's "Slav Section." That's in Bulgaria. And over yonder is Tito's Yugoslavia. Not very pleasant company.

Meanwhile, welcome in Greece are some key U.S. bases, a most strategic mammoth NATO complex on Crete and a warm reception for the sleek U.S. Sixth Fleet which weighs anchor here regularly.

Now that this backdrop is painted along with the Acropolis, the Parthenon and Olym-

pus, one can turn to the outcries against the military strong men now running the Greek government. We hear from Congressman Don Edwards (D-Calif.) and some 47 other Representatives that this is a very bad thing.

But we don't hear outcries from Mr. Edwards and his colleagues for the withdrawal of our ambassador from Peru, where the left-wing military government has ordered the shooting and capture of American fishing boats; or for the withdrawal of recognition from the Soviet Union whose troops machine-gunned university youngsters in Prague's martyred streets the other day; or for the end of diplomatic relations with brutally anti-Semitic Poland.

Fact is, the Greek government of 26 ministers and minister-alternates, of which three are former army men, is tough. But not as tough as any of the governments on its border—governments with which Congressman Edwards would exchange cultural missions.

There are at least 56 cruel slave-labor camps, including the unknown Potma, in the Soviet Union, camps in which AFL-CIO President George Meany says tens of thousands of workers, writers and intellectuals are dying slow, brutal deaths.

There are no slave labor camps in Greece. It is not true that "hundreds of thousands" of oppositionists have been picked up by a secret police. There are no dragnets.

There are about 1,700 prisoners who could be labelled "political." Most of them, about 1,100 are on the Aegean island of Leros. About 100 of them are women. Some 500 can leave for their city homes and villages immediately if they sign agreements not to agitate against the government.

The professorial Minister of Justice from the University of Salonika, Ilias Kyriakopoulos, who answered my questions for more than an hour and a half, says they can go free even if they give their word verbally.

He adds they don't want to get out of the island detention because they fear they'll be liquidated by the Communist underground if, when free, they refuse to take orders. There are informed sources who say those who refuse, do so on principle and fear nothing. But no one disputes they can go free.

This would leave about 600 on the island. At least 500 of these are hard-core communists with long "CP" records, many of whom have been picked up by previous administrations.

No doubt some noncommunist, antigovernment activists have been picked up and imprisoned elsewhere—but so have the remains of their bombs been picked up along with many wounded.

Many leaders of what were political parties before the April 21, 1967 military revolution come and go as they wish. They can leave the country. They can practice their professions. They can agitate. True, some can't leave Greece. They're a handful, however, but neither can one take a taxi from his home to Moscow's airport and live it up in the free world.

One of those who loves Greece is Panos G. Troumbounis, leader of the newspapermen's union which is the counterpart of the U.S. American Newspaper Guild, AFL-CIO. He is unhappy. He thinks the draft of the proposed press law is too tough, too restrictive, too tight to permit his followers to get the news, write it and comment freely on it.

We talked about this for a long time in his headquarters. He's a newsman's newsman. The get-it and print-it type.

But he's free. He argues with strong man, Prime Minister George Papadopoulos. He moves in and out of Greece. He goes to meetings of the International Federation of Journalist in Belgium and Switzerland and agitates for resolutions critical of Greece's press laws.

And Mr. Troumbounis says that he has not been threatened nor told to stay home,

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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—Extensions of Remarks September 29, 1969

Only one newspaper has been shut down since the revolution—the official communist daily. Two new ones are publishing. No editions of any paper have been suspended or banned.

One, in Salonika, was held up for printing a picture of the million-dollar-a-year King Constantine at the inauguration of President Nixon. When the Prime Minister was told of this by brother Troumbounis, word flashed immediately and the paper roller in two hours. A second daily was held up for an afternoon.

There are now newsmen in prison here. If one is picked up for collaboration with the underground, the newspaper union chief alerts the Prime Minister and the reporter is freed.

And, while we're talking about Salonika, which for many hundreds of years until the Nazi storm troopers invaded this land, was the center of great Jewish learning, let's for a fleeting second look at freedom of religion. There is absolute freedom of worship. The Roman Catholic minority and the surviving 6,000 persons of Jewish faith go to their churches and temples in utter freedom.

They are freer here than in any communist land. All of which is not to say that the regime is not tough, nor that it believes that Spartan measures and Draconic laws are unnecessary, or that they featherbed the opposition.

But why is this a reason for alienating an ally in a part of the world where we have mighty few? Why is this a reason for depriving Greece of arms when it is unsparring of its soil, and its sons, in defense of the free world?

Why suddenly is it the fashion in some circles back home to skewer Greece because it has a tough government—yet fawn on the totalitarianism of the Soviet Union? Why are we asked to desert our Greek allies and yet woo the mocking military regime in Peru and tolerate those who once shouted Ho Ho Ho?

Why the double standard?

## REVENUE SHARING WITH LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 29, 1969

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I strongly support President Nixon's proposed revenue sharing with State and local governments.

Ten years ago I incorporated this idea of revenue sharing in a bill to provide assistance to the States in meeting the needs of education. My idea was to return a percentage of the income tax collected by the Federal Government to the

respective States in lieu of Federal aid to education. By this means I hoped to avoid Federal control of our schools which I think are properly the responsibility of the States. Likewise such decisions as compulsory busing of schoolchildren to provide racial balance, to me, are properly a matter for local school boards and the parents who elect them.

However, I think the basic argument in favor of revenue sharing is that it would protect our dual system of government and federalism under the Constitution against eventual control.

The States and local communities have been desperately attempting to meet their needs for adequate public service. More and more they have been forced to turn to the Federal Government for money and the result of this growing dependence on Federal largess has been more and more control on the national level. In many instances Federal programs bypass local authorities who certainly know best their own needs and priorities.

So, as I say, Mr. Speaker, I applaud the President in asking Congress to provide means of financing State and local needs without the Federal Government saying how and where the money must be spent.

## CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the Record.

## RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

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Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).



substantial improvements over the present system. Under this bill, various State eligibility standards will be more uniform. The bill would permit direct commodity distribution during the transition to a food stamp program. With the adoption of this bill, the food stamp program should prove so attractive that most counties would prefer to participate in the program rather than the commodity distribution program.

Of course, no program changes would mean anything without a massive infusion of additional funds. I believe that the Senate Agriculture Committee has responded generously by increasing the appropriation authorization from \$315 million in fiscal year 1969, to \$750 million in fiscal 1970, and one and five-tenth billion dollars in each fiscal year, 1971 and 1972.

In my mind, one of the strong points of S. 2547 is the fact that it provides for needed improvements in the food stamp program within the framework of the Department of Agriculture. Here of late, there has been substantial agitation to move the food programs from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. I can see no justification for such a move. An objective appraisal should convince any observer that the shortcomings of our food programs in the past have not been due to the inherent inadequacy of the Department of Agriculture, but to restrictive legislation and inadequate funding. Employees of the Department of Agriculture have considerable expertise in administering food programs. They are some of the most dedicated and capable of our public servants.

Certainly, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare appears to have enough problems it cannot solve without giving it the additional responsibility of feeding the hungry of the Nation. Until such time as I am shown that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare can do a better job of feeding hungry people than the Department of Agriculture, I shall fight the transfer of food programs with every resource at my command.

The bill now before the Senate provides the legislative framework and necessary funding to enable the Department of Agriculture to get the job done. Let us give that Department a chance.

Mr. President, I do not believe that any Member of this body will deny that there is considerable hunger and malnutrition in this country. I believe that we all realize that it is indefensible for a country with as much agricultural abundance as ours to continue to tolerate this national disgrace.

I urge the Senate to act now to pass this food stamp legislation so that the House may have an opportunity to act before the end of the year. There is no excuse for delay. The facts are on the table. It is within our capacity to alleviate hunger and malnutrition in this country now.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll: Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### THE ARAB REFUGEE PROBLEM IN PERSPECTIVE

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, since the June 1967 Arab-Israeli war, we have all rediscovered the tragedy of the Arab refugees. Unfortunately many have concluded either that their fate was unavoidable or that the Israelis must be at fault. Articles appear frequently with full-scale color photos of ragged children with empty soup bowls. Columnists note that Al Fatah finds its recruits primarily among the Arab refugees. United Nations relief workers shake their heads and complain that no solution appears possible. We are led to believe that it was always so. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The Arab refugee has a little-known counterpart. In the aftermath of the 1948 war for independence, the Arab States summarily expelled or condoned harassment of their substantial Jewish populations. From Algeria to Yemen and Egypt to Syria, Jewish communities dating from the fall of the second temple in A.D. 70 were uprooted and thrust toward Israel. In many states the largest part of the nation's merchant classes left with the clothes they could pack in a duffel bag.

In the 21 years since, the energies and compassion of Israel have absorbed almost all of this second diaspora. It was an act of faith that embraced the dispossessed and sponsored in the first months of Israel nationhood, the largest refugee settlement program the world has ever seen.

The problem was very similar to the problem facing the Arab States. There were 450,000 Jewish refugees, perhaps a hundred thousand more than the original Arab exodus. They were Sephardic Jews, often illiterate, with Arabic backgrounds completely foreign to the Western, modern culture of Israel. They had been expelled from communities with nearly 2,000 years of family and tradition.

All of the rhetoric of imperialism self-righteously used by Arab socialists—the expropriation of land traditionally belonging to the native, the displacement of the native artisan—applies as well to the Middle Eastern Jew expelled by Arab socialists. Like many other third world refugees, he too was suddenly deprived of property valued for thousands of years; he too faced a new and incomprehensible world; he too suffered the trauma of scampering from a reign of terror.

Unlike the Arab refugee, though, the Middle Eastern Jew had no offer of compensation and surely no offer to return to the home of his fathers. Unlike the Arab refugee, he escaped to a world of technology, industry, and knowledge which he barely, if at all, understood. And unlike the Arab refugee, he and one half million others fled to a nation already burdened with the survivors of

Auschwitz. It is one of the human wonders of our age that nearly no American has ever heard of a Middle Eastern Jewish refugee. Twenty years later, they are the citizens of Israel, the sinews of one of the world's newest and fastest growing nations and a reproach to every nation that has refused its compassion to the poor.

The fate of the Arab refugees is a chilling contrast. In the paroxysm of Israel's birth, with Arab armies poised on three sides, terrified Arabs succumbed to the urging of Palestinian newspapers and Egyptian radios and fled their homes. Believing that the victorious Arab legions would wipe the Israelis off the face of the earth, they left with their kitchenware, children and clothes, expecting to return in a matter of weeks and share in the spoils of a new Palestine.

The bravado of Arab airwaves in 1948 began the wandering trek, that over 21 years has led to hopelessness. Rejected, despite the rhetoric of Arab brotherhood, by the states surrounding Palestine, the refugees languish in explosive boredom. Life degenerates to a fantasy where violence and violence alone intersects reality. It is here that Al Fatah recruits. It is here that the Middle East burns. It is here that hatred is fueled by squalor. Until the Arab refugee is embraced by societies that want him. The Middle East will continue to burn.

The responsibility for the million lives that waste in refugee camps belongs uniquely to no one source, but should lie heavily on the Arab conscience. Even the Israelis have been more willing to bear their burden of responsibility for the Arab refugee. Lands formerly belonging to Arabs have long since become part of the Israeli economy and should either be returned or compensated for. While obviously reluctant, since Palestinian Arabs would be an extraordinary security problem, Israel nonetheless has offered to 100,000 the possibility of return, and to the rest, compensation for their losses. Similar offers have been made throughout the last 20 years. The Arab world has refused to accept an offer from the Israeli Government which would mean implicit recognition of the existence of the State of Israel—something no Arab politician has been willing to do for the last 20 years. While we might sympathize with the outraged pride of the losers in 1948, we must weigh in the balance the squalor of the refugee camps in 1969.

Far less excusable than Arab refusal to accept Israel funds is the treatment doled out to the refugees by their brothers in Islam. Channing B. Richardson, professor of political science at Hamilton College, N.Y., in his study of the refugee problem, reports:

With a few exceptions, the refugees have not been wanted in the countries into which they have fled. Egypt evacuated the few thousand refugees who fled there, turning them back into the tiny Gaza strip and maintaining close guard lest any of the 200,000 slip back. Lebanon places severe restrictions on the refugees who have fled into her territories. Syria, with the largest usable area of arable land upon which hundreds of thousands could begin life anew, will accept no more.

September 24, 1969

Only the tiny kingdom of Jordan granted the refugees citizenship and began some tentative resettlement programs.

The reasons involved reflect no credit on the Arab nations. In many cases, tight control of the land by a few wealthy families has led to exploitation that no Palestinian would accept. At times as much as four-fifths of the crop could be demanded in return for seed and the use of land. In many cases governments were more interested in the foreign exchange available in U.N. relief payments than they were in genuine resettlement. Each successful self-supporting Palestinian represented one less relief check and the end to an easy flow of hard Western currency. Nearly \$425 million in relief has flowed into the region; and with the demands of modernization, Arab regimes have, in effect, decided to sacrifice the refugees to the exigencies of development. Finally, the refugees, subsisting on United Nations checks, can afford to work for far lower wages than the already low-paid Arab worker. Fear of a flood of cheap labor has led to legal restrictions on employment very similar to American immigration policy on the Mexican border. While all of these reasons are in some way understandable, they do not add up to an impressive or humanitarian record, and they certainly undercut the often outrageous moral self-righteousness of Arab spokesmen crying about the fate of refugees.

The United States, itself, is not entirely free from blame. Since 1948, we have blindly, though of good will financed the U.N. refugee camps, supporting nearly 70 percent of the cost. The Soviets, meanwhile, despite their claims of undying friendship for the Arab peoples, have refused all along to contribute that first penny for refugee relief. With such policies, much like our welfare programs, we have made it economically profitable for both the host country and the refugee to remain unsettled. The entire program is a huge disincentive to solutions. Clearly a more humane and ultimately successful approach would provide incentives in the form of foreign credits for U.S. goods and materials. Tied to a settlement program, the credits could be limited to agricultural or industrial development programs that employ and settle the residents of the refugee camps. Naturally, some provision would have to be made for the old, sick, or disabled among the refugees, but surely that is not an insurmountable barrier.

There is a precedent for refugee settlement. Following the 1948 war, nearly 100,000 Arab refugees remained in Israel. Over a several year period, the Israelis managed to assimilate all but the "hard core"—the disabled, the sick, the old, the very young. The program produced the highest Arab per-capita wage in the Middle East. No one should delude himself into thinking that a U.S.-sponsored program is going to succeed immediately, but we must, I think, take the first step. With the lure of American dollars, to be given or withheld, Arab lands might yet assimilate the refugees.

Mr. President, I have directed my remarks today to the particular problem

of the Arab refugees, because there it seemed that the United States might make an immediate impact. But the deeper problem remains—the problem of finding a path to lasting peace in the Middle East. For as we all recognize, the tragic plight of the refugees will not be fully alleviated until peace is attained.

Five months ago in this Chamber I had occasion to remark that a settlement could not be imposed by outside parties. Nothing that has happened since then leads me to change that view. Let me therefore repeat:

Peace will come to the Middle East when, and only when, the direct parties to the conflict sit down together, and together resolve their differences. This, in turn, will come when, and only when, the Arab states are prepared to concede the most elementary point in international relations: Israel's right to exist, and that, finally, will come when, and only when, Israel's own strength and America's firmness of purpose make it finally and unequivocally clear that Israel is not going to be overwhelmed by the weight of Arab numbers and Soviet arms.

Let us hope, Mr. President, that responsible Arab leaders will grasp that point before they themselves are engulfed by the tidal wave of fanaticism which their maneuverings threaten to loose.

#### ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The clerk proceeded to call the roll. Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### RECESS UNTIL 12:45 P.M.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess until 12:45 o'clock today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Thereupon (at 12 o'clock and 28 minutes p.m.) the Senate took a recess until 12:45 p.m.

At 12:45 p.m., the Senate reassembled, and was called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. CRANSTON in the chair).

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 1075) to establish a national policy for the environment; to authorize studies, surveys, and research relating to ecological systems, natural resources, and the quality of the human environment; and to establish a Board of Environmental Quality Advisers, with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate; that the House insisted upon its amendments to the bill, asked a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. GARMATZ, Mr. DINGELL, Mr. ASPINALL, Mr. PELLY, and Mr. SAYLOR were appointed

managers on the part of the House at the conference.

The message also announced that the House had passed a bill (H.R. 474) to establish a Commission on Government Procurement, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

#### ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The message further announced that Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled bill (S. 1888) to change the composition of the Commission for Extension of the U.S. Capitol, and it was signed by the Vice President.

#### FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2547) to amend the Food Stamp Act of 1964.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment in the nature of a substitute for the bill now before the Senate, and ask that it be made the pending business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The legislative clerk proceeded to read the amendment.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be suspended.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McGOVERN's amendment is on page 1 line 3 strike everything after the enacting clause through page 8 line 6, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

Sec. 2. The Food Stamp Act of 1964 is amended as follows:

"(1) Section 2 is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 2. It is hereby declared to be the policy of Congress in order to promote the general welfare, that the Nation's abundance of food should be utilized cooperatively by the States, the Federal Government, local governmental units, and other agencies to the maximum extent to safeguard the health and well-being of the Nation's population and provide adequate levels of food consumption and nutrition among low-income households. The Congress hereby finds that increased utilization of foods in establishing and maintaining adequate levels of food consumption and nutrition will tend to cause the distribution in a beneficial manner of our agricultural abundances and will strengthen our agricultural economy, as well as result in more orderly marketing and distribution of food. To effectuate the policy of Congress and the purposes of this Act, a food stamp program, which will permit those households with low incomes to receive a share of the Nation's food abundance sufficient to provide them with adequate levels of food consumption and nutrition, is hereby authorized."

"(2) Subsection (b) of section 3 is amended by adding at the end thereof a new sentence to read as follows:

"The term "food" also means such products as the Secretary may determine to be necessary for personal cleanliness, hygiene, and home sanitation."

"(3) The second sentence of subsection (e) of section 3 is amended to read as follows:

"The term "household" shall also mean (1) a single individual living alone who has cooking facilities and who purchases and prepares food for home consumption, or (2) an elderly person who meets the requirements of section 10(h) of this Act."

S11210

to occur anytime that tensions exist between two or more countries. With respect to the hijacker who requests political asylum, the dangers of hijacking a commercial aircraft are clearly so great that nations acting responsibly should agree to return the hijacker provided, however, that he will be tried and punished only for the hijacking offense.

The concurrent resolution would make it the sense of Congress that this should be done.

I submit the concurrent resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The concurrent resolution will be received and appropriately referred.

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 38), which reads as follows, was referred to the Committee on Commerce:

S. CON. RES. 38

Whereas the hijacking of the Trans World Airlines Boeing 707 to Syria by Arab guerrillas on August 26, 1969 astonished responsible governments that any government would condone and associate itself with the hijacking of a commercial airplane; and

Whereas the hijacking of any commercial airplane greatly endangers the lives of the passengers and crew of the airplane, and results in delays and inconvenience to both passengers and the airlines; and

Whereas in the past flight crew skills, airline policies, and favorable circumstances have fortunately prevented a hijacking incident from becoming a catastrophic airplane accident; and

Whereas the hijacking of commercial airplanes will cease only when an international agreement is reached that recognizes hijacking as a vicious international crime and provides that the hijacker shall be punished; and

Whereas the Tokyo Convention on hijacking and certain other offenses committed aboard aircraft, establishes sound international law to promote safety of civil aviation, but does not provide that the hijacker shall be punished: Therefore be it

*Resolved by the Senate of the United States (The House of Representatives concurring).* That it is the sense of the Congress that the Administration should act immediately to enter into bilateral agreements with all nations to provide for the mandatory extradition of a hijacker, including a hijacker who requests political asylum to the flag country of the hijacked aircraft; and be it further

*Resolved,* That the bilateral agreements shall provide that the hijacker who is extradited will be tried and punished only for the hijacking offense.

#### ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF RESOLUTION

SENATE RESOLUTION 243

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, at the request of the Senator from Indiana (Mr. BAYH), I ask unanimous consent that, at the next printing, the names of the Senator from Nevada (Mr. CANNON), the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. EASTLAND), the Senator from Michigan (Mr. GRIFFIN), the Senator from Iowa (Mr. HUGHES), the Senator from Washington (Mr. JACKSON), the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MCCARTHY), the Senator from California (Mr. MURPHY), and the Senator from Texas (Mr. YARBOROUGH), be added as cosponsors of Senate Resolution 243, a resolution expressing the sense of the Senate concerning action by the United Nations for the purpose of obtaining compliance by

North Vietnam with the requirements of the Geneva Convention relative to the treatment of prisoners of war.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### ENROLLED BILL PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that on today, September 24, 1969, he presented to the President of the United States the enrolled bill (S. 1888) to change the composition of the Commission for Extension of the U.S. Capitol.

#### TAX REFORM ACT OF 1969— AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 202

Mr. SPARKMAN submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by him, to the bill (H.R. 13270) to reform the income tax laws, which was referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be printed.

#### FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1969—AMENDMENTS

AMENDMENT NO. 203

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I submit an amendment intended to be proposed by me to the administration's foreign aid bill, S. 2347, which would curtail military aid to Greece.

Following the military coup in April 1967, the United States suspended shipment of major arms to Greece and, although there was modification of the policy last fall, the suspension of major items, such as tanks and aircraft, remains in effect. But authorizations and appropriations for military aid to Greece have continued each year in the hope that democratic government would be restored, thus justifying a resumption of arms deliveries. As a consequence, a sizable backlog of weapons has accumulated in the pipeline.

As of June 30, 1968, \$122 million in military aid was available for delivery which, together with the \$37 million approved for fiscal 1969 made a total of \$159 million in arms aid available, twice the highest annual arms aid program provided Greece during the last 5 years. The bulk of this amount remains undelivered, much of it composed of suspended items.

But this is only a part of the picture. In addition to the \$159 million in regular military aid available in fiscal 1969 large quantities of surplus defense equipment, originally costing \$105 million, were programmed for Greece. Although Defense officials explain that this is used equipment and should only be counted at a fraction of original cost, they look through American, not Greek, eyes. To our military men a used tank may be worth only its value as junk. But to a Greek military man a tank is a tank. So the value to the Greeks of the surplus arms set aside would be far higher than the Pentagon cares to admit.

My amendment would not affect military aid previously voted for Greece. It would insure only that no additional aid is programmed until Congress gives its approval. With the large amount already

in the pipeline the actual effect on Greece's military posture, should Congress not vote additional aid until next year, would be minimal. There will, of course, be some disruption in the flow of arms, should full shipments be resumed following a change in the character of the Greek Government. But the United States cannot have its cake and eat it too. I believe we should demonstrate in no uncertain terms to the world, and particularly to the Greeks themselves, that the present Greek Government does not enjoy the full support of the United States and that the arms spigot has been turned off until a reasonably democratic government emerges. To glut the pipeline further in view of the current situation in Greece will only add to the pressures to ease up on the suspension policy.

I might point out that if future events warrant a full resumption of military aid a supplemental authorization can always be requested by the administration. And there is also the emergency authority of section 506 of the Foreign Assistance Act which permits the President to provide up to \$300 million in arms to foreign countries from Defense Department stocks if he deems it important to the national security.

There is no cause for optimism over the prospects for a return to truly democratic government for the unfortunate people of Greece. We can hope for a change, but mere hope is not a proper basis for congressional approval of tens of millions in military aid.

I hope that the Committee on Foreign Relations will adopt my amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be received, printed, and appropriately referred.

The amendment (No. 203) was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

#### AMENDMENT OF JOHN F. KENNEDY CENTER ACT—AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 204

Mrs. SMITH of Maine (for herself and Mr. GOLDWATER) submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by her, to the bill (H.R. 11249) to amend the John F. Kennedy Center Act to authorize additional funds for such center, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

#### AMENDMENT OF THE FEDERAL WATER POLLUTION CONTROL ACT—AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 205

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, I submit an amendment intended to be proposed by me to S. 7, a bill to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, as amended, and for other purposes.

This amendment is a short one intended simply to augment the very constructive provisions of S. 7, which for the first time would require compliance with water quality standards by all activities and facilities over which the Federal Government has direct control or for which Federal licenses or permits are required.



**SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 155—  
 INTRODUCTION OF A JOINT RESOLUTION TO PROVIDE FOR A STUDY AND EVALUATION OF INTERNATIONAL AND OTHER FOREIGN POLICY ASPECTS OF UNDERGROUND WEAPONS TESTING**

Mr. GRAVEL. Mr. President, on behalf of myself and the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. FONG), I introduce today, for appropriate reference, a joint resolution to establish a commission that would review the international and foreign policy implications of the United States underground testing.

In recent days, two nations, Japan and Canada, have expressed their concern formally over the planned underground tests at Amchitka, Alaska. Both nations objected to the tests, raising the question of safety, the question of damage, and the question of liability.

The full text of those objections has not yet been released by the State Department, but the content in part is known.

There is considerable concern throughout the Pacific region regarding the forthcoming tests. In Alaska, the public has been alarmed. Though Atomic Energy Commission officials have been attempting to reduce that alarm it continues to exist. In Hawaii, as my distinguished colleagues Mr. FONG and Mr. INOUYE can confirm, concern is equally high. There is enough scientific information on the seismic punch of underground tests to suggest the possibility of a man-made earthquake, and an equal possibility of a resultant tsunami wave.

Each nation on the rim at one time or another in this century has suffered damage by such natural occurrences. The fear is now expressed, by two of our closest national allies, that the next occurrence may be man made. The foreign policy implications of such an event need to be fully recognized by the United States before we proceed.

Second, both Japan and Canada—close powers to the United States economically and strategically—share in the Pacific fish and wildlife abundance. We in the large sense live on that abundance. Native peoples in all three places take their subsistence from it. International business concerns add to the gross fiscal product of the world through the marketing of the Pacific fishery products. At least 10 other Pacific rim nations are affected by that fishery, and its health. Again, the question of submarine venting, the concentration of radioactivity in fish, and the increased radioactivity among those who consume those fish, has also been raised. We know that because of 1962 tests, atmospheric tests, in the Pacific, the salmon running up the Kotzebue, Kuskokwim and Yukon Rivers delivered the highest radioactivity counts ever measured on earth to the Eskimos of my State. What foreign policy considerations are brought into view by the possibility of internationalizing the radioactivity? This is another question my joint resolution seeks to have answered.

In view of the impending tests at Amchitka, Mr. President, I have prepared this joint resolution with partic-

ular emphasis on foreign policy considerations. If the United States is to be fully liable for the immediate effects of a possible tsunami, or the possible destruction of a fishery, or the increase of radioactivity generally among people of the Pacific rim, I believe we should know the implications and extensions of that liability. I would hope that the Foreign Relations Committee, in recognition of this fact, would schedule early hearings on the measure, and I trust that will be the case.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution will be received and appropriately referred.

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 155), to provide for a study and evaluation of international and other foreign policy aspects of underground weapons testing, introduced by Mr. GRAVEL, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

**ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILLS**

S. 2718

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, at the request of the Senator from Utah (Mr. BENNETT), I ask unanimous consent that at the next printing, the names of the Senator from Virginia (Mr. BYRD), the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. BELLMON), the Senator from Illinois (Mr. PERCY), and the Senator from Indiana (Mr. HARTKE) be added as cosponsors of S. 2718, a bill to modify ammunition recordkeeping requirements.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

S. 2887

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, at the request of the Senator from Indiana (Mr. HARTKE), I ask unanimous consent that, at the next printing, the name of the Senator from Idaho (Mr. CHURCH) be added as a cosponsor of S. 2887, a bill to amend section 13a of the Interstate Commerce Act, to authorize a study of essential railroad passenger service by the Secretary of Transportation, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

S. 2890

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, on behalf of myself and my distinguished colleague from Idaho (Mr. JORDAN), I ask unanimous consent that, at the next printing, the names of the Senator from Washington (Mr. MAGNUSON), the Senator from Nevada (Mr. CANNON), the Senator from Ohio (Mr. SAXBE), and the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE), be added as cosponsors of S. 2890, a bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to permit certain active duty for training to be counted on active duty for purposes of entitlement to educational benefits under chapter 34 of such title.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

**SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 38—CONCURRENT RESOLUTION SUBMITTED RELATING TO HIJACKING OF AIRCRAFT**

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, I submit, for appropriate reference, a concur-

rent resolution (S. Con. Res. 38) concerning the hijacking of commercial aircraft.

In almost all of the past hijacking flight crew skills, air carrier policies, and fortunate circumstances have permitted hijacked flights to be completed; however, we have been lucky and there is general fear it is only a matter of time before a hijacking incident results in a catastrophic aircraft accident. As each hijacking increases the probability of such a disaster, there is also concern that such a disaster would generate a wave of public feeling making deliberate and careful consideration of the hijacking problem difficult.

An aircraft hijacking involves immediate physical danger to all of the occupants of the aircraft. The hijacker, who is usually a fugitive from justice, a malcontent, or a "nut" armed with anything from a sawed-off shotgun to a dynamite bomb, may panic at any time and destroy the aircraft directly or indirectly by physically incapacitating the pilots. Also, passengers may panic or react in an imprudent manner to endanger the aircraft. There are also additional hazards presented by landing an aircraft at an unfamiliar airport, particularly at night without adequate landing aids, lights, and so forth. To reduce the hazards somewhat, arrangements have been made for extra fuel to be placed aboard aircraft in the case of airline flights terminating in the Florida area and for cards to be carried by flight crews on which is printed in both English and Spanish such messages as "not enough fuel to reach Cuba" in case the hijacker does not understand English.

Recently, the Nation's news media has extensively publicized the gravity of the hijacking offense, the many hazards to safety of the aircraft, and that even when successful, hijacking an aircraft does not pay. The public has been informed that the so-called "safe haven" of Cuba may be an illusion and this should discourage would-be hijackers who are often fugitives from justice and persons with personality disorders who are seeking notoriety and excitement. The press has reported that hijackers are given rough treatment and that at least one hijacker was put into solitary confinement for longer than 2 weeks. Another hijacker was reported to have spent the first 6 weeks after his arrival there in a Cuban jail. The news media has also informed the public that two aircraft hijackers, who were returned to the United States by Cuba are serving 20 years' sentence. Unsuccessful hijackings have been widely publicized as well as the policy recently instituted by the Justice Department to indict hijackers who can be identified so that when jurisdiction over the person is obtained, he will immediately be prosecuted.

However, the permanent solution to the aircraft hijacking problem is to secure an agreement based on internationally accepted standards that hijacking is a serious crime endangering many lives and that the hijacker shall be severely punished. Hijacking of a commercial aircraft is an offense that may involve aircraft of any country, operating in any part of the world, and is likely

in the NERVA program—thanks to the very kind assistance of the Senator from Maine (Mrs. SMITH)—we were able to adjust programs so that the total overall budget did not exceed the amount requested by the administration. So in making our adjustments, we are coming up with the same amount, budgetarily, as the administration has requested. Of course, we have \$250 million less than the amount provided in the NASA authorization bill already passed by the House.

I have no doubt that should the President determine to go ahead at a more rapid pace, the NERVA program, with the addition of this \$13.5 million, will be directly oriented toward accomplishing the recommendations of the Space Task Group.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I appreciate that additional comment. I think my colleague will agree with me that our experience in Nevada, where we have this capability, was that every time there was a lessening of activity, we lost some highly experienced men. I would trust that by the passage of this bill we could prevent that in the future. I am delighted that the President's task force put emphasis on this program, as well as other programs. I wholeheartedly support the program and hope it will pass intact.

#### PLANNED SENATE HEARINGS ON LAOS

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, a story in the press this morning says the distinguished senior Senator from Kentucky plans to call for an investigation by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee "to determine whether American Armed Forces were already committed to combat in Laos."

Last month, when the able Senator proposed his amendment originally I stated on the floor of the Senate:

We have been at war in Laos for years and it is time the American people knew more of the facts.

What could have been a plainer statement? Therefore, and especially in that the Senator from Kentucky is a member of the Subcommittee on Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad, which subcommittee has already made plans to bring this matter before the Senate, I do not understand the reason for this story.

Let me take this opportunity to inform the Senate and the public at large, which has been aroused by recent press stories about fighting in Laos, that the subcommittee in question has scheduled hearings on that country to begin in executive session October 14. These sessions are part of a series of hearings which were planned last month; and which I announced on the Senate floor as long ago as August 13.

In July, two members of the subcommittee staff, Messrs. Walter Pincus, chief consultant, and Roland Paul, counsel, spent many days traveling in Laos gathering information on the U.S. programs and personnel in that country. I personally have visited that country several times in recent years.

As with our hearings on other countries, representatives of U.S. agencies active in Laos will be brought back from that country to testify first hand on the situation.

In this manner, the subcommittee will seek to put on the record as much detail as possible on our involvement in that country, along with the political-military agreements, understandings and commitments that have formed the policy basis for that involvement.

A matter as serious as our involvement in Laos—or any country for that matter—should not be explored hastily by the Congress on the basis of news stories. What is needed is careful preparation and that is what we have sought to do.

Let me repeat again. In discussing the distinguished Senator from Kentucky's original amendment on Laos and Thailand last month, I stated on this floor:

We have been in war in Laos for years, and it is time the American people know more of the facts.

I hold to that statement today and assure both my colleagues and the public that, allowing for legitimate national security interests, as complete a record as possible on U.S. involvement in Laos will be made public following completion of our executive sessions.

For too long we have permitted our activities abroad to be carried on behind a cloak of secrecy—and often that secrecy veils such activities from the people in this country and their elected officials—not from the enemy.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed a joint resolution (H.J. Res. 681) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to the election of the President and Vice President, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

#### HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED

The joint resolution (H.J. Res. 681) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to the election of the President and Vice President, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

#### ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled bill (H.R. 6508) to provide additional assistance for the reconstruction of areas damaged by major disasters, and it was signed by the Acting President pro tempore.

#### AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS TO THE NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION, 1970

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 11271) to authorize appropriations to the National Aeronautics

and Space Administration for research and development, construction of facilities, and research and program management, and for other purposes.

PRIVILEGE OF THE FLOOR FOR STAFF MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF AERONAUTICAL AND SPACE SCIENCES

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all staff members of the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences be allowed floor privileges during the debate on this bill. The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, as a member of the Senate Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, for several years I have continuously studied the resources required for NASA programs. I have watched requirements for the national space program grow as we developed our capability for manned and unmanned space flights. I am not going to dwell here on the great achievements of NASA, as they are a matter of public record.

I have also observed the increasing maturity of the space program, and I have participated in the authorization recommendations in recent years which have progressively reduced the resources available to the agency. These reductions, from \$5.3 billion in fiscal 1964 to \$3.7 billion, which is before the Senate today, a reduction \$1.6 billion, or 30 percent, have forced NASA to continuously examine its many programs to effect economies.

It is clear that a very large portion of the NASA budget is devoted to manned space flight. This is very understandable. Manned space flight is a very complex undertaking. It involves huge rockets, complex space craft, superior management, technical skills, modern facilities, and brave and well-trained personnel. Nevertheless, manned space flights have been reduced from an allocation of \$3.2 billion in fiscal 1966 to a projected \$1.9 billion in the pending measure, as amended.

So it has become highly necessary to operate with reduced funding.

I am not going to recite the steps by which these reduced funding programs have been worked out, Mr. President, but I do want to make it clear that our committee has been fully cognizant of the fact that we should and must reduce the program; and this bill, together with the request of the present administration, clearly shows the determination to reduce budgets.

Our proposed bill covers exactly the same amount of authorization which is requested by the present administration in its reduced budget—namely, \$3.7 billion plus, though there are some minor differences.

Mr. President, I am concerned about the fact that some of our distinguished friends feel as though there should be even further reductions, and that those reductions should be applied to the manned space program. If there has ever been any showing of interpidity and of constant adherence to a fixed commitment which our Nation has made, and to the carrying through of that commitment until success has been attained, it

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has been shown in the progress of the manned space program.

Mr. President, I had the honor to go down to the cape at the time that the first manned space venture—the first Mercury shot—was scheduled to go off, and had to be postponed. I have been there at frequent launchings from that time until now, and I had the honor and great privilege of being present when the Apollo 11 blast-off took place.

I have seen the progress that has taken place. I have seen the intrepid way in which the astronauts have devoted themselves and dedicated their lives to this program. I know that nothing has happened in my lifetime—and I believe during the history of our Nation—which has moved our Nation quite so greatly as the success of the Apollo 11 flight, which, of course, followed those which had gone before.

Mr. President, I think we are inclined to overlook the fact that that terrible tragedy at the time of the testing of the Saturn 204 vehicle made many people think that we were at the end of the trail, and that we could not possibly accomplish the lunar landing by 1970. Many thought that it could never be accomplished. I remember the feeling of hopelessness which was reflected in my own mail from many of my constituents in areas surrounding Cape Kennedy.

Mr. President, there has been no more notable accomplishment in the history of this Nation than the return to progress and accomplishment of the program, which was marked, in July of this year, by the successful Apollo 11 flight, in which our three dauntless astronauts accomplished the purpose to which we had committed ourselves almost 10 years ago: to launch a flight which would result in a lunar landing in this decade.

Mr. President, we accomplished our commitment. We accomplished that flight; and now there are some who propose that, instead of recognizing the fact that we have several dozen very fine young men who have dedicated their lives to the further fulfillment of this exploration of the moon and of the program in general, we reduce still further the manned space program.

I want to make it perfectly clear, in the first place, that this program, as contained in the pending bill, reduces in considerable measure that program, in several ways. The principal way in which it is reduced is by the reduction of the frequency of flights. It was planned that the Apollo flights would continue, after Apollo 11, at the rate of about five a year. The reduced program—which is the minimum number under which real efficiency can be attained and preserved, in the opinion of the NASA administrators, who have certainly shown their ability—contemplates a minimum of three a year, which is what is embraced in the pending bill.

That is the greatest reduction which those who are most knowledgeable about this subject matter, the administrators of the program, feel can be accomplished, with a continuation of the present very great efficiency on the part of some thousands of people who participate in these blast-offs and in the following of the flights.

Mr. President, I have been a little disturbed to note that one of our most distinguished colleagues yesterday showed this feeling which exists in some quarters, by presenting two amendments, one of which has to do with the withholding of \$300 million of the funds authorized for the manned space program for the Apollo flights, under the following words, which I am quoting from yesterday's RECORD. That part of the amendment which I think makes it clear what was suggested by my distinguished friend the Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. PROXMIRE) is as follows. He proposed a new section 7, reading:

Of the funds authorized pursuant to subsection 1(a)(1), \$300,000,000 which has been earmarked for operations of the Apollo missions shall not be obligated or expended until the Administrator, in consultation with the State Department, has fully explored the possibilities of international cooperation and cost-sharing in space exploration, and has reported to Congress on the results of these efforts.

That is the meat of the proposed amendment; a reduction of \$300 million in the manned space program until the State Department can explore further—and Lord knows we have had plenty of explorations in that field already—the ability of our Nation to negotiate a shared program with other nations, which would be highly desirable if it could be attained. We have been, of course, seeking in various ways to attain such a program heretofore, by which our Nation would join with the Soviet Union and with other nations in the completion of the lunar exploration program.

Mr. President, I think every one of us would say that would be wonderful if it could be accomplished. But to hold up the program and to reduce further the frequency of the Apollo flights, which have already been reduced by the pending bill and the new program of NASA under that bill to three flights a year, and hold it up indefinitely, would, I think, be a terrible blow to the program.

I understand that our distinguished friend from Wisconsin will probably not offer that amendment, and I rejoice that he came to that conclusion. But I would not want the RECORD to be silent on this matter. To hold up the Apollo flights during the indefinite period when further efforts could be made, with the troubled international situation which exists now, to get joint backing of further lunar explorations by a group of nations, would simply be suicidal, in my opinion and in the opinion of the committee.

I would not want anyone to think that we frown upon any effort to get such international cooperation, but we try to be practical about the matter; and we know that the efforts heretofore made have not succeeded, and have no reason to think they will succeed in the future.

In the meantime, we know full well that the reduction of Apollo flights to three a year, under the present budget and under the pending bill, from the five a year which was contemplated, and the consequent reduction of personnel, is, in the opinion of those who know best, a definite blow at the safety of what we are attempting, as well as of the effectiveness of our flights.

Mr. President, what is it that we have ahead? Nine Apollo flights are scheduled. Nine Saturn V's are either constructed or are under construction; and the funds in the pending bill would permit the continued construction. Nine Saturn 1-B's are either under construction or are fully constructed; and the funds in the pending bill would continue that program.

It is planned to accomplish the nine additional Apollo flights because the mere fact that we have touched down upon one spot of the Moon and explored an area of a few yards around that spot of touchdown is by no means an indication that we know all about the Moon that man would like to know.

It would be just as if Columbus, having discovered this hemisphere, had gone back and reported it and thus satisfied the rest of the world with his report that the Earth was round, that there was a new hemisphere over here, that the road west was not a road which would lead to the edge of the Earth, and that man had not made further exploration or been ambitious enough to continue for 200 years or more with further explorations to discover just what was in the new hemisphere that Columbus had discovered.

I need not remind the Senate that although that discovery was in 1492, the first English-speaking settlement was in 1607, at Jamestown, a good deal more than 100 years after the discovery by Columbus, and that the next such settlement was in New England in 1620. I do not need to remind the Senate of the consent effort of the English and the Spanish-speaking peoples and other nations to continue the exploration, first, of the eastern part of the continent, and then all the way around South America to explore the western side of it. There was a continuous group of explorations for some 200 or 300 years.

In the case of lunar exploration, the planned operation extends only through the nine flights which I have mentioned, and at the very reduced speed provided for under the pending bill and under the new plans of NASA, which has cut its program as far as it can with safety.

Mr. President, the Saturn 1-B's are, of course, for use in the Apollo applications program. Ordinarily that would mean the use of those things which we have learned in the Apollo program, for the further informing of our Nation as to what are the qualities of our own environment and the close-in environment of space around the Earth.

Mr. President, the committee report supports those two efforts and expects them to continue, although at the reduced rate and reduced financing permitted under this authorization. I want it to be very clear that the report and the bill do not commit the Senate or the Nation to any manned exploration of the planets at their great distances. There is no commitment of that kind in the pending bill.

I believe that every member of the committee would feel it untimely even to consider what our commitment will be after the present planned program is concluded.



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tained—then it throws light upon many of the sections of the convention which have been criticized.

There is no question that so long as we have totalitarian governments who are committed to the destruction of their opposition there will be other groups who will be the objects of political and governmental attack. There was some discussion as to whether an effort could be made to check that problem, which is a very difficult problem, with this particular convention on genocide, but since these great political issues get into the whole field of political agitation, it was thought wise to limit this convention to the specific subjects of national, ethnical, racial, or religious groups. Dean Rusk, then the Deputy Under Secretary of State appearing before an ad hoc subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, stated:

It is an attempt to single out that part of it which has been most vicious in the past, and which is fairly readily identifiable, and try to get on with that.

This convention is not all-encompassing. The suggestion is subtly made that race riots and lynchings may thus come under Federal power. It is clear from the legislative history of the language of the Genocide Convention that what was meant was not just embarrassment or hurt feelings, or even the sense of outrage that comes from such action as racial discrimination or segregation, however horrible those may be. What was meant was permanent impairment of mental and physical faculties on a mass scale of national, ethnical, racial, or religious groups.

If we keep in mind the big picture of what this convention establishes, I cannot see how we can fail to ratify this treaty.

#### GRANT CONSOLIDATION AND PROGRAM INFORMATION ACTS OF 1969

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, today approximately 420 Federal assistance programs are designed to provide State and local governments with over \$20 billion for the purpose of meeting their pressing social and economic needs. While the assistance furnished through these programs is vital, the proliferation of such programs has itself created another set of problems these governments must solve. These problems are basically identifying what type of aid is available to State and local governments and cutting through the redtape and reams of paperwork required to obtain the Federal funds.

The Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations of which I am a member, has been considering legislation which would facilitate State procedures for acquiring grants-in-aid and strengthen Federal management of them. I am pleased to be a cosponsor of this legislation.

The Grant Consolidation Act of 1969, introduced by the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. MUNDT), is one of the measures under consideration. This is an administration bill resulting from President Nixon's recognition of the need to re-

vamp our present fragmented administration of closely related Federal assistance programs. This bill would provide the President with limited authority to consolidate various related grant programs and their administration. This consolidation would promote Government efficiency and coordination. It also would untangle the numerous procedures a locality must follow in applying for and receiving a Federal grant-in-aid.

The second bill I am cosponsoring is S. 60, the Program Information Act, introduced by the Senator from Delaware (Mr. Boggs). This measure will complement the efforts the administration is now making to catalog the programs designed to provide Federal aid to State and local governments. The bill provides for the compilation of a catalog of Federal programs and the qualification requirements they bear. This catalog would be systematically revised and made available to the public on a regular basis.

Mr. President, these two measures are vital if Federal grants-in-aid are to be effectively administered and distributed to the localities which require them. I urge the Senate, therefore, to give them prompt consideration for enactment.

#### GREEK ARMED FORCES DISINTEGRATING?

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I invite the attention of Senators to an article entitled "Greek Armed Forces Disintegrating?" published in the Christian Science Monitor of August 29. The author of the article, Saville R. Davis, believes that the army is divided and humiliated and that Greece is no longer a "valuable military ally" of the United States.

I continue to be both saddened and concerned at the situation in Greece. The article is addressed to still another aspect of the situation in that country whose government, it seems to me, can no longer be considered an ally in any sense of the word.

I ask unanimous consent that the complete text of the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor,  
Aug. 29, 1969]

#### BLOW TO NATO: GREEK ARMED FORCES DISINTEGRATING?

(By Saville R. Davis)

ATHENS.—The main reason for American support of the present Greek Government has been removed. The United States depended on the integrity of the Greek armed forces to support the Western military position here and to act as a bridge to the Turkish Army on the east flank of the NATO defense area.

The Greek Army no longer exists as a stable, organized force-in-being.

This is conceded by friends and opponents of the "colonels' government" that now controls Greece.

In three successive waves the colonels' regime has jailed, placed under house arrest, or exiled to remote villages large numbers of the nation's most-influential military leaders. Names and facts are listed below.

The remainder of the armed forces have been subjected to a systematic campaign which, the regime says, is necessary to protect the government against a coup. Critics call

it a reign of organized terror, designed to eliminate opposition.

In either event, the Army is divided and humiliated and its effectiveness as an instrument of the Greek nation is broken. Higher officers who remain are not allowed to command. Lower officers who hold power are faced with a passive resistance they cannot overcome.

This is the picture gained from well-informed sources both tolerant of the regime and opposing it. If this picture is oversimplified, the main argument still holds: The battle for allegiance of the armed forces has torn and dismembered them.

It was the former stability of the Greek armed forces which made that country a valuable military ally of the United States.

It cannot be said that in trying to purge the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force the Greek regime has been carrying out its announced policy of "saving the country from falling into the hands of the Communists."

Most of the arrested military leaders had fought directly against the Communists when they attempted to seize power by force in 1946-49. They were the bulwark of Greece against Communist subversion.

One of them said, "Their offense against the present government was that they were broadly nonpolitical, but pledged to the Western institutions of freedom that were born in their land, and they detest the enslavement of a free and proud people by the present rule of dictatorship and martial law."

Some of them supported King Constantine in his abortive effort to overthrow the dictatorship.

#### FACT SHEET ON ARRESTS

A fact sheet on the arrest and detention of the military leaders follows:

In later February of last year the first group of retired officers was exiled. In July and August, when the government was campaigning for a referendum coming in September, a second major group of officers was arrested. This year, after celebrating the second anniversary of the colonels' coup in April, a third group was taken.

Methods: arrests were normally between two and three o'clock in the morning. Police cars surrounded the residences and in some cases searchlights illuminated the houses.

The officers were removed in most cases without explanation other than the charge of being "dangerous to public order and security." They spent different amounts of time in the central security detention cells, sometimes under primitive conditions.

Most of them were then escorted to an Aegean island, in some cases to remote mountain villages. There they were asked to report to the local gendarmerie at specified intervals.

Villagers were warned by the gendarmerie not to approach the officers. Adequate medical help was denied in at least two cases of serious illness.

Some of the third group were charged with trying to alienate officers on active duty from the junta and were brought under formal judiciary inquiry which is still in progress. Others were not charged, trials not scheduled, and in most cases the original period of detention extended.

#### IMPRISONED WITH CRIMINALS

Some of the officers are now in various prisons together with common criminals. They are not allowed to communicate with relatives or their lawyers.

Army officers not detained or arrested and still in active service have been subjected to surveillance by varied and intensive methods. These include the placing of informers in the lower ranks who report to the security forces on the statements and activities of their officers. They also include mail censorship and telephone tapping.

The result is said to be extensive and deep-lying demoralization, with no one able

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to be confident of who would support or oppose his position in the event of a showdown.

The ruling group is generally described as a small minority of men within the Army, coming largely from small village backgrounds, trained in intelligence and conspiratorial methods, and much tougher in their methods of seizing and holding power than at first was realized.

As the months passed under arbitrary rule and martial law, these methods became harder rather than easing. Because the "colonels" were a small minority seeking to eliminate the old leadership of the armed forces and to control the rest by a campaign of systematic and deliberate "terror tactics," they appear to have alienated large sections of the armed forces as well as to have controlled others.

#### TACTICS DEFENDED BY SOME

Friends of the regime argue that these tactics were necessary in order to compel hostile elements in the armed forces to obey the new government. Critics say these tactics are the prelude to the final destruction of freedom in Greece and that the regime does not dare to relax its use of terror tactics.

Arguing either way, it appears that the armed forces have themselves become a battleground in the struggle for power and that they are no longer the stable force that the United States counted upon.

Following is an incomplete list of arrested or exiled officers. The wartime record and experience of these officers, their outstanding training both in Greece and in the United States and their anti-Communist position is spread on the public record.

#### First group, February 1967:

Brig. Gen. Dimitrios Zafiroopoulos, who had been second in command of an infantry division, who escaped in the Middle East during World War II and was severely wounded in action, had commanded the raiding forces and been assistant military attaché in London.

Brig. Gen. Andreas Hoerschelman, commanding general of the 20th Armored Division, who escaped from Greece during the German occupation, fought the Communists in 1946-49, served in NATO headquarters, and was top of his class in the Greek Military Academy.

Col. Demitrios Opropoulos, also top of his class, served in the Washington NATO staff, had an excellent combat record, and was promoted for bravery on the battlefield.

Col. Constantine Tzanetis, a highly respected senior artillery officer during the combat against the Communist guerrillas who became commanding officer of divisional artillery.

Col. Nicholas Zervoyannis, commanding officer of parachute school and the Greek officer with the largest number of parachute jumps, who escaped in the Middle East during the German occupation and fought against the Communists. Also navy commander Vardis Vardinoyannis.

#### SECOND GROUP IN JULY

##### Second group, July-August, 1968:

Lt. Gen. Antonakos, Air Force chief of staff who escaped in the Middle East during the German occupation, a fierce anti-Communist. Lt. Gen. K. Kollas, commanding general of the First Field Army and commanding officer of the raiding forces, who fought against the Communists.

Lt. Gen. George Peridis, a Ft. Leavenworth graduate who was twice promoted in the battlefield for bravery, was commanding general of the 3rd Army Corps, participated in the non-Communist guerrilla units during the German occupation, and fought the Communists in 1946-49. (General Peridis became seriously ill in exile, was hospitalized in Athens under guard, his hospitalization was discontinued before the conclusion of

treatment, and he was sent into exile in May of this year.)

Rear Admiral Spanidis, representative of Greece at the SHAPE NATO headquarters, a submarine commander in World War II who escaped in the Middle East during the German occupation.

Brig. Gen. George Koumanakos, a Ft. Leavenworth graduate. (The cases of these last two officers were recently detailed in the American press in the Evans-Novak column.)

Gen. Kon. Koniotakis, who also represented Greece at the SHAPE NATO headquarters and had escaped in the Middle East under the German occupation.

#### EXILES ANNOUNCED

Col. Periklis Papatheanasiou, a raiding forces combat officer who also escaped in the Middle East. Maj. John Demestichas, a field Army staff officer who fought against the Communists. Air Force Col. Tsasakos, who served with NATO, Navy Capt. Konofaos, who also served with NATO and escaped in the Middle East during World War II. Brig. Gen. Ch. Tsepapadakis, who was an instructor at the National War College and fought against the Communists. Maj. Bpissias, a brilliant young combat officer and an instructor at the Army War College.

Third group, May 1969: An official announcement which listed only 10 of the following said they were to be exiled for "activities directed against public orders." Two weeks later the junta said that a judicial inquiry was under way to determine responsibility for a movement against the regime.

Vice Admiral Argeris, Navy chief of staff and chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, Lt. Gen. John Genimatas, commandant of the Army War College, director of a special group which developed the new organization of the modern Greek Army, Army corps commander, Army chief of staff who fought in Korea as well as against the Communists.

Lt. Gen. George Tsichlis, commanding general of an infantry division which had fought against the Communists. Vice Admiral Egolopoulos, Navy chief of staff who served in NATO, who escaped in the Middle East and is one of the most talented and respected senior naval officers in Greece.

Maj. Gen. Vardoulakis, an officer with a brilliant war record, commander of an infantry division, participated during World War II in special wartime raiding forces missions from the Middle East against the Germans in the mainland of Greece and in the islands of the Aegean and fought against the Communists.

Brig. Gen. Const. Papageorgiou, commanding general of the military district of Athens, who fought both the Germans and Communists. Brig. Gen. Nicholas Demestichas, chief of staff of an Army corps who had fought the Communists.

Lt. Gen. Christos Papadatos, commanding officer of the military academy and commanding general of the Athens region. Brig. Gen. Dem. Papadopoulos, chief of staff of the Athens region, second in command of an infantry division.

#### RECORDS FULL OF HONORS

Navy Capt. George Psalidas, who escaped in the Middle East. Brig. Gen. P. Panourias, commanding general of an armored division and Ft. Leavenworth graduate, who escaped in the Middle East, fought the Communists, and was wounded in action.

Colonel Kalamakis, chief of staff of an Army corps who served with NATO headquarters, fought in Korea and against the Communists. Colonel Kalamakis was decorated by the United States as a member of the 7th Cavalry in combat action against the North Korean and Chinese Communists. Brig. Gen. Balkos, a Ft. Leavenworth graduate, instructor at the War College, and a distinguished senior staff officer.

Col. Perivoliotis, regimental commander who fought the Communists. Brig. Gen. Bouras Anast, who served as assistant com-

mander of an infantry division and with the Washington NATO mission, escaped in the Middle East, and fought the Communists.

Lt. Col. John Souravias, who had escaped in the Middle East and been a raiding forces combat officer. Lt. Col. Drosyannis, who was also a raiding forces combat officer and fought the Communists.

Col. George Tavernarkis, a regimental commander who fought the Communists. Finally, the following combat officers who fought against the Communists: Air Force Colonels Diakoumakos, Pierakos, and Papageorgiou, three distinguished Air Force commanders and staff officers, who escaped as young pilots in the Middle East during the German occupation.

#### MORE ARRESTED SINCE MAY

Army Col. Pipanikolaou, Lt. Colonels Chrisostalis, Bouras Anast, Vlachos Somarakis, and Zajaropoulos. Majors Zervas, Maragakis, Moros, Yannopoulos, and Moustakzlis, Captains Mathioudakis, Grivas, Zarkadas Alex. In addition Maj. B. Korkafas, an outstanding raiding forces officer, arrested in May 1969, is feared missing since the time of his arrest.

Since May, 1969, among those arrested are Colonels Bloutsos, Mitsovoleas, Tzanetis, Maj. Gen. Em. Kehagias, an infantry division commander, and Lt. Gen. Sof. Tzanetis.

Gen. Tzanetis was arrested while vacationing in the Island of Rhodes. He escaped from Greece during the German occupation, he commanded an infantry unit in Italy in World War II, he was commanding general of the Army War College, he was vice chief of the National Defense General staff.

There are at least four young officers on active duty who during 1968 have been arrested in their units, court martialed, and are now serving sentences in various prisons. These are Lt. Charalamboulos (serving a 10-year sentence in the Koridalos Prison), Captain Zervopoulos (15 years in Egina Prison), Maj. Agelos Pnevmatikos (10 years in Korfu) and his brother Capt. Konst. Spnevmatikos (4 years in Kopidalos). There is positive evidence that these officers were subjected to severe tortures during the time of the investigations.

There are some hundreds of other distinguished officers of all ranks, who have been retired and removed from any position where their talents and their devotion to the mission of a modern soldier-officer in a free society, could be utilized for the defense of Greece and NATO.

Many of the United States-trained officers, have been purged, arrested, or exiled. The purge continues.

The Greek press gave names of about 300 officers in January and February, 1969, and 463 in July, 1969, who were promoted. A large investment of the Greek people and of the United States is lost. War experience, professional training, and devotion to the ideals of the free world could eventually vanish.

These "terror tactics" are being witnessed by the population with apprehension and anxiety. Friends and opponents of the dictatorship are disturbed to see the prestige of the Army questioned by the people.

In talking with many people, one quickly realizes that the uniform of the Greek officer, once a symbol of pride, has become a source of embarrassment and even an object of scorn.

This is a disturbing fact to all concerned since in today's world, tanks, ships, planes, and men in uniform are known to be worthless if not supported by the will of the people. This popular support is lacking today in Greece.

Combined with this is a very rapidly growing "anti-Americanism" which stems from the conviction of most people in Greece that the dictatorship exists in power only because of American toleration and support.

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35,000 or 40,500, because you can apparently add it up almost any way you like; the fact of the matter is that the removal of a total of 60,000-plus troops from the war by mid-December is, as the President said, "a significant step." The only question about it is whether Hanoi will see it that way, whether the President's conclusion that "the time for meaningful negotiations has therefore arrived" will be accepted by the North Vietnamese.

Naturally, the hope here is that it will be. It would simplify everything if Ho Chi Minh's successors would read into the performance of the administration in recent weeks a capacity to play it either way, hard or soft, long or short, without regard to domestic pressures. That, clearly, is the impression that the President has been seeking to convey by delaying the decision for a month; by putting it about that it could well have taken weeks instead of days for the President to do or say something about the war after his return from the White House West in San Clemente; by holding a high-powered policy review; and by deciding in the end on a withdrawal figure that is modest and just a cut or two below what some had been predicting. It is a tough and narrow line to walk, this business of trying to mollify opinion at home while seeking to play it very cool vis-a-vis the North Vietnamese. The President is obviously walking it with great care, and so far with considerable success. He has managed to move in a direction and at a pace which have so far proved acceptable to the war critics at home, even if it has not yet convinced Hanoi that it is now time to negotiate.

So this is probably a good time for waiting and seeing, for not quibbling about the numbers, for not pushing too hard or too fast, because only time will tell whether the North Vietnamese will read into the latest unilateral American withdrawal the same significance that the President sees. It is entirely possible that the war strategists in Hanoi will put 25,000 and 35,000 together, and do their own projections, and conclude that all they have to do is wait. If that happens—and history suggests that it could well happen because it is difficult, as the President noted yesterday, "to communicate across the gulf of five years of war"—then it will be more than ever necessary to face up to the really hard questions about South Vietnam's capability to take on a heavier share of the burden of fighting the war. It will be more than ever necessary to ask whether our concept of a reasonable settlement is realistic, whether there isn't more that we could do in the way of refining our bargaining position. Because one thing seems inescapable: only the pace of American withdrawal is any longer in serious question; the direction in which we are headed has been fixed by yesterday's second and somewhat longer step towards American disinvolvement and it is the right direction.

#### SENATOR GOODELL'S REPORT ON THE MIDDLE EAST

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, my distinguished colleague from New York (Mr. GOODELL) recently returned from an intensive 9-day visit to the Middle East. He had long talks with Israel's Prime Minister Golda Meir, Foreign Minister Abba Eban, military and governmental leaders, and—most interestingly—with prominent members of Arab communities. His extensive and authoritative report on this visit is important reading for all of us who are concerned with the conditions of tension and danger in that part of the world. Senator GOODELL's conclusions about the prospects for peace, and his recommendations con-

cerning the peace talks, command careful attention.

Senator GOODELL emphasizes the historical development of the Mideast conflict; the long standing effort of the Soviet Union to gain a paramount position for itself and its communistic ideology in the Mediterranean area; and the strategic importance of the Mideast; and he adds a major dimension to the continuing conflict.

Senator GOODELL SAYS:

Until that Arab objective (to destroy Israel) changes, peace in the Middle East can only be preserved through a balance of power, both actual and apparent, that favors Israel. That is the Balance of Peace in the Middle East under present conditions.

This means at a minimum, as my colleague states, the completion of the shipment of the 50 Phantom jets, 10 of which have already been delivered, to Israel.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senator GOODELL's complete report, along with a press release which provides a good summary and introduction, be printed in the RECORD, and I urge all who are interested in the Mideast situation to read this noteworthy report:

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### THE GOODELL REPORT ON THE MIDDLE EAST

The following is New York Senator Charles E. Goodell's report on his nine day journey to the Middle-East. It was prepared with the assistance of Dr. Dankwart Rustow, professor of International Social Forces at Columbia University. Dr. Rustow accompanied the Senator on his trip to Israel.

The report is in two sections. The first, for the benefit of the press is a summary statement, while the second is the full text.

"As far as sheer value of territory, there is no more strategically important area in the world than the Middle East." Dwight D. Eisenhower.

This report is based on an intensive nine-day stay in Israel during which I had occasion to speak to the country's top leadership, including Prime Minister Golda Meir and Foreign Minister Abba Eban, ranking military figures, government officials, intellectuals and other persons in private life. I visited kibbutzim, universities, schools, hospitals, youth centers, and agricultural stations. I also inspected at first-hand some of the trouble spots along Israel's old and new borders and had occasion to confer at some length with prominent members of the Arab communities in Israel—both those Arabs who since 1949 have been full citizens of Israel and those in the territories occupied by Israel since 1967.

I am convinced that the time has come for a basic reassessment of our Middle East policy with reference to the big power talks on the Middle East and the role of the United States in preserving a Balance of Peace in the Middle East. I therefore submit the following recommendations, with a brief summary of the reasons for each.

1. The United States should break off the four-power and the formal two-power talks on the Middle East which have been taking place intermittently over the past seven months.

The big power talks on the Middle East were undertaken at the urging of President DeGaulle of France and the Soviet Union. In those talks we have conveyed unmistakably to the Soviet Union the grave consequences, in terms of confrontation of our two nations, if the Soviet Union should in-

tervene directly with its own military personnel in the Middle East. That has been accomplished and can be reaffirmed continuously through normal diplomatic channels, or if necessary on the hot line.

The United States has conveyed to the Soviet Union in the big power talks our grave concern over the unilateral arms escalation undertaken by the Soviet Union in the Middle East. The talks have had no apparent effect, whatsoever, on Russian arms supplies to Egypt, Syria, and other Arab nations. We can and should continue to strive for an arms control agreement with the Soviet Union in the Middle East through normal diplomatic channels.

It was hoped that through the big power talks the Arab and Israeli leaders could be brought to the conference table for direct negotiations. It is now apparent that the Soviet Union either cannot, or will not, persuade the Arab leadership to negotiate directly with Israel. On the contrary, continuation of the formal big power talks merely encourages the Arab world in the belief that somehow the big powers will intervene and impose a settlement without direct negotiation by the parties concerned. Although the United States has firmly stood by the position that there must be direct negotiations unconditionally between the Arab leadership and Israel, further continuation of the talks strengthens the false hope that the present United States position may be negotiable and that we might be persuaded to try to impose preconditions on Israel.

In breaking off the formal big power talks on the Middle East, the United States should make it abundantly clear that we stand ready at any time to negotiate an end to the arms race in the Middle East and to assist in bringing Arab and Israeli to the bargaining table. While we have sincerely pursued the potential of big power talks for the past seven months, the Soviet Union has been pouring arms into the hands of Arab leaders committed to destroy Israel.

2. In response to the unilateral arms escalation of the Soviet Union, the United States should accelerate delivery to Israel of the 100 Skyhawks and the 50 Phantom jets to which we are now committed. In addition, we should now pledge to Israel that, in the absence of a binding Middle East arms agreement with the Soviet Union, we shall deliver, by 1971 or 1972, 100 more Skyhawks and 25 to 50 more Phantom jets.

We live in a world of hard choices. While the United States desires arms control in the Middle East, we must realistically recognize when arms control is unattainable by agreement. There are situations in which the giving of arms is the only way to preserve a peace and hopefully to induce future arms control by showing the other side that it cannot obtain its objectives through arms. The Soviet Union has replenished Arab planes and other weaponry destroyed in the 1967 war to the point where Nasser has a greater numerical superiority today than he did at the start of the 1967 war. The Arab superiority in aircraft before the war was about three to one. It is now about five to one. The replacement aircraft is sophisticated weaponry, including MIG 19's and MIG 21's. In spite of the numerical superiority of Arab weaponry, the superior training and skill of Israeli military personnel preserves for Israel today the preponderance of military power in the Middle East.

Given Nasser's avowed objective to destroy Israel by war, it is obvious that Nasser wants a war as soon as he can win it—or thinks he can win it. Until that Arab objective changes, peace in the Middle East can only be preserved through a balance of power, both actual and apparent, that favors Israel. That is the Balance of Peace in the Middle East under present conditions. While the United States strives for negotiations that



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will produce a real peace, we must provide the arms to Israel to match Soviet military transfusions to Nasser, thereby preserving the Balance of Peace.

3. The United States should provide military aid to Israel in the form of grants and long-term loans.

Up to now, Israel has been allowed to purchase arms from other nations and pay for them in hard cash. The Soviet Union has given Egypt and Syria vast amounts of military aid in the form of grants or liberal long-term loans.

Israel today spends 20% of its gross national product on defense. It is facing an imminent balance of payments problem. Without doubt, Israel will continue to sacrifice as necessary for survival, but it is not fair for us to allow Israel to carry this burden alone.

The Soviet Union for many years has been striving to penetrate into the Middle East. Immediately after World War II it was turned back in Turkey and Iran. In the past three years the Soviet Union has successfully accomplished an end run around Turkey and Iran by exploiting the frustration of Arabs and the demagoguery of militant Arab leadership. Tiny Israel has stood alone against this gargantuan threat. It has done so at great cost and great sacrifice. While doing so, Israel has found the Western world continually reluctant even to sell necessary arms to Israel. Without Israel, the United States, Great Britain and France would almost certainly have to face the Russian threat in the Middle East themselves. How long will we require Israel alone to hold the shield in the Middle East for the entire free world?

The recommendations I am making are presented in an effort to move the Middle East into a realistic power context that will produce a productive peace to benefit Arab and Jew alike. Many Arabs cynically observe that any U.S. politician, especially one from New York State, will ignore Arab claims and embrace totally the claims of Israel. When I was in Israel, I intensively sought out Arab spokesmen in an effort to understand their problems and their concerns. Moslems, Jews, and Christians all have deep roots in the Middle East. The Arabs are a proud people with a rich cultural and religious heritage. Once unified by the doctrine of their great prophet Mohammed some 1200 years ago, they spread their faith within a century to the far corners of the world. But in politics and in economics, the Arabs have been beset by an almost incessant series of misfortunes for the last one thousand years, including invasions by Mongols, by Europeans and by the Turks, who ruled over them for 400 years. The Middle East has been a pawn of the imperialist expansion and power conflicts of 19th Century Europe and colonialist domination in the 20th Century.

The Arabs have legitimate claims in the Middle East, and so do the Jews. These claims can only be worked out, with justice, when Arab leaders and Jewish leaders face each other with mutual respect and a willingness to compromise. I found that respect toward Arabs and that willingness to compromise in every Israeli leader to whom I talked. There must be compensation for Palestine refugees. That burden for the world is not insoluble, considering the much larger number of refugees that were assisted throughout the world after World War II.

It is sad to note that very episode in the Middle East, however innocent, is used by President Nasser and the El Fatah to further inflame the passions of hatred and bitterness. The fire at the El Aqsa mosque is a prime example. I was in Old Jerusalem the morning of the El Aqsa fire and I say the reaction of Arab and Jew alike. The Jewish people have a great reverence for holy places of every religion. They shared the sorrow of their Arab brothers at the desecration of the mosque.

They responded quickly and with miraculous efficiency in apprehending the accused perpetrator. Having witnessed this, I was shocked by the extreme and irresponsible reaction of President Nasser and King Faisal. These impatient leaders committed *oral arson* by passionately distorting this tragedy to inflame and mislead their own people.

The question must be asked, how long the Arabs of the Middle East will let the False Prophet Nasser lead them down the path of hatred and demagoguery? Yes, the Arabs have a legitimate cause and legitimate grievances. That is acknowledged, first and foremost, by the leadership of Israel. The Jewish cause and the Jewish grievances are acknowledged and understood by many responsible Arab leaders—in Jordan, on the West Bank, and in Israel.

Israel is demonstrating, for Arab and Jew alike, the potential for development in the Middle East. That miraculous demonstration must be carried forward because here, truly, is the long term hope for peace in the Middle East. When rational Arab leadership comes to the fore and pursues its rightful objections in comity with Israel, all parties can prosper. Under the present circumstances of terrorism and retaliation, one can only shake his head in disbelief and ask: How long will such irrationality prevail?

#### NINE DAYS IN AUGUST—A REPORT ON THE MIDDLE EAST

##### I. INTRODUCTION

This report is based on an intensive nine-day stay in Israel during which I had occasion to speak to the country's top leadership, including Prime Minister Golda Meir and Foreign Minister Abba Eban, ranking military figures, government officials, intellectuals and other persons in private life. I visited kibbutzim, universities, schools, hospitals, youth centers, and agricultural stations. I also inspected at first-hand some of the trouble spots along Israel's old and new borders and had occasion to confer at some length with prominent members of the Arab communities in Israel—both those Arabs who since 1949 have been full citizens of Israel and those in the territories occupied by Israel since 1967.

The most dramatic impact on a person visiting Israel today is that Israel is not eroding or collapsing, despite the hopes of her Arab antagonists and the fears of some outside observers. On the contrary, her progress and prosperity continue at an astounding pace. Israel is a vibrant and vigorous young nation, able as long as necessary to face the tremendous risks and to shoulder the tremendous burdens that the current situation implies.

My contacts and my first hand observations of the Middle Eastern situation have convinced me that the time has come for a basic reassessment of our Middle East policy in two regards—first with regard to the Big Power talks that have continued intermittently since the beginning of this Administration, and second with regard to the amounts and the conditions of our assistance to Israel. I shall make specific recommendations on each of these two points in the course of this report.

##### II. DESCRIPTION OF MIDDLE EAST SITUATION

Israel is a small country at the very center of the Middle East, itself a focal region that connects the three continents of the old world and branches of two of the world's oceans. In the words of General Eisenhower, "As far as sheer value of territory is concerned, there is no more strategically important area in the world than the Middle East." To the United States the region is important because it supplies about ⅓ of the free world's petroleum, because it is a major hub of world communications by land, sea and air, and because it is on the Southern flank of NATO. It also is important because

of our friendship of long standing with nations such as Turkey, Iran, Lebanon, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and above all with Israel.

Israel, like the United States, is a country of immigration, of pioneering, of pragmatism and technology, of unity and diversity, of roots in the past and of promise for the future. Israel is a country of democracy, of free expression, and of political stability—achievements almost unheard of in that part of the world. In short, Israel is important to the United States as a part of the Middle East, but also and above all for its own sake.

The Middle East is also important to us for what it means to the Soviet Union. In the context of the Communist bid for world power it is remarkable that Russia's Middle Eastern frontier from Turkey to Afghanistan is the only major direction in which direct Communist control today remains confined within the old borders of the pre-1917 Czarist empire. Significantly, the Middle East, particularly since the 1950's, has been the prime target for Soviet attempts at expanding Communist control and influence indirectly. The Soviets have in recent years vastly increased their fleet in the Mediterranean. There is reason to believe that a naval buildup in the Indian Ocean is one of their prime long-range policy targets. Not only would Soviet control of the Middle East make it possible for the Russians to disrupt the free world's communications at a most crucial link, but it also would enable them to tamper with the free world's oil supplies and to outflank NATO from the South.

##### A. Soviets in the Middle East

Russian interest in the Middle East thus is of long standing, and we are witnessing now only the latest of several phases of Russian activist involvement in the area. For example, in the situation immediately after the Second World War, the Russians made territorial demands on Turkey, proposed the establishment of Soviet naval installations along the Turkish straits, and sought a part in administering the former Italian colonies such as the Dodecanese and Libya. In Iran at the same time they refused to relinquish their wartime occupation of the northern provinces, and instead installed puppet regimes in Iranian Azerbaijan and Kurdistan while seeking to force the entry of communists into the government and pressuring for an oil exploration concession that would have enabled Soviet agents to roam freely the breadth and length of the country. Greece during those same years was plunged into a bloody and costly civil war, precipitated by an uprising of Greek communists, and liberally supplied across the frontier from communist Yugoslavia.

But a second lesson is worth learning from this history. Not only is Soviet interest of long standing; Soviet penetration was prevented through a combination of local opposition and American firmness. The Turks flatly rejected Soviet territorial demands and proposals for a Soviet part in the defense of the Straits. Turkish-American relations became closer. A large-scale program of American military, technical, and economic assistance strengthened democracy and industrial enterprise. Turkey supported actively the U.N. action in Korea and in 1952 joined NATO—and two years later the Russians solemnly withdrew the territorial demands they had pressed for close to a decade. In Greece the communist guerrilla uprising was suppressed with active British and American support, whereas Tito's break with the Soviets in 1948 cut off an important line of communist supplies. The Iranian government, with moral support from the United States, resisted all the various Soviet pressures and demands, and a Soviet attempt at takeover by coup was thwarted. Greece, Turkey, and Iran became among the Free World's most reliable allies in the subsequent years.

The current phase of Soviet Middle Eastern policy began in the mid-fifties as an attempt to leap over this hurdle of the Turkish-Iranian "Northern Tier." Through a dramatic program of arms to Egypt and through financial support for the ambitious Aswan Dam project, the Soviets ensured the good will of the "revolutionary" regime of President Gamal Abdul Nasser. The military coup of 1958 in Iraq replaced a regime closely allied with the West with one friendly to Nasser and the Soviet Union. As a result of a series of coups, the communists and Soviet sympathizers gained an increasingly stronger position in Syria. Algeria emerged from its prolonged war of independence in a similarly neutralist if not pro-Soviet mood.

In the decade between 1956 and 1967, the Soviet Union began a gigantic and reckless program of arming Arab states such as Egypt, Syria, and Iraq against Israel—including delivery of some of the most advanced aircraft ever used outside the direct control of the major powers. Soviet and Nasserite propaganda at the same time were beginning to spread the allegation that Israel was a neo-colonialist, expansionist, puppet of the West.

One major aim of Soviet policy, both before and even more since the war of 1967, has been to establish a Soviet naval presence in the Mediterranean. But even during this period of the late fifties and early sixties, Soviet sights were beginning to extend further. Soviet programs of military and technical assistance to such countries as Yemen and Somalia—on either side of the passage leading from the Red Sea to the Indian Ocean—clearly indicated their long-range naval ambitions in the Indian Ocean. The withdrawal of the British from Aden (now part of Southern Yemen) opened a new field of activities for the Soviets and their Egyptian and Yemeni sympathizers. There are some indications that the Soviets, at least before the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, had hopes of taking similar advantage of the impending withdrawal of British military forces from the oil-rich Persian gulf.

The closing of the Suez Canal since 1967 obviously has seriously delayed any such long-range Soviet plans. Aside from hopes for a Soviet naval presence in the Indian Ocean, there also is the fact that, for geographic reasons, the Russians lose more from the closing of the Canal than any other maritime power. The Canal cuts nearly in half the shipping distance from Odessa to Hanoi with traffic now re-routed through Gibraltar and around the Cape of Good Hope. By contrast, the saving of distance, due to use of the canal, from the Persian Gulf to London or New York is far less. The availability of the new supertankers for oil, moreover, means that the most important part of the traffic out of the Persian Gulf has been bypassing the Canal in any case.

In short, it seems clear that Russia would stand much to gain by a re-opening of the Canal—and this presumably was reflected in their specific proposal published in Pravda in January, which foresaw a phased Israeli withdrawal beginning with positions at the Canal as the first step in a big-power solution for the Middle East. But whatever hope there was that concern for the re-opening of Suez would induce the Russians to take a reasonable view in the Big-Power talks, let alone to bring Nasser around to such a more reasonable or conciliatory view, have by now clearly been disappointed. Although the Russians would gain from Suez re-opening, they appear either unwilling or unable to get the Egyptians to the negotiating table so as to insure such a re-opening in an overall framework of Middle Eastern peace.

It is my assessment that Russian immediate intentions with regard to the Middle East are neither to help bring about direct negotiations and peace, nor to encourage a new fourth round of open Arab-Israeli warfare—a contingency that could only result

in a further humiliating defeat for their friends in Cairo and further severe losses of Soviet military equipment. Their immediate aim seems to be to keep the crisis at the present level of continual, sporadic beligerency.

In the broader and longer perspective, the Russians are building up their presence wherever they can throughout the Middle East and the Mediterranean. Their present course is one of maintaining constant pressure and tension without provoking any final confrontation between Russia and the United States.

The experience in the days preceding the 1967 Arab-Israeli war shows how easily Soviet intentions can miscarry in the volatile climate of Arab politics. Amidst the constant and heightening tensions of the Middle East the Soviet armament program and Soviet support for the Arabs creates a very real risk of a new Arab-Israeli war starting through miscalculation. An even riskier set of miscalculations might make of the Middle East the tinder box that would set off a global third world war.

The apparent Soviet reluctance to get involved in any direct Russian-American confrontation over the Middle East implies for the United States a serious responsibility and a major opportunity to work for peace.

#### *B. United States posture on Middle East*

To rise to this challenge the United States must do its part to try to strengthen the factors of rationality and to dispel the factors of irrationality and miscalculation at 3 levels: in our own relations with the Soviet Union, in Arab-Soviet relations, and in relation between the Arabs and Israel.

In our own direct relations with the Soviets we must continue to make it clear that direct Soviet military intervention in the Middle East would be viewed by us as a grave matter. We must leave no doubt that any such action of theirs would bring into play a resolute and appropriate American response. It is conceivable, for example, that Egypt or perhaps Syria through a shortsighted repetition of the events of 1967 might plunge into another disastrous military defeat. The defeated Arab Government might then appeal for Soviet Military intervention to reverse the misfortune of battle. In such a contingency the Russians must know that they will not have a free hand in the region and that any attempt to inject their power directly into the Middle East would not be countenanced by the United States.

For the same reason we must continue to make it clear to the Arab government, to the Soviets, and anyone else that we simply will not allow the destruction of the State of Israel—which Nasser and other Arab leaders from time to time claim as the grand aim of their policy.

In American-Soviet relations with regard to the Middle East, there is every reason to believe that such a clearcut American position will continue to act as an adequate deterrent. Our reaction, precisely because it is earnest and credible, will not in fact have to come into play.

Russia's policy toward the Middle East traditionally has been expansionist—but it has been extremely patient, and rarely if ever adventurous. We owe it to ourselves, to our friends in the Middle East, and to the Russians, to define, clearly and in advance, the limits of Soviet adventurism that can be tolerated by the United States. The introduction of Soviet combat forces into direct conflict in the Middle East would veer the world to the brink of nuclear disaster.

We should continue to make it clear to the Soviets that we disapprove of the massive infusion of deadly weapons in their lavish shipments to Nasser and other Arab governments, and equally clear that we are ready

to seriously talk about agreed arms limitation for supplies to the Middle East—as soon as they are ready to seriously talk about it.

Otherwise we should not be overly nervous at the limited Soviet naval build up and other manifestations of long-range Soviet presence in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. There is no early danger that their Mediterranean fleet would even be remotely a match for ours. We will of course not allow them to make the Mediterranean into a Russian lake. But it never has been and never will be an American lake. It is big enough, in short, like any other open sea, for naval units from all nations operating in competitive but peaceful coexistence.

Just as we must make our position clear enough to restore or maintain an atmosphere of rationality in American-Soviet dealings, so we must try to help dispel the elements of gross irrationality in the attitude of local Middle Eastern governments. The most flagrant such irrationality is the vain hope on the part of the UAR and other Arab governments that the Soviet Union by some sort of diplomatic magic might reverse the military defeat that they suffered through their own aggressive folly in 1967. Arab leaders must realize that the only mutually satisfactory way in which the protracted Middle Eastern crisis can be settled is by Arab governments taking up Israel's offer for direct peace talks. Hard and honest bargaining alone can be the basis for a hard and durable agreement. In the absence of such direct negotiation, perhaps some form of de facto accommodation will gradually emerge. The thriving trade that now is taking place between the East Bank and the West Bank of the Jordan, as well as the new trade since 1967 between the West Bank and Israel, are encouraging examples of de facto accommodation.

Arab governments, however, are not likely to change their attitude and shift to a more peaceful and constructive course while they can cherish the illusion that the Soviet Union, through Big Power negotiations, can somehow deliver them all the lost territories on a silver platter. In short, it is my considered judgment that continuation of the formal Big Power talks under present circumstances is a disservice to the short-range stability and the long-range prospects for peace in the Middle East.

Let me make myself clear. My criticism is not directed at the considerations that prompted us at the beginning of the new administration to explore the possibilities of constructive major power diplomacy with regard to the Middle East. The talks about the Middle East that were conducted on a four power and later on a two power basis in New York, and then in Washington and Moscow, were useful at the time they opened. The Russians had been pressing for several months for such contracts and conversations, and it was necessary that we test the seriousness of their intentions with regard to the Middle East. The French had been pressing for talks on a four-power basis, and our desire for closer relations with France spoke in favor of trying the four-power approach so dear to them.

The talks, particularly those between ourselves and the Soviets, would indeed have been useful if they had revealed Soviet willingness or ability to bring their Arab friends to the negotiating table to sit down with the Israelis to talk peace. The American-Soviet talks also would have been extremely useful if they had revealed any Soviet desire to limit or reverse the deadly flow of arms which, since the 1950's and at an accelerated pace in the last two years, they have been injecting into the Middle East. The United States has made clear time and again that we are concerned about this constantly escalating arms race in the Middle East and that we are eager to work out a scheme by

which this deadly flow of arms and this constant escalation can be stopped.

Unfortunately the Soviet Union has by now made it clear enough that it does not intend to bring such talks to fruition. It is abundantly clear that the Soviets either cannot or will not persuade the Arabs to talk peace with Israel. The Soviets have made it equally clear that, on the contrary, they intend to continue arming Arab governments such as the UAR and Syria on an unprecedented scale.

My first recommendation is, therefore, that there be an immediate end to the formal Big Four and Big Two conversations about the Middle East that we have been conducting since February. We should continue, through normal diplomatic channels, to make it clear to the Soviet Union that we take a grave view of their continued arms shipment and that we will not allow any overt Soviet military intrusion. We can also make it clear once again through normal diplomatic channels and through appropriate action at the United Nations that we are ready to help bring the parties to the peace table or to discuss limitations of the arms flow to the Middle East as soon as there is any corresponding willingness on the other—Soviet or Arab—side. To continue with the Big Four power talks, with all their attendant publicity beyond this point serves to encourage Arab governments to continue on their present unrealistic course. Nasser is shouting war instead of talking peace. He is hoping somehow that Soviet power and big four diplomacy will make up for the unrealism of past Arab policy. Continuation of the big power formal talks would increase the psychological burden imposed on Israel. A public cessation of the big power talks over the Middle East could shake Arab leadership back into the real world and help defuse the present situation.

Let me turn then to a review of the current military tensions and to an assessment of the long-range prospects for peace.

In the immediate situation and in the short run the Middle East remains precariously suspended between war and peace. There are two fundamental factors in this situation that must be understood. First, Arab extremist leaders such as President Nasser and the military rulers of Syria, Iraq and Algeria have repeatedly declared their intentions to destroy Israel and to push her into the sea. Despite all their preaching of hatred and despite all their bellicose and inflammatory talk, they have not had the military strength or the organizational capacity to make the deed follow the word. Second, Israel, which has three times proven its ability to ward off all Arab aggressive intentions does not intend to destroy any Arab government, Israel does not intend to drive anyone into the sea; Israel does not, indeed, intend to extend her present area of control. On the contrary, the territories occupied by Israel, as a result of the 1967 war, particularly the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza strip, have added substantially to the Arab population under Israeli control. No responsible voices in Israel have been raised in favor of absorbing all this territory and all this population. That would mean an enormous additional burden on Israel which is based on the principles of political equality and of a planned egalitarian economy. It would also drastically change the long-range population balance between Arabs and Jews. In short, it would undermine the Jewish national character of the Israel state and society. Israel therefore has proclaimed its eagerness to sit down in direct peace talks with her Arab neighbors and in those talks to negotiate secure and permanent frontiers as envisaged in the November 1967 resolution of the United Nations Security Council.

Critics and even friends of Israel have often considered it unreasonable that Israel so single-mindedly insists on direct peace talks as the only way to a solution—a condition seemingly to repugnant to the Arabs. What

can such talks achieve, it is often asked, except a written piece of paper which might prove of no greater value than previous pieces of paper containing the various armistice or cease-fire agreements of 1949, 1956 and 1967. This criticism, however, disregards a fundamental psychological reality of which Israeli leaders are fully conscious. It is not the piece of paper emerging from the peace talks that is the essential point; it is rather the process of sitting down and of talking. By such a public act the Arab leaders (either the present ones after a fundamental change of mind or a more peaceful set of leaders that might be replacing them in the future) would in effect be proclaiming solemnly that they no longer do intend to push Israel into the sea, and that they do mean to live peacefully in the future. It is this kind of publicly acknowledged reversal that the Israelis consider the most viable basis of future peaceful relations and the most hopeful basis for a security that is not based on arms but on the beginnings of mutual understanding.

It is of great importance for Americans to understand the depth and also the complexity of the Arab reaction to Israel. The Arabs are a proud people with a rich cultural and religious heritage. Once the bedouin tribes of Arabia were unified some 1,200 years ago under the pure and simple doctrine of monotheism brought to them by their prophet, Muhammed—and incorporating the traditions of the Old and New Testament, they spread that faith within a century to the far corners of the then known world; from Morocco and Spain at one end to India and Central Asia at the other. The Arab courts at Damascus, at Baghdad, at Cairo, and at Sevilla and Cordoba were known not only for the splendors recorded in the Arabian nights but also for thriving trade and for tolerance of subjects, whether of the Islamic, the Jewish, or the Christian faith. Arab philosophers and mathematicians preserved the classical Greek Meditiation and retransmitted it to Europe at the beginning of the Renaissance.

When the catholic rulers of Spain in the sixteenth century drove out the Jews from that peninsula, it was a Muslim ruler, Sultan Suleiman, who invited them to his capital at Constantinople.

But in politics and in economics, the Arabs have been beset by an almost incessant series of misfortunes for the last one thousand years—including invasions by Mongols, by European crusaders, and by the Turks who ruled over them for 400 years. The trade of the Middle East declined, once fertile areas of Iraq, Syria, and other countries became barren steppe or desert. Arab pride became mixed with resignation and at time bitterness. The intellectual, industrial, and technological revolution which began to transform the West for many centuries bypassed the Arab East.

The first direct Western impact, Napoleon's invasion of Egypt (1798-1801) had an electrifying effect. The Egyptians soon learned from their temporary, unbidden guests. Hospitals were built, irrigation canals were dug, the growth of cotton was introduced, students were sent to Europe for new training. But soon once again a note of bitterness entered into Middle Eastern relations with the West. The area became a pawn in the imperial expansion and the power conflicts of nineteenth century Europe, and this imperialist practice seemed to contrast starkly with the ideals of liberalism, of constitutional government, of national pride and solidarity that nineteenth century Middle Easterners had begun to learn from their Western teachers.

Although European power penetration—from Britain, France, Germany, Russia, continued throughout the last century, its culmination took a strangely hypocritical and half-hearted form. "Temporary" military occupations were proclaimed as in Egypt in

1882—but were continued in one form or another for seventy-odd years. Mandates were proclaimed in Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Jordan, and Palestine on something that sounded very much like a theory of foreign technical assistance and training for self-government—even though the imposition of the mandates required military action not clearly distinguishable from colonial conquest. It was the great misfortune in the Middle Eastern relations with the West that the area's imperialist penetration came late—at a time when leading elements in Western opinion had turned sharply critical of imperialism, and hence apologetic about its latter-day manifestations.

Thus the collapse of the Ottoman Turkish Empire in 1918 brought to the Arabs not self-rule but foreign rule under another guise. Above all it brought to them not unity but partition into a dozen or more separate units—colonies, mandates, protectorates, sultanates, etc. The fine visions of Arab nationalism had run up against rude realities, and it was the West that had administered the shock.

Palestine soon became one of the open sores in this festering situation. The British in 1917 had promised their support in helping establish in Palestine a national home for the long-dispersed and persecuted Jewish people. The barbarities of the Hitler holocaust that swept over Europe in the 1930's and 40's made that program seem all the more urgent—indeed it seemed the least that a stunned and shocked free world could do for the survivors of a holocaust that took six million lives.

Of course there could be no other place for a national home, for such an ingathering of the exiles than Palestine, than the land of Israel—the land which had inspired ever new hope in millions of dispersed people over the ages.

But what, in a Western context, might seem like a high-minded, tragically belated and inadequate humanitarian gesture, had a rather different aspect in Arab eyes. It seemed to Muslims and Arabs, with a historic record of religious tolerance far superior to that of Europeans, that they were made to foot the bill for centuries of Western anti-semitism and more recently for the barbarities of Hitler's Nazis.

Thus the stage was set in Palestine in the 1920's and 1930's for suspicion, for violence, and for grand human tragedy in subsequent decades. The Palestine mandate was the only part of the Middle East where colonialism came to mean colonization—and hence the inevitable gradual displacement, however peaceful, of an indigenous Arab population. When colonialism was in full retreat after the Second World War an independence was proclaimed on all sides, it was these Jewish, Zionist colonists who proclaimed their independence in the new site of Israel—even while Arab countries such as Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, and Jordan had attained little more than nominal independence. Utterly convinced of the rightness of their cause—and sure of their numerical strength to the point of disregarding the most elementary rules of common strategic or political planning—the Arab Governments, particularly Egypt and Jordan, took up arms to prevent Israeli independence. The military verdict they so eagerly sought turned against them. And here begins a second distinct element of the contemporary Arab tragedy.

The United Nations General Assembly in 1947 had resolved a partition plan for Palestine—a crazy quilt patchwork that would have defined five or six separate bits of territory alternately under Arab and Jewish control within an economic unity for which no political basis had been prepared. The Arabs had roundly rejected this partition plan, even before they took to the military solution. But now in the defeat of 1948 it turned out that



Israel emerged within somewhat more viable de facto lines, in control of substantially more than the area that the U.N. had allotted for the Jewish part of Palestine. Arab leaders now began to refer to the 1947 partition, which they had then rejected, as some kind of legal document defining their supposed rights.

This pattern has been broadly repeated in 1956 and 1967. Rejection of one solution, however hard on Israel, by the Arabs; headlong rush toward hostilities so as to destroy Israel or drive her into the sea; defeat of the Arab side; and then a legalistic claim on the basis of the solution earlier rejected by the Arabs themselves. Thus in both 1956 and 1967 Arab governments after their defeat insisted that Israel withdraw behind the armistice lines of 1949 which Arabs leaders had then rejected as worthless and illegitimate and which they violated with systematic guerrilla infiltration.

The third and most overwhelming element of the Arab tragedy is the wholesale suffering of Arab peoples caught in this conflict and abused by the short-sighted and patently abortive policies of their most prominent leaders. There is first of all the suffering of the Palestine Arab refugees of 1948—many of them encouraged by fellow Arabs to leave their homes on the overconfident promise that they would march back, in days or weeks, in the train of victorious Arab troops. The Palestine Arabs were always among the most cultured, the most literate and the most highly educated Arab populations. The educational program of the UNRWA (supported with contributions of which that of the United States Government always has been the largest) heightened further this educational level. Many individual Palestine Arab refugees indeed have found prominent employment in the thriving oil economies of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and other Persian Gulf states. Their monthly remittances indeed had by 1967 come to be a major item in Jordan's balance of payments.

The vast majority of refugees, however, grew up in camps, crowded together in conditions that were, physically, kept scrupulously sanitary but, mentally and humanly, were dangerously unhealthy. They were fed on minimal rations of nutrition and excess rations of propaganda and hate—hate of Israel, hate of the Jews, hate often of the West generally and of the United States most specifically. The most glaringly inhumane conditions prevailed in the Gaza Strip, a tiny area into which 300,000 refugees were crowded. This area was administered for 18 years by Egypt, but no one was given Egyptian citizenship and no one was allowed to travel to Egypt. Since Jordan formally annexed the part of Palestine it came to administer after the 1948 war, conditions there were slightly better. The West Bank Arabs were given Jordanian full citizenship, and indeed they contributed to an enormous growth of the East Bank capital of Amman into a large metropolis. In the government of Jordan, too, Palestinian Arabs played a prominent role. Yet the mainstay of the monarchy remained the poorly educated bedouin of the East who seemed far more reliable as soldier and as civilian supporter than the frustrated and restless and highly cultured Palestinians.

The knowledge that Israelis had made a thriving orchard out of once-largely barren land only increased Arab resentments within this prevailing negative and hostile setting. The prospect of Israeli-Arab peaceful economic competition in the future was likely to inspire self-doubt and fear. [A whole new generation has thus grown up in refugee camps and it is from this bitter and frustrated generation that the fedayeen of al-Fatah are drawn.]

Yet the fact remains that Arabs and Jews are fellow, brother semite peoples. Among

Israelis it is most remarkable that there is no trace whatever of the hatred of the Arab as Arab—even toward the present Arab governments in their misguided policies such as Nasser there is more contempt and pity or exasperation than hate. The Jews of Israel are too impatient with the positive tasks of construction and of building for the future to allow themselves time out for hate. They have been victims of hate long enough in Nazi Germany and elsewhere to know the destructive force of hate. They also know that whatever the fate that diplomacy and warfare may hold for them in the future they will have to live among Arabs. Since they want to live in peace, it is Arabs with whom they are ready to live in peace.

On the Arab side, in official and public proclamations, and too often in genuine, passionate emotions, it is hatred that prevails. This hate is part of the unrealistic, not to say psychopathological, course into which tragedy has propelled so many Arabs over the last two generations. The first change that can reverse this psychological constellation is the recognition by Arabs that Israel, for better or worse, is here to stay. Talk about driving it into the sea is no more than wanton, idle talk.

Even within the present tragic situation there are important nuances among Arab attitudes. Those Arabs who have known Israel best have come to accept her—the hundred thousand Palestine Arabs who remained behind after 1948 in cities such as Nazareth, who came to enjoy on equal terms the benefits of a thriving and growing, and staunchly egalitarian economy, who enjoy their Arab-language educational system, and the privilege of free democratic elections (among the very few Arabs anywhere who have had that privilege ever!). I saw at first hand that highly educated Arab women have come to preach an enlightened brand of feminist in that setting.

It was not that these resident Israeli Arabs liked the idea of a Jewish state or did not grieve at the Arab defeats. They accommodated themselves to imposed political realities whether in the time of Alexander the Great, of the crusaders, or of the Ottomans. On the basis of that realistic accommodation, mutual trust now has a chance to grow.

Next there are the Arabs of the occupied territories—West Bank, Old Jerusalem, Gaza Strip (the Sinai peninsula and Golan being hardly populated). Here searing memories of defeat are recent and sharp. Yet there is little love for Jordanian or Egyptian rules who too often made these people into pawns. Even among these there is some growing appreciation of the economic realities of Israel. There is hope that more employment can be provided and appreciation of the thriving trade over the "open bridges." There is also the hope expressed by these Arabs that Arabs and Israelis can sit down and start to talk peace.

Third, there are those Arab peoples and governments closest to Israel in geography, and closest to Palestine in historic tradition—Jordan and Lebanon—where a much more realistic and moderate attitude has prevailed. Lebanon stayed out of the 1967 war and does its best to discourage the fedayeen. Jordan is in a more precarious situation and of course miscalculated woefully in entering the war. But Jordan and Israel are geographic twins and, just as there are innumerable points of friction, there also are innumerable points of latent common interest. These include coordinated use of the Jordan waters (tacitly being implemented according to the Eric Johnston formula that Jordan publicly could not accept), potential Jordanian direct outlet across Israel to the Mediterranean and, above all, relief from the insecurity and suffering of constant belligerence. These latent common interests might come to the fore if Jordan and Israel or Lebanon and Israel were left to themselves.

One ever present desire of U.S. policy should be to enhance the de facto independence of these governments.

Fourth, there are the Arabs most decidedly hostile and most implacable toward Israel. Aside from the active combatants of al-Fatah—the crop of the dragon seed of the hate-choked refugee camps—these most hostile Arabs ironically are the furthest away from Israel and have suffered little if at all from the Palestine tragedy. This is Syria, which only has the shortest of borders with Israel, whose claims to Jordan water always were pro forma, and where anti-Israeli posturing serves as an outlet for the frustrations of the most unstable and turbulent political system (or non-system) in today's world. This is Egypt—whose populated areas are separated from Israel by hundreds of miles of desert, which does not need the Tiran strait except to deny it to Israel. This is Iraq, without any common border. This is also distant Algeria. And of course occasional holy-war noises emanate from oil rich, but backward Saudi Arabia.

Arab actions and proclamations over the last two years have made it amply clear that the militants and extremists still set the pace. The recent and tragic fire at the al Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem led to another round of vituperation and scurrilous accusations against Israel. It brought on another round of saber rattling and of inflammatory threats by Nasser, by Faisal of Saudi Arabia and others. The more moderate and rational Arab leaders, including the leadership of Lebanon and including King Hussein, have been muffled. King Hussein's actions over the last years indicate the precariousness of any rational Arab position in the present context. It would be illusory to expect any instant change in this hostile and belligerent Arab mood. Even the cessation of the Big-Power talks, which is our most urgent order of business, can only make a beginning pressing Arabs to reassess their course and to formulate, step by step, a more rational alternative for the future.

### III. MIDDLE-EAST MILITARY SITUATION

We should not let any illusory notion of evenhandedness obscure the fundamental differences between the position of Israel and the position shortsightedly espoused by Arab leaders such as President Nasser, King Faisal, and President Boumedienne. The Arab leadership preaches hatred of Israel; Israel knows that she must live at peace with their neighbors. The official Arab dream is one of destruction and revenge; the Israeli dream is one of transforming deserts into orchards and restoring a long persecuted people to dignity and quiet pride. The Arab governments demand the destruction of Israel; Israel has no desire to destroy the Arab nations. Arab leaders pretend to see in Israel a symbol of imperialism and aggression; yet it is those same Arab leaders who harbor expansionist plans at Israel's expense and who have allowed themselves to become the tools for Russia's imperialist designs on the Middle East. The Arab governments look to the past and fight for redress of wrongs, some real and some fancied; Israel looks to the future and fights for survival. The Arab governments would like to change the present status quo by diplomatic pressures, by acts of belligerence or by military threats; Israel would transform the present status quo into a stable and negotiated peace. In short, the present-day militant rulers in Cairo, Damascus, Baghdad, and elsewhere indulge in the grossest and most irresponsible irrationality, whereas Israel is making her plans on a sober and reasoned assessment of the contingencies imposed upon her.

Since the prospects of negotiated peace seem, right now, remote at best, it is appropriate to examine the current military situation in some detail. The de facto belligerence has now reached higher levels than it did at

any time except in the actual wars of 1948, 1956, and 1967. Along the Suez Canal there are intermittent rounds of artillery duels, occasionally escalating into minor aerial skirmishes and forays to destroy enemy emplacements. Along the Jordan and on the Northern frontier of Israel, there is a pattern of guerrilla incursion or bombardment launched by Arab Palestinian groups such as al-Fatah, and Israeli retaliation by artillery or air against the terrorist bases mainly in Jordan and Lebanon. Occasionally this pattern expands into acts of violence far from the center of the conflict—such as the various Arab acts of aerial piracy, the Israeli raid on Beirut airport and the several deep incursions by helicopter-borne forces into Central and Southern Egypt.

This constant belligerency poisons the diplomatic atmosphere and thus makes even more remote the prospects of peace negotiations. Yet, by themselves, these acts of war neither are likely to be decisive in weakening one or the other antagonist, nor are they necessarily the prelude to open warfare.

Even in the most densely populated parts of the territories occupied since 1967 (the West Bank and the Gaza Strip) there has not developed anything remotely resembling the classical guerrilla or preguerrilla situations of the 1950's such as in Malaya, Algeria, Cyprus, or Viet Nam. The level of incursions has not gone up, and the internal security situation in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip seems to be stabilizing gradually. The Israeli retaliatory bombardments, while they cannot put a stop to the well-financed and well-armed Fatah activity, have already had the effect of forcing the Fatah to pull its bases back from the immediate vicinity of the de facto frontier and to disperse their bases into smaller units, thus slowing down their operations. Also, the Jordanian and Lebanese governments are less than pleased about this military activity that is conducted from their soil but outside their effective control. King Hussein, depending on his tactical estimate of the situation from week to week, alternately tries to work out an accommodation with the Palestinian terrorists or to chip away at their power. The Lebanese government has given Israel to understand that it does not really object to Israeli retaliation against guerrilla bases in the Syrian border area beyond the Litani river on the slope of Mt. Hermon—even though it may see itself compelled to denounce Israel in the Security Council.

Along the Suez Canal, the Israelis were able, during a lull following one of their helicopter attacks on power lines along the Nile, to fortify their positions so as to withstand any subsequent artillery attacks.

The reason that these current incidents of belligerency are not likely to escalate into full-scale ground war is implicit in the nature of the 1967 cease fire lines. Israel's new de facto frontiers, along the Suez Canal, the Jordan River, and the crest of the Golan Heights are excellent strategic frontiers—and the new cease fire lines, in total perimeter mileage, are substantially shorter than the tortuous armistice lines of the 1949-1967 period. It has been rightly observed that the Suez Canal (even in its non-navigable state) and the Jordan River are far better than any tank traps that could have been designed by the most skilled of military engineers.

#### IV. ROUND FOUR:

Whether or not there will be a fourth round of fullscale Arab-Israeli war depends therefore not on the current land skirmishes but rather on the balance of aerial forces. The experiences of 1956 and of 1967 show that a full scale war will very likely start and be fought primarily in the air. The Arab countries, mainly Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Jordan, had a heavy numerical superiority in combat aircraft before 1967, and they have an even heavier numerical superiority in combat aircraft now. Where the ratio in the Arabs' favor

was three to one before the war, it now is about five to one. Egypt (alone) has about 60% more fighter aircraft and Syria (alone) has twice as many planes as before 1967. This arsenal that Russia has so lavishly replenished, and over-replenished, also is of far more modern design, including MIG 19's and 21's.

Nonetheless, this balance of equipment in favor of the Arabs does not translate into any similar balance of power in their favor. Egyptian airfields now are considerably farther from Israeli targets, and Israeli airfields conversely are closer to the Egyptian targets. The Egyptians, to be sure, have dispersed their aircraft and hardened their airfield installations, as they had not done before 1967. They are also receiving intensive training from Russian pilots, and among the ground forces Russian advisors are now present down to battalion level. Yet even with Russian training, the Egyptian pilots are no match in skill, tenacity or imagination for the superbly trained Israeli pilots.

Israel is receiving from the United States 100 Skyhawks—a badly needed replacement for outdated equipment dating from the 1950's or earlier, and delivery of 50 Phantom jets has begun this month, to be completed by the end of 1970. The delivery of French Mirage jets for which Israel had contracted and paid to the tune of \$60 million has been held up indefinitely by the Paris government, and there seems to be no prospect of reversal of that decision by Pompidou—even though spare parts for planes already in Israel have recently been released. (Note that Israel has not asked for a refund, even though she can ill afford the tying up of large amounts of precious hard currency reserves.)

The aircraft now in Israel, combined with the superior training of Israeli forces and their more favorable disposition since 1967, is enough to hold the balance against Arab rearmament at the present. But Israeli planners naturally think—and US policy-makers must think—of the future. The need, moreover, is not only for the Israelis to keep matching Egyptian and other Arab aerial strength, but rather to preserve a situation where even the most bellicose and irresponsible Arab leaders know that the Israelis overmatch their strength. An apparent balance of military power would encourage Arab adventurousness and perhaps Russian irresponsibility. It might convert the present precarious balance of peace into a balance of war—with all the perilous implications that accompany a fourth Mid East conflict.

We, therefore, must take steps even now to anticipate the situation as it will be in 1970, 1971, and 1972. If the present balance of peace is allowed gradually to erode, it is my assessment that it will reach the peril point in about two years' time.

This brings me to my second major recommendation. To preserve the current balance for peace in the Middle East, we must make a public commitment this year to furnish Israel with 100 more Skyhawks and with 25 to 50 more Phantom jets at the end of the delivery period for those currently committed.

We also should quietly but decisively use what influence we have with our British and French friends to reverse their ill-considered policies with regard to military deliveries to Israel. It is incredible that democratic countries, who only a generation ago valiantly survived an aggressive onslaught, should try now to take narrow political or commercial advantage to the aggressive perils facing another valiant democracy. It is incredible that governments in London and Paris should hold up Chieftain tanks and Mirage jets duly contracted for—and all this in the illusory hope of currying favor with volatile and irresponsible Arab governments, which need their European markets for oil at least as much as Europe needs its sources of supply.

It might be objected that such a promise of additional delivery is a further contribution

to an arms race or that it could easily be out-matched by new Russian deliveries. We should reemphasize in public that it has been the Russians who since 1955, and in higher gear since 1967, have carried on the nefarious and senseless arms race. We should emphasize that we are ready now, as before, to discuss with the Russians a workable arms limitation arrangement—as soon as the Russians are willing to engage in such a discussion. Above all, we must emphasize that the Russian deliveries have gone to irresponsible governments that have cried hatred and revenge and ours are going to a responsible government struggling for peace and survival.

Nor is there much danger that the Russians would escalate their deliveries by giving the Egyptians any MIG 23's. The present amount of arms in Egypt is already straining that country's absorptive capacity. Besides, any use of MIG 23's in the intermittent aerial encounters along the Suez-Sinai frontier would mean that the designs of this most advanced type of plane would fall into Israeli, i.e. Western, hands as soon as the first of them is shot down. This clearly is a risk the Soviets are unlikely to take. On the other side, the Skyhawks and Phantoms are aircraft of the type already given to Israel. The new deliveries would simply insure that the delivery pipeline would not dry up, thus leading to a peril point by 1971 or 1972.

My third recommendation is that our government fundamentally review the terms on which Israel obtains the necessary assistance from us. We have so far allowed our Israeli friends only arms purchases, even of those weapons they admittedly and desperately needed whereas we have given arms needed by Jordan on a grant basis. Above all, we must face the ugly fact that Russia's Arab clients are not purchasing their weapons outright, but are obtaining them either as gifts or on credit terms so lavish as to amount to gifts. The Israelis have consistently shown and are now showing their determination to face all risks and sacrifices to keep more of their young men and women under arms, to slow down their economic growth, to deplete their foreign exchange reserves, in short to do what is needed for survival and to maintain the peace. There is a limit however, to the sacrifice that can be demanded of even so gallant a nation as Israel. Just as the military situation would reach the peril point if the balance of peace shifts to a balance of war by 1971, so Israel's economic and foreign exchange balance is headed for the peril point of mounting deficits by that same year. It would be a niggardly offering to allow Israel the means of military survival at the price of economic ruin. We must not demand that extra ounce of blood and sweat. We must not thwart the economic growth that is so healthy and promising and that is the visible promise, to Israeli and Arab alike of what peaceful effort and application can do in a once barren land.

#### V. CONCLUSION

Let us not forget that the Israeli government and the Israeli people are sorely taxed and tried, and that the present heavy burdens are keeping them from always facing the situation with that extra reasonableness, that extra generosity that would enable them to carry out their own long range policy and interest of peace, that would counterbalance the current hostility and suspiciousness of Arabs both within and beyond the cease fire lines. Israel does not seem to have given serious consideration to compensating refugees of 1948 as a partial or unilateral program. Perhaps there are good and weighty arguments to defer this until there is Arab willingness to discuss all other aspects of peace. It is likely now too that in the present atmosphere of suspicion and terror few refugees, individually, would be able to accept such an offer for fear of retaliation. But the grim fact is that Israel also now does

not have the economic resources to afford any such compensation program.

Only within a restored, prolonged, assured balance of peace and balance of economic survival can the current situation gradually settle down so that Arabs may come to a more realistic assessment. Only then can Arabs within cease fire lines take advantage of the economic possibilities of cooperation with Israel. Only when it is clear that the arms supplied by Soviets to Egypt, and other distant countries, cannot reverse the present balance of peace, will the Arabs closer to the scene—Jordan and Lebanon with their moderate governments, the Palestinians inside and outside the cease fire line with their interest in rejoining families—come to the fore. Only then can we expect a step-by-step enlargement of the pragmatic cooperation that miraculously goes on even now, as illustrated by the thriving trade between West Bank and Israel, as well as West Bank and Jordan, and the Palestinian students returning for summer vacations under Israeli occupation with their families.

The folly and callous irresponsibility of Nasser policy may some day become fully apparent to Arab audiences. It is a policy that has preached war for 17 years and led to defeat twice. It is a policy that concentrates such massive efforts on armaments that they dwarf the expenditures on the Aswan dam. It is a policy that holds no realistic hope for anything but senseless Arab and Israeli suffering in the years ahead. The alternative is a policy of mutual respect and cooperation. Even with small beginnings of de facto accommodation, it could produce a gradual increase of understanding between two long divided Semitic border peoples each proud of their ancient religion and literature, each with an economic challenge of a better future in a desert that human skill and dedication can convert into a garden of growth for Arab and Jew alike.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the bill (S. 757) for the relief of Yvonne Davis, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 1695. An act for the relief of Alfredo Caprara;  
H.R. 2260. An act to confer jurisdiction on the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Wisconsin to hear, determine, and render judgment on the claim of Emma Zimmerli against the United States;  
H.R. 2407. An act for the relief of Elbert C. Moore;  
H.R. 2458. An act for the relief of Frank J. Enright;  
H.R. 4634. An act for the relief of Lawrence Brink and Violet Nitschke;  
H.R. 8694. An act for the relief of Capt. John T. Lawlor (retired);  
H.R. 9477. An act to provide for the disposition of judgment funds of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation;  
H.R. 9910. An act for the relief of Hannibal B. Taylor;  
H.R. 10356. An act for the relief of Mrs. Iris O. Hicks;  
H.R. 11060. An act for the relief of Victor L. Ashley;  
H.R. 11503. An act for the relief of Wylo Pleasant doing business as Pleasant Western

Lumber Co. (now known as Pleasant's Logging & Milling, Inc.); and  
H.R. 11890. An act for the relief of T. Sgt. Peter Elias Gianutsos, U.S. Air Force (retired).

#### ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The message further announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills and joint resolutions, and they were signed by the Vice President:

S. 83. An act for the relief of certain civilian employees and former civilian employees of the Bureau of Reclamation;  
S. 85. An act for the relief of Dr. Jagir Singh Randhawa;  
S. 348. An act for the relief of Cheng-huai Li;  
H.R. 4658. An act for the relief of Bernard L. Coulter;  
S.J. Res. 149. Joint resolution to extend for 3 months the authority to limit the rates of interest or dividends payable on time and savings deposits and accounts;  
H.J. Res. 250. Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States of America to proclaim September 17, 1969, General von Steuben Memorial Day for the observance and commemoration of the birth of Gen. Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben; and  
H.J. Res. 775. Joint resolution to authorize the President to award, in the name of Congress, Congressional Space Medals of Honor to those astronauts whose particular efforts and contributions to the welfare of the Nation and of mankind have been exceptionally meritorious.

#### HOUSE BILLS REFERRED

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred, as indicated:

H.R. 1695. An act for the relief of Alfredo Caprara;  
H.R. 2260. An act to confer jurisdiction on the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Wisconsin to hear, determine, and render judgment on the claim of Emma Zimmerli against the United States;  
H.R. 2407. An act for the relief of Elbert C. Moore;  
H.R. 2458. An act for the relief of Frank J. Enright;  
H.R. 4634. An act for the relief of Lawrence Brink and Violet Nitschke;  
H.R. 8694. An act for the relief of Capt. John T. Lawlor (retired);  
H.R. 9910. An act for the relief of Hannibal B. Taylor;  
H.R. 10356. An act for the relief of Mrs. Iris O. Hicks;  
H.R. 11060. An act for the relief of Victor L. Ashley;  
H.R. 11503. An act for the relief of Wylo Pleasant doing business as Pleasant Western Logging & Milling, Inc.); and  
H.R. 11890. An act for the relief of T. Sgt. Peter Elias Gianutsos, U.S. Air Force (retired); to the Committee on the Judiciary.  
H.R. 9477. An act to provide for the disposition of judgment funds of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

#### CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is concluded.

#### AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR FISCAL YEAR 1970 FOR MILITARY PROCUREMENT, RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT, AND FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF MISSILE TEST FACILITIES AT KWAJALEIN MISSILE RANGE, AND RESERVE COMPONENT STRENGTH

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Chair lay the unfinished business before the Senate notwithstanding the hour.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 2546) to authorize appropriations during the fiscal year 1970 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, naval vessels, and tracked combat vehicles and to authorize the construction of test facilities at Kwajalein Missile Range, and to prescribe the authorized personnel strength of the Selected Reserve of each Reserve component of the Armed Forces, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Mississippi?

There being no objection, the Senate resumed the consideration of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to amendment No. 165 of the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. COOPER).

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### RECESS SUBJECT TO THE CALL OF THE CHAIR

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I have consulted with the majority and minority leaders, and after consultation I make this motion.

I move that the Senate stand in recess, subject to the call of the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(At 1 o'clock and 20 minutes p.m., the Senate took a recess, subject to the call of the Chair.)

At 1 o'clock and 56 minutes p.m., the Senate reassembled, when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. CANNON in the chair).

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kentucky is recognized.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, what is the pending business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The pending business is amendment No. 165 offered by the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, on August 12, I offered in the Senate an amendment to clause (2) of section 401, title IV of S. 2546. After some debate, I withdrew the amendment, as it had not been printed, and as several Members of the Senate expressed a desire to have more time for its consideration and some wished to join as cosponsors. The record of the debate may be found on pages



9776-9783 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 12, 1969. I gave notice that I would introduce again the amendment when the Senate convened after recess.

The amendment I offered on August 12 was directed to clause (2) of section 401. Its purpose was to prohibit the use of the Armed Forces of the United States in combat in support of local forces in Laos and Thailand.

Title IV—General Provisions of S. 2546, as reported by the Senate Committee on Armed Services, reads as follows:

**TITLE IV—GENERAL PROVISIONS**

SEC. 401. Subsection (a) of section 401 of Public Law 89-367 approved March 15, 1966 (80 Stat. 37), as amended, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"Funds authorized for appropriation for the use of the Armed Forces of the United States under this or any other Act are authorized to be made available for their stated purposes to support: (1) Vietnamese and other free world forces in Vietnam, (2) local forces in Laos and Thailand; and for related costs, during the fiscal year 1970 on such terms and conditions as the Secretary of Defense may determine."

On August 12, section 401 was modified by amendments offered by the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. FULBRIGHT) which were agreed to by the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. STENNIS), the manager of the pending bill, and the Senate. Its present text is as follows:

Not to exceed \$2,500,000,000 of the funds authorized for appropriation for the use of the Armed Forces of the United States under this or any other Act are authorized to be made available for their stated purposes to support: (1) Vietnamese and other free world forces in Vietnam, (2) local forces in Laos and Thailand; and for related costs, during the fiscal year 1970 on such terms and conditions under Presidential regulations as the President may determine.

The Senate will note that the present language of section 401 provide that—

Funds authorized for the use of the Armed Forces of the United States under this or any other act are authorized to be made available for their stated purposes to support: (1) Vietnamese and other free world forces in Vietnam, (2) local forces in Laos and Thailand, and for related costs.

The words "to support" are of operative importance. They apply and are directed equally to Vietnam, where the United States is engaged in war, and to Laos and Thailand, where we are not informed that we are engaged in war. Section 401 makes no distinction as to the kinds of support which are authorized to the forces in Vietnam and to the local forces in Laos and Thailand.

The United States is at war in Vietnam. The United States provides equipment, material and supplies, training—billions of dollars—everything necessary for the conduct of war to support South Vietnam, its forces, and other allied forces in South Vietnam. But the United States has provided far greater support. It has sent over 500,000 of its men and many women to fight, to suffer wounds and injury, and to die.

The language of section 401, as modified, speaks for itself. Its literal meaning is clear, and the language itself is the first and decisive source to provide interpretation of the legislative intent of sec-

tion 401. Under this test, section 401 can be interpreted to direct that the kinds of support provided to: First, Vietnamese and other free world forces in Vietnam can be provided to local forces in Laos and Thailand.

The amendment which I offer reads as follows:

On page 5, line 14, strike out "to support: (1)" and insert in lieu thereof "(1) to support".

On page 5, line 15, strike out "(2) local forces in Laos and Thailand; and", and insert in lieu thereof "(2) to support local forces in Laos and Thailand, but support to such local forces shall be limited to the providing of supplies, materiel, equipment, and facilities, including maintenance thereof, and to the providing of training for such local forces, and (3)".

The amendment would provide and make a distinction between the kinds of support that the United States shall give to South Vietnam and the kind of support we would make available in Laos and Thailand.

If the amendment is adopted, section 401 will read as follows:

**TITLE IV—GENERAL PROVISIONS**

SEC. 401. Subsection (a) of section 401 of Public Law 89-367 approved March 15, 1966 (80 Stat. 37), as amended, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"Not to exceed \$2,500,000,000 of the funds authorized for appropriation for the use of the Armed Forces of the United States under this or any other Act are authorized to be made available for their stated purposes: (1) to support Vietnamese and other free world forces in Vietnam, (2) to support local forces in Laos and Thailand, but support to such local forces shall be limited to the providing of supplies, materiel, equipment, and facilities including maintenance thereof, and to the providing of training for such local forces, and (3) for related costs, during the fiscal year 1970 on such terms and conditions under presidential regulations as the President may determine."

I desire to make the purpose and the interpretation of the amendment specific and clear. It draws a distinction between the use of funds authorized to support Vietnam and other free world forces in Vietnam and funds authorized to support local forces in Laos and Thailand. It would limit strictly U.S. support of local forces in Laos and Thailand to the types of aid designated by the amendment and for related costs.

The amendment is intended to declare that funds authorized under this or any other act shall not be used to engage or commit the Armed Forces of the United States in combat, hostility, or war in support of local forces in Laos or Thailand. It is intended to prohibit specifically such use of funds authorized. Congress has this constitutional authority under article I, section 8 of the Constitution. It is perhaps the only clear authority which Congress has to deal with such a situation.

It is estimated that 45,000 of our Armed Forces are stationed in Thailand. I do not know that our forces are now engaged in combat in Laos or Thailand in support of local forces. I hear from various sources that some are engaged in combat in Laos and Thailand against insurgents, but I must say I have no personal knowledge, that it is correct. As

I recall from hearings I have attended, both in the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Armed Services, I have not heard any official of this country say that we are engaged in hostilities in Laos or Thailand. If they are so engaged, the amendment is intended to deny their continued use in combat in support of local forces in those countries.

In bluntest terms, the amendment is offered with the purpose of preventing, if possible, the United States from moving step by step into war in Laos or Thailand, as it did in Vietnam.

During the course of the debate on August 12, objections were raised to the amendment, and since that time questions have been directed to me concerning its full meaning.

The distinguished Senator from Texas (Mr. Tower) suggested that the amendment would prohibit U.S. forces in Thailand from engaging in combat for their self-defense or the defense of U.S. air bases or other U.S. facilities. I assume the same argument would be directed to U.S. forces in Laos. This argument is patently incorrect, on its face. Of course, the U.S. forces, wherever they are, can defend themselves as a matter of right, as a matter of commonsense, and as a matter of international law; and, constitutionally, the President, as Commander in Chief, has the authority to take whatever measures are necessary to assure the defense of U.S. forces.

I am sorry the Senator from Texas is not in the Chamber at this time. I wish to emphasize again that this amendment in no way would prevent our forces, wherever they are, from defending themselves.

I have been asked if my amendment would prohibit the use of U.S. Armed Forces stationed in Thailand from continuing combat support of U.S. forces in Vietnam and other free world forces in Vietnam, such as bombing operations which originate in Thailand and are directed against enemy forces in Vietnam and in Laos along the Ho Chi Minh trail. My answer is that the amendment would not prohibit such combat activities of U.S. forces. Whatever one's views may be about Vietnam, we are at war in Vietnam. The Commander in Chief, the President, has control of that situation, as a constitutional matter, and if in fact operations originating in Thailand were used to assist our Armed Forces and other forces fighting in Vietnam, my amendment would not prevent such operation, clause (1) of section 401, would not be affected by the amendment I offer. But with respect to clause (2), it must be clear that the amendment is intended to prohibit absolutely the engagement of U.S. Armed Forces in combat, in support of Laos or Thailand local forces, fighting in Laos and Thailand.

The distinguished Senator from Arizona, Senator GOLDWATER, in a very valuable contribution to the debate, asked if the amendment I offer would prohibit U.S. forces in the installation of radar and other facilities to assist local forces in Laos and Thailand. My answer is "No." The amendment is intended to prohibit the use of our Armed Forces in combat

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in the parole, probation, counseling and correctional forces.

The whole correctional system is in disrepair—antiquated, overloaded, operating to corrupt rather than to cure the offenders consigned to it. "Holding tanks," Brock Adams calls the city's jails. What kind of supervision and guidance can the 17 probation officers of the Court of General Sessions give the offenders assigned to them when they carry a caseload of 122 probationers apiece?

In the costly correction of these dramatic defects—and not in assigning policemen to sit for hours on end monitoring telephone conversations at random on the chance of picking up something juicy—lies the real hope of effective attack on crime. Justice delayed is triply destructive. It breeds a sense of helplessness and hopelessness in beleaguered citizens. It breeds cynicism and disheartenment in conscientious police officers who see the offenders they risked their lives to arrest set free by lags and loopholes in the law; see them intimidating witnesses; see them continuing to prey on the community. It breeds contempt and derision in criminals, especially in young punks, who see the forces of law and order frustrated and demoralized. The very heart and center of a realistic attack on crime must be a determination to make the law take its course swiftly and sternly—and with the goal not of sterile retribution but of redemption.

When all this is done—and it all must be done to meet the realities of a condition caused by persistent neglect—it remains essential to remember that such measures deal only with the consequences, not with the causes, of crime. These causes—slums, inadequate schools, squalor, human wretchedness, poverty—will continue, until they are ameliorated, to breed criminals faster than cops can catch them, faster than courts can condemn them. The cost of ignoring these causes is far greater, in terms of money and public safety and human happiness, than the cost of conquering them.

#### HAWAII YOUNGSTERS SHOW CLASS AND SPIRIT TO WIN BASEBALL CHAMPIONSHIP

**HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA**

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 16, 1969

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, we of the 50th State have much to be proud of—our breathtaking scenery, our ideal climate, our splendid heritage of aloha, and our progressive institutions. But now the Nation's youngest State can also boast of another unique achievement—its first international baseball championship.

This world championship was won by the Honolulu All-Star PAL Americans who returned home victorious from the annual PONY World Series, held last month in Washington, Pa.

The title game for the islanders, the Pacific region representatives in the eight-division tournament, was a "come-from-behind" affair. The youngsters trailed 4 to 3, before winning the crown sought by teams from the United States, Canada, and Latin America.

I know that you, Mr. Speaker, and the other Members of Congress, would wish to join me in applauding these outstanding teenaged boys and in commending

them on their championship spirit which reflects such great credit on their parents, their State and the Nation.

A recent editorial from the Honolulu Star-Bulletin summed up our feeling of pride in the world series winners this way:

It was a representative Hawaiian team—made up of that glorious mixture of the Islands' races. And, as seems to be the case with all teams we send to these athletic competitions abroad, it was as much a winner in the fans' hearts as it was on the field.

Warmest congratulations to these players and their proud parents, their coaches, and the estimable Police Activities League, which sponsored the team as part of its productive youth sports program.

The editorial from the Honolulu Star-Bulletin of August 30, 1969, and a related article from the August 28 issue follow for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

#### WORLD CHAMPIONS!

Through scores of seasons and thousands of games, with teams of elementary school boys up to the Triple A professional Islanders. Hawaii tried without success to win a baseball championship.

This week success came when the PAL Americans of Honolulu won the PONY League World Series at Washington, Pa. These boys of 13 and 14 swept through four games undefeated in the final series among eight teams from the United States, Canada and Latin America.

It was a representative Hawaiian team—made up of that glorious mixture of the Islands' races. And, as seems to be the case with all teams we send to these athletic competitions abroad, it was as much a winner in the fans' hearts as it was on the field.

Warmest congratulations to these players and their proud parents, their coaches, and the estimable Police Activities League, which sponsored the team as part of its productive youth sports program.

#### PONY TEAM WINS HAWAII'S FIRST BASEBALL TITLE

WASHINGTON, PA.—Hawaii can now boast of its first international baseball championship, thanks to the PAL Americans, who defeated Arcadia, Calif., 8-5, last night and won the annual PONY World Series.

The victory was the fourth straight for the unbeaten PAL team from Honolulu in the double-elimination series, while Arcadia had been defeated once going into last night's final.

The title game for the Islanders, the Pacific Region representative in the eight-division tournament, was a come-from-behind affair. They trailed, 4-3, before clinching the crown sought for by teams from the United States, Latin America and Canada.

Three home runs, two by Mosilua Tatupu, who drove in four runs, and the fine relief pitching of Keith Tamayoshi, who relieved starter Craig Nakagawa in the third inning, were the major factors in the victory.

After the California team scored a run in the second, Hawaii scored three runs in the top of the third, two on Tatupu's first home run of the game.

Arcadia then regained the lead in the bottom of the third with three runs before Tamayoshi came in to strike out an Arcadia batter with two out and runners on second and third.

Hawaii settled the contest in the fourth with four runs. Neal Ane singled, Howard Nakata doubled in Ane, Bill Barrett singled in Nakata and Tatupu, a 5-10, 175-pounder, who is headed for Farrington High School, crashed his second two-run homer.

Ane, grandson of former Honolulu Mayor Neal S. Blaisdell, hit a solo homer in the sixth inning to cap the game's scoring.

"The kids are just overjoyed," said Hawaii Coach Ed Higa in a telephone interview with the Star-Bulletin today. The players (13-14 year-old All-Stars from the American League of the Honolulu PAL) were just great. I told them Hawaii is proud of them.

"The home runs were really hit. I'd say Tatupu's first one traveled about 280 feet and his second over 300. Ane's was a sharp 280-footer. We're real proud of the boys. Their spirits were high and they had the confidence and will to win."

Pep Toyofuku, Pacific Region director of PONY baseball who accompanied the team to Pennsylvania for the series, told the Star-Bulletin:

"I'm so happy for the boys. After trying for nearly a decade, we're the champions of the world in our class. The way the kids fought back after being behind is something I'm writing home about."

Toyofuku said the Hawaii contingent will return home Monday after visiting with Hawaii's Congressmen in Washington, D.C.

The victory was the second for lefty Tamayoshi, a 5-8, 140-pound Kawanakoa School student. He and Nakagawa were credited with all Hawaii's victories.

The Islanders collected 11 hits and Arcadia 10. Nakawaga allowed seven hits and was charged with four runs.

Tamayoshi was touched for only four hits in his relief role. He struck out four and walked three as he relied on his cracking fastball.

*ME*

#### GREECE: A COMMUNIST GOAL

**HON. J. HERBERT BURKE**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 16, 1969

Mr. BURKE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the Pan Arcadian Society of America, an American-Greek organization, invited Mrs. Burke and myself, together with nine other Congressmen and their wives, to be their guests to tour Greece during the 2-week congressional recess period which just ended.

This being a trip which would not cost the Government anything, I accepted for several reasons. First, because it gave Mrs. Burke and myself the first opportunity to have a vacation with our younger daughter, Kelly, since I was elected to the Congress. During the past several summers, Congress has remained in session during the summer vacation period when Kelly was out on school vacation.

Second, I accepted because I felt it would give me an opportunity to see Greece first-hand and to make a determination regarding conditions under the present Greek military government.

Although there have been recent stories of the Greek people being harassed and their rights being suppressed by the existing military government, my experiences in traveling in Greece and mixing with the people seemed to belie this.

Everywhere I traveled, from Athens to the rural towns, to most of the Greek islands including Rhodes, Crete, Santini, Hydra and others, the people seemed busy, happy, and even prosperous in comparison to other nations I have visited.

The Greek economy, with the city of Athens leading the way, appears to be on the rise, and the recordbreaking

Nor can we see the solution to crime control in wholesale wiretapping or greater reliance on confessions. In the U.S. District Court, D.C., only one major case in the last few years has involved wiretapping. That one, breaking just two weeks ago, dealt with a heavy volume of narcotic traffic. And although confessions, along with statements and admissions-against-interest are used in the preparation of many criminal cases presented in District Court, confessions are seldom relied upon in court. Other, more reliable evidence is generally used.

The answer lies in full support, through additional manpower and resources, together with improved administrative management in the courts, for all elements in the criminal justice process. We must be willing to pay the necessary price for improvement of the component parts of the criminal justice system.

Let it be understood that court reform and increased judicial manpower will not, without assistance, eradicate crime. And let it be clear that the court serves as neither a rehabilitative agency nor a trap for the unwary. Nor is it an institution designed to discipline the police department. It must be counted upon simply to carry its share of the burden which is to determine guilt or innocence and then sentence the guilty and free the innocent.

#### THE INSTITUTIONS FOR REHABILITATION

Most penologists will agree that there are very few institutions which actually "correct" criminals. Most are mere "holding tanks" or "graduate schools" for future criminal behavior. Some are so adept at serving as breeding grounds for crime that they mix juveniles in cells with hardened offenders. Some institutions are as troubled with the distribution of narcotics within their walls as are other agencies with such distribution on the outside.

Nor are our alternatives given a fair chance to succeed. Probation, that extra chance to avoid a life of crime, is seemingly regarded as a joke, rather than the serious matter that it is. Here in Washington, for example, the seventeen Court of General Sessions probation officers with supervision responsibilities carry an unbelievable caseload of 122 probationers each. The sixteen officers attached to the District Court fare little better, each carrying a caseload of approximately eighty probationers.

The parole system wallows under similar conditions. Parole officers in the D.C. Department of Corrections average 130 inmates within the institution, for guidance and counseling, and 51 parolees out on the streets.

The capacity of the D.C. Jail is 593. Its current population is a startling 1,033. The Youth Center at the Lorton Correctional Complex has a capacity of 340. It is populated by nearly 400 youths. The Women's Detention Center holds 80. It now has slightly over 100.

Does anyone wonder why criminals return to the only life they know?

Yet alternatives to incarcerating all offenders do work. One of our judges in the King County Superior Court, in the State of Washington, has recently claimed "at least 85 per cent success" with probationers. Deferred or suspended sentences for first offenders have demonstrated their success. And part-time residential supervision of offenders in small centers within their own communities has helped to break the physical and psychological isolation of institutional life. This is being successfully demonstrated by the Bureau of Rehabilitation's half-way houses here in Washington, D.C.

There is no doubt that we need an expanded use of community-based corrections. For youthful and early offenders, greater provision must be made of personal and group counseling, therapy, tutoring, and perhaps occasional short-term confinement. For those who have served time in correc-

tional institutions, additional emphasis must be placed on securing pre-release centers or half-way houses. Graduated release and furlough programs should be expanded.

This will require determined effort and hard cash. In Washington, D.C., it is estimated that it will take \$25 million for a new jail and \$10 million for a new correctional institution. It will take additional finances to expand the half-way houses and to reduce the parole caseload.

Yet we must take these steps. To stop the revolving door which merely returns hardened felons to the streets will take more than rhetoric. I think we are willing to make that commitment.

#### CONCLUSION: THE COSTS OF CRIME

The personal and social costs of crime are staggering—and too often unacknowledged. The personal anxiety caused by fear and the personal suffering from being a victim of crime are costs for which there can be no dollar figures. The millions of dollars spent by businesses and individuals for protection through insurance, and the expenses required by added security guards and burglar alarms, go largely unrecognized. And the pennies which merchants continually add to the price of goods and services to cover losses incurred through shoplifting, or the costs of "protection" imposed by organized crime, amount to millions of dollars. We may complain about the costs necessary to provide additional policemen or probation officers but we ignore the hidden costs which we everyday are forced to pay.

The costs of incarcerating offenders are generally estimated at double or even triple the costs of community-based supervision. In Washington, D.C., it costs twenty dollars a day to incarcerate an offender at the Youth Center, twenty-three dollars at the Women's Detention Center, and thirteen dollars at the main Correctional Complex. For a man on work release, it costs \$9.80 per day. And that man, in addition, contributes to the tax base. As the Bureau of Prisons has estimated, inmates from these institutions—once released—have earned a total of over five million dollars in salaries during the last three years. Yet we are reluctant to spend money on half-way houses and pre-release programs.

It is time in this nation's history that all of us realize, as I hope I have pointed out we do, that immediate action must be taken to deter crime and restore domestic peace before any of our social programs can truly succeed. We must spend more than the \$5 billion per year which is the current estimated expenditure for police, courts and corrections at all governmental levels. If we can spend \$24 billion to put a man on the moon we can certainly afford to spend the amount necessary to provide safety and security in our own homes.

If we fail, the urban culture of America will darken, asphalt jungles of anarchy will spread through our cities, and our citizens will be nothing more than armed warriors.

The fear that exists in our communities has created a limitless void between human beings. I would hope that this great nation, founded in adventure and matured in exploration, will again find purpose and unity by charting the unknown in the pursuit of domestic peace.

#### THE WAR ON CRIME (CONTINUED)

An attack on crime, akin in magnitude and determination to the launching of a major campaign in the course of a war, is more than ever a domestic imperative. The need for such an attack, mobilizing all the resources at the community's command, has long been evident. But despite the sounding of an alarm by President Johnson and an equally insistent call by President Nixon, the necessary nationwide sense of urgency simply isn't evident except perhaps in the trenches, where outnumbered, under-equipped police forces battle on against impossible odds. In

the command posts however—in Congress, in the federal bureaucracies, in many state-houses and city halls—the war is still being waged, in the main, rhetorically; the needed resources are not being mobilized on anything like the necessary scale.

The inadequacy of the effort is nowhere more evident, or more deplorable, than in the District of Columbia, not only because this is the Capital of the United States but because violent crime in the streets has grown here to appalling proportions. The official police disclosure that 714 armed robberies occurred in this city during the month of August gives a grim foundation to the fear that has become an epidemic in the community. Washington is a city under siege. It must be liberated.

"What is needed," Congressman Brock Adams said in a most distinguished speech last week to a meeting here of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, "is a total commitment of resources—energy, finances, and manpower—toward the eradication of fear, control of crime, and restoration of domestic peace." But the congressman is not content to attack crime with the crude, cheap weapons of demagoguery—slurs on the Supreme Court, contempt for civil liberty and for the rights of privacy, sheer sloganeering. "Fighting for human rights," Mr. Adams observed wisely in defense of his libertarian colleagues, "is not inconsistent with fighting crime." Indeed, it is not. Respect for human rights is the indispensable condition of a respect for the law.

Some of the sensational proposals in the Justice Department's crime bill—wiretapping, for example, or the wresting of confessions from ignorant suspects—have little to commend them save theatricality. They are expressions of panic. One might as sensibly suggest combating crime by declaring a state of martial law or imposing a permanent curfew on the community. Such remedies entail prohibitive social costs.

Mr. Adams' approach is more pragmatic. He begins with advocacy of an enlarged, more mobile, better-educated and better-paid police force for the District—and with a willingness to face and foot the bill for such a force. Congress, as he observes, has not been entirely inactive on this subject. It passed comprehensive anti-crime bills in 1967 and 1968 providing assistance to local law enforcement agencies. But it takes time to recruit and train police professionals. The process needs the utmost acceleration now. Visible police officers unmistakably deter crime.

But this isn't the only answer by any means. "No matter how many police officers we have and no matter how many arrests are made," Mr. Adams went on to say, "criminals will not be deterred unless speedy justice is dispensed. This is why the proposed court reorganization and expansion now pending in the House is of such vital importance. The District Court of General Sessions acknowledged recently that it had more than 1,500 defendants awaiting trial in July. The U.S. District Court here has more than 1,700 criminal cases pending. It is an appalling fact—an appalling reproach to the conscience of the community—that the average time between indictment and disposition of a case in the District Court, as Mr. Adams has pointed out, is 254 days, and twice as much in the Court of General Sessions. If time for the completion of an appeal in criminal cases is added to this, the average span of a criminal proceeding comes to almost two years.

This is a travesty on justice. There is no good reason or justification for such delay. It is unknown in the criminal courts of England. It can be abated in part by increased personnel throughout the judicial system here—not on the bench alone but in the U.S. Attorney's office, in the defense services available to indigent defendants, in the marshal's staff—and, perhaps above all,



number of tourists traveling there this summer was much in evidence.

I can truthfully say that one of the most striking observations during my visit was the lack of crime in the streets. Although there is a military government in power, I saw less soldiers or police in public than I do in Washington, D.C., or any of our large cities.

This element of safety stuck with me as I contrasted the major cities of Greece with cities in our country such as Washington, D.C. and New York where crime is running rampant.

I do not condone any dictatorship whether it be the paternal style of Franco in Spain, the heavy suppression of the Communists, or the military dictatorships that exist in many countries of the world. Yet to me, I would rather have a dictatorship friendly to the United States than a Communist regime such as we have in Cuba today.

As I sat through talks by some Greek government officials I kept in mind the fact that it is a dictatorship that controls the Greek people, but I also kept in mind the fact that Communists are itching to cause trouble and to gain a foothold in this strategically located country that borders three seas in Southern Europe and is only a few miles from Bulgaria, Hungary and other iron curtain countries.

Those in our country, who are calling for the overthrow of the present Greek Government, do not point out in their speeches of criticism that Greece underwent a disastrous civil war in 1947-48, which the Communists instigated, and which brought it perilously close to being taken over by a Communist regime. The truth of the matter is that this threat still exists today.

There are those that would like us to forget that during the 1940's, the Soviet Union stepped up its revolutionary activity in Europe and elsewhere, and brought its boot down on nations such as Czechoslovakia and others that were weak and reeling from the effects of World War II.

History now shows that Greece would have gone under communism had it not been for the tremendous military and other aid given to it by the United States.

The threat of communism in Europe was so strong that all the freedom-loving nations of the Western Hemisphere joined, as a matter of mutual defense, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which was created for the sole purpose of fighting communism.

Greece has always been a member nation of NATO and at this time it might be wise to note that the 20th anniversary of this organization just passed recently—August 24—without fanfare, and with many critics still talking of disbanding the anti-Communist force.

Through the years, America has invested literally billions for the upkeep of NATO and foreign aid programs to rebuild Europe and keep the pro-Western nations free.

It would seem to me that those who propose the disbandment of NATO and those that propose ultraliberals take over Greece forget too easily the perilous

positions of some European nations in regard to Communist takeovers.

Is not the lesson of Czechoslovakia and the other eastern bloc nations clear enough? Why cannot the ultraliberal critics and "do gooders" see the Communists for what they really are?

All Communist nations are dictatorships, but for some reason the Government in Greece is painted as a horror story which simply is not true.

I said previously that I do not condone dictatorships, including the one in Greece, but on the other hand, I am sure that for the time being at least, the present leadership in Greece is needed if the Greek people are to eventually have a free government.

From all I can detect, economic and educational advancement have been made under the present Greek regime and it is a capitalistic nation where free enterprise still exists.

Greece is the cradle of democracy and the Greek people have always cherished freedom, and after visiting and seeing the Greek people, I feel they will ultimately select their leaders through democratic processes without a hammer and sickle hanging overhead and ultimately without the fear of a uniformed dictator tribunal checking the balloting.

#### CONDEMNATION OF SDS AT SOCIALIST CONFERENCE

#### HON. RICHARD H. ICHORD

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 16, 1969

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, the current investigation of Students for a Democratic Society by the House Committee on Internal Security has already produced considerable evidence of violent disruption by SDS members for anti-democratic goals.

It is interesting to observe that individuals closely associated with SDS in the past are today uttering rather harsh judgments with respect to the nature and orientation of SDS activity.

A New York Times correspondent, covering a Socialist conference held in Hopewell Junction, N.Y., recently, interrogated Socialist Party Chairman Michael Harrington on the subject of SDS. The correspondent observed in his account in the Times of September 8, 1969, that Harrington had attended the 1962 national SDS convention at Port Huron, Mich., which is often referred to as the founding conference of the youth group.

That convention, by adopting a set of principles largely written by Tom Hayden and also electing Hayden president, actually served as a kind of rebirth for an organization which had a long and not too successful history as the youth section of the Socialist-Liberal League for Industrial Democracy.

Harrington was chairman of the board of the league in 1965 when the parent organization severed the umbilical tie with SDS. Policy differences at that time included LID disapproval of an SDS de-

cision to admit Communists to membership.

SDS today, Harrington told the New York Times, is "suicidally moving into a sectarian Maoist-Leninist cul de sac."

Harrington was also in agreement, the Times reported, with a blistering condemnation of SDS delivered at the conference by the national chairman of the Young People's Socialist League. The assessment of SDS in the speech of YPSL Chairman Josh Muravchik is quite revealing.

Muravchik declared that "what has been known as the New Left—S.D.S., its fellow-travelers and hangers-on—has now completely established itself as the Old Left."

SDS has adopted all "the most grotesque stupidities which have characterized the failure of American radicalism," the Socialist youth leader explained. "It was bad enough when the Communist Party tried to apply to America the revolutionary program of the Soviet Union," he said, "but to apply to America the revolutionary program of China and North Vietnam just staggers the imagination."

The entire text of the New York Times article detailing the views of the Socialist leaders is as follows:

YOUNG SOCIALISTS DENOUNCE S.D.S.; LEAGUE LEADERS CALL STUDENT GROUP "STUPIDLY IRRELEVANT"

(By William E. Farrell)

HOPEWELL JUNCTION, N.Y., September 7.—Leaders of the youth wing of the Socialist Party, U.S.A., today denounced the faction-ridden Students for a Democratic Society as "stupidly irrelevant" and said the campus organization's "physical and mental ill health make it unattractive to socially idealistic students."

As an alternative, the leaders of the Young People's Socialist League, which numbers about 1,000 members in 25 chapters, most of them on the East and West Coasts, called for the league to recruit more members to "radically transform America in a democratic way."

Standing at an outdoor lectern at the Workmen's Circle Lodge here, Josh Muravchik, a 21-year old senior at City College, who is national chairman of the league, told 275 Socialists that "what has been known as the New Left—S.D.S., its fellow-travellers and hangers-on—has now completely established itself as the Old Left."

He accused the S.D.S. of having adopted "all the most grotesque stupidities which have characterized the failure of American radicalism."

"It was bad enough when the Communist party tried to apply to America the revolutionary program of the Soviet Union," Mr. Muravchik said, "but to apply to America the revolutionary program of China and North Vietnam just staggers the imagination."

#### DELEGATES RECEPTIVE

The receptive throng of delegates—middle-aged teachers and trade unionists, young couples, and youths of high school and college age—laughed when the youthful leader said of S.D.S. "Their mission is completed; they've abolished classes—at Columbia City and California."

He said liberal parents and the mass media had accepted S.D.S. and black nationalists groups as the chief spokesmen of students and Negroes, without bothering to ascertain that they did not reflect the views of the majority who wanted social change.

The criticism of S.D.S. as well as a plan for the league to try to recruit many of the

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students who were active in the campaigns of Senator Eugene McCarthy and the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy received affirmative nods from most of the delegates, including Michael Harrington, the author, who is chairman of the Socialist party.

Mr. Harrington was interviewed just before the two-day conference—which mingled discussions on tax reform and environmental pollution with swims and a cocktail party—drew to a close.

One of those present at Port Huron, Mich., in 1962 when S.D.S. was formed, Mr. Harrington said it was now "suicidally moving into a sectarian Maoist-Leninist cul de sac."

Speaking generally about the Socialist party, whose most famous member was the late Norman Thomas, Mr. Harrington said that it no longer posed as "an electoral alternative."

"We retain the name Socialist party because it's a historic identification," he said, but putting candidates on the ballots was no longer "the way to move America to the left."

The party, which numbers about 3,000 active members, now seeks to form "a majority coalition out of the liberal wing of the Democratic party," Mr. Harrington, who is vice president of the New Democratic Coalition steering committee said.

One of the last speakers was Bayard Rustin, director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, who told the assemblage that he was "pessimistic" about the next few years.

The Young Socialists were making "grave mistake if they think something's going to happen quickly," the civil rights leader and pacifist said.

"We're in a period like the Red Queen described to Alice in Wonderland—it takes a great deal of running to stand still here."

## WHAT MAKES A "BARGAIN"?

HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 16, 1969

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, in all the discussion which has taken place in recent months with regard to the impact of textile and apparel imports on our domestic economy, there is one aspect of this problem which has not received as much attention as it deserves.

I am referring to the stake the women of this country have in reasonable regulation of imports.

Because so many jobs in the textile and apparel industry can be performed by women, this industry has become a haven for the hundreds of thousands of women who are the full or partial breadwinners in their families.

One of the Nation's leading women columnists, Margaret Dana, recently explained why regulation of textile and apparel imports is so important to the women of this country. She pointed out that 80 percent of the employees of the garment industry are women and that their jobs are being threatened by so-called bargain garments which are flooding this country from low-wage nations in the Far East. She warned that if the present uncontrolled flood of imports continues the women employed in the apparel industry will be the first to suffer through lost jobs, lost income, and deterioration of the standards of the apparel products they buy.

Her thought-provoking column, which appeared in the Sharon (Pa.) Herald, is well worth reading, and I ask that it be printed at this point in the RECORD:

BEFORE YOU BUY: WHAT MAKES A "BARGAIN"?

(By Margaret Dana)

Almost the first thing the experienced shopper learns is that a bargain is more than a low price. And the more competent the buyer becomes, the more critically she asks how that low price got that way.

Is it low because the merchandise is left over, undesirable for some reason to the majority of shoppers? It can still be a real bargain. But if that low price is there because the goods were "specially bought" for the sale, the quality may have been badly cut along with the price.

There are other reasons, some of them international, for low prices on some things. One area getting a lot of attention these days is textiles and garments. There has been an astounding growth in recent years of imported fabrics—by the yard and as clothing. Some of it is of good quality, some is poor, but the prices are low. The question is: Are they bargains? Shall we continue to welcome unrestrained floods of foreign fabrics and garments, especially from countries whose standards of living are very low and whose wage scales are incredibly below those in the United States? Responsible consumers should be asking themselves: Who gets hurt to make these bargains?

If the wage scales were competitive, only fair competition would probably result, even if inferior goods managed still to come through. As it is, many a garment worker, whether in Hong Kong or in some other area, may be paid around 17 cents an hour, as compared with \$1.83 an hour in this country, with about 30 cents in fringe benefits an hour. The garment industry here has raised its wages 21 per cent in the last three years, which was right and proper. But it brings serious problems of competing with increasing floods of merchandise produced at the primitive wages of some other countries.

There are various ill-advised spokesmen, some purporting to speak for the consumer, who insist there should be no quotas set on fabrics or garments and no restraints on this competition. Some say that if imports were controlled, the textile and garment industries in this country would immediately have a field day, inflating prices further and generally taking a bite out of the hard-pressed consumer.

The actual facts do not justify any such conclusions. When cotton apparel and textile controls were set, back in the early 1960s, to regulate orderly marketing, there was no increase in cotton apparel prices as a result. If wool and man-made fibers and their products were similarly controlled to prevent a runaway flooding of our markets, there is no reason to suppose there would be any more of a price increase.

The fact is the textile and the garment industries are and always have been highly competitive within themselves. The garment industry is one of the largest employers in our manufacturing industry, with 24,500 plants competing against one another. Many of the companies are tiny, and struggle constantly to keep afloat. They need no outside prodding to keep their prices competitively low.

As a matter of plain fact, the garment industry has managed somehow to keep the increase in prices for their goods below just about every other segment of the economy. In the past 10 years, for instance, while non-durable product prices rose 18.4 per cent, and food prices rose 19.3 per cent, while health and recreation costs rose 30 per cent, apparel prices rose the smallest percentage—16.8 per cent. At that the manufacturer's price in-

crease was lower than the retailer's, even while he absorbed increased wages, overhead, taxes, etc.

Women should also look carefully at this fact about employment in the garment industry: 80 per cent of the personnel in garment factories are women. If uncontrolled imports force a competition that is unfair, women will be the first to suffer—through lost jobs, lost income, and a deterioration of standards.

Shall we let imports continue to rise without any controls whatever, or shall we ask our Congressmen to support reasonable, orderly marketing to prevent further damage to fair competition? This is one "bargain" area where women's voices are needed.

## THE ARMS TRADE—PART V

HON. R. LAWRENCE COUGHLIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 16, 1969

Mr. COUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, the Soviet Union, like the United States, Britain, France, and other industrialized nations, is deeply involved in the international trade in the weapons of war.

Since 1955, when it first entered the arms trade in a significant way, the Soviet Union has distributed nearly \$7 billion worth of arms to some 35 non-bloc countries.

Egypt alone has received approximately \$2 billion of this total, and Indonesia—before the fall of Sukarno—another \$1 billion in arms. The remaining \$4 billion worth of weapons has gone to such countries as Algeria, Guinea, Somalia, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, India, and Morocco. The last four countries named also receive arms from the United States.

One of the better newspaper articles describing the Soviet postwar arms aid program appeared on Sunday, September 14, 1969, in the Washington Star.

I believe that it deserves to be reprinted in full for the benefit of my colleagues. It points out, as I have tried to do in the past, the desperate need for a conventional arms control agreement between the world's great industrial powers.

Fueling regional arms races and catering to the weaknesses of unstable and unsophisticated nations, as the Soviet Union has been doing with its arms aid for the past 14 years, will inevitably lead to a rise in the incidence of conflict and in the spread of defacto wars. Eventually, one of these conflicts or wars will lead, as several have in the past, to a confrontation between the world's two super-powers from which there may be no escape.

A nuclear war could break out as the result of a conventional war escalating out of control, yet there are absolutely no international control agreements in force. Once again, I call on the United States to take the lead and seek to have the question of conventional arms control included on the agenda of the forthcoming strategic arms limitation talks in Geneva.

The article follows:

some beaches unpleasant . . . Our tourist promotion must be fair and candid."

But Stanley Lowry, Santa Barbara Chamber of Commerce manager, says the purpose of the campaign was not to mislead anyone. It was to emphasize the dozens of other attractions in Santa Barbara which are unaffected by the out-of-control gusher.

Chief Dep. Att. Gen. Charles A. O'Brien has charged oil experts are hesitating about helping the state in its preparation of a \$500 million damage suit against Union Oil Co.

Obscurantism and complexity surround certain aspects of the situation.

For example, a panel headed by Dr. Lee A. DuBridge, the President's science adviser, concluded the way to solve leakage problems is to drill more wells to relieve pressure in the channel. The report has not been made public. The only information ever issued was a 1½-page announcement saying the panel favored continued drilling to empty the entire basin of oil.

Weingand, who is as close to the situation as anyone can be who is not connected with an oil company, assesses the pluses and minuses of the situation this way:

The oil rigs on federal leases are still in the channel. They are taking oil out of the ground. New wells are being drilled and exploration is going on beyond the 5-mile limit.

But on state leases there is a ban on oil drilling in the channel, and the State Lands Commission recently upheld the ban despite a recommendation of its own staff.

—The oil companies have lost face because of the massive spill. They are under attack in Congress. With the public they are "bad guys" when it comes to despoiling the environment.

—There is still oil coming up through the fissures, and no one knows how to stop it. Huge underwater tents put over the leaks trap some of the oil, but sometimes the tents tip and large amounts of oil escape and bubble to the surface.

—Bad publicity has hurt the oil industry. Since oil companies depend on the public to buy their products, they cannot stand to be assailed continually.

—U.S. Sen. Alan Cranston's efforts to curb drilling, release the entire DuBridge report, and to crack down on the oil industry, have helped direct nationwide attention to Santa Barbara's problems.

—Court suits totaling \$1 billion against the oil companies will keep them off balance and make them realize the seriousness of incidents such as the Santa Barbara Channel gusher.

—There may not be as much oil offshore as was first estimated. Since it is in "pockets," it will be harder to get at and may be uneconomical to drill and pump.

Meanwhile, the struggle goes on. For the GOO people, the problem is to keep citizen concern alive, burning, and forceful.

An unnamed writer, reviewing the tar on the beaches, dead birds, the massive cleanup attempt, the federal and state hearings which failed to stop the drilling, the night some citizens broke up a city council meeting which they considered too indecisive, and unpleasant confrontations with Union Oil officials visiting Santa Barbara, applied Marshall McLuhan's well-known remark: "Even Hercules had to clean the Augean stables but once!"

## NE SENATOR SCOTT PRAISES DECISION TO DELIVER JETS TO ISRAEL

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, the first contingent of F-4 Phantom jets were delivered to Israel last week. Future deliveries will be made periodically during the coming year until all 50 planes are received by Israel.

I am pleased that the deliveries are now being made. I have long urged that

the United States provide Israel with weapons and equipment necessary for her defense. I have stressed particularly Israel's need of Phantom jets, and was responsible in large measure for the language in the 1968 Republican platform which urged that the United States provide supersonic jets to Israel.

While I hope that mutual disarmament and permanent peace in the Middle East can eventually be achieved, it cannot be done by keeping Israel weak while the Russians continue to stock the Arab arsenal.

Nasser and the other Arab leaders continue their aggression against Israel, and it seems to be increasing rather than subsiding. The Arabs violate the ceasefire agreement on Israel's borders almost daily. There are now more than 100,000 Arab troops massed along Israel's borders.

Any hope that the Arab States might show restraint or be willing to negotiate in good faith to ease the crisis in the Middle East appears to be dwindling. At this point, it is only Israel's strength which prevents the outbreak of war in the area. The Phantom II jets, which are a match for Nasser's Russian jets, will help deter a full-scale Arab attack against Israel.

## DRAFT REFORM

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, on Wednesday, September 10, the Salt Lake Tribune published an editorial entitled "Urgent Need for Draft Reform." Since it well expresses the concern many of us feel about draft reform and campus unrest, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

### URGENT NEED FOR DRAFT REFORM

Campus unrest has many sources but in the eyes of many the military draft, and the Vietnam War that makes it necessary, are the taproots.

As millions of students this month return to colleges and universities Congress is still sitting on draft reform proposals made by President Nixon last May. Meanwhile, although much congressional attention has been given plans for curbing campus unrest, surprisingly little of the effort has focused on revising the draft. Congress cannot end the Vietnam War, but it could overhaul the Selective Service Act.

Experts in human behavior can give all kinds of reasons why the present draft law tends to fuel student defiance. But in the end they come down to one: The present law is unfair, uncertain and wide open to abuse.

President Nixon proposed three basic changes that would help correct these deficiencies: 1—The present seven-year period of eligibility would be reduced to one year. 2—The youngest eligible men would be called first, thereby eliminating the lengthy period of waiting and anxiety. 3—Institution of a random selection system on a national basis rather than by local draft boards alone.

Opponents of draft reform now say that it should wait until after the Vietnam War. But this reasoning overlooks the basic need for changing the law, which is to make the system equitable now, when the men it scoops up are likely to see action in an extremely unpopular war.

It also has been argued that changing the draft to make it more fair would lead to defeat of more sweeping proposals for doing

away with conscription altogether. This could be so but it doesn't follow that young men of draft age today should have to continue under an unfair system in hopes of someday abolishing that system for others.

Draft reform is as vital as tax reform and welfare reform and other proposals now being discussed in Congress and out. It affects not only the lives of the several million young persons directly touched by the draft, but has direct bearing on the domestic peace of the United States now and perhaps far into the future. Draft reform should be given the highest congressional priority.

## THEODORE H. WHITE LOOKS AT THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, as the House of Representatives continues to debate the question of electoral college reform, more and more arguments are coming to light showing the weaknesses of the so-called direct vote plan now before the House of Representatives.

One of the most recent and most interesting comments on the subject is contained in "The Making of the President 1968." This best seller, written by Theodore H. White, one of the most knowledgeable observers of presidential elections, is the third of Mr. White's narrative histories of American politics in action. It is an excellent book and I commend it to all Senators.

While not endorsing any of the plans at present under consideration, Mr. White, correctly in my estimation, dismisses the direct vote proposal as an acceptable alternative to the present method. Commenting on the rationale behind the direct vote plan, he states that the theory "is to be so unaware of present reality as to approach insanity."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the comments of Mr. White contained in chapter 12 be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the comments were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

One must separate out principle from reality to appreciate the ongoing debate about reform of electoral laws for President.

The key idea of the Constitution is Federalism—however, much complicated by its Article Two and Amendment Twelve on the choice of President. The Constitution sets up, as principle, that the Americans should vote, in communities by states, as a federation.

The federal principle is a powerful one, perhaps sounder now in the Age of Experiment than when it was encoded in 1787. Where the Constitution errs, and dangerously errs, is in caging this principle within the entirely obsolete Electoral College. The electors of the Electoral College still legally choose the President after the people have theoretically chosen the electors. In most states, however, the naming of electors is done in practice by party committees or party leaders to give lesser badges of honor to obscure party faithful; in most states, names of electors do not even appear on the ballot. In sixteen states the electors are fossilized, like flies in amber, by state laws that require them to vote for the candidate the people choose. They do not know each other, do not deliberate together, do not consider or discuss candidates. They are supposed to, and almost always do, vote for the candidate the people of their state have chosen. Yet the Supreme Court has held that they cannot legally be compelled to do so. And as passions rise, as the permanent



third party of the South grows in strength, it seems ever more likely that these unknown relics of antiquity may attempt to exercise individual and selective judgment on their own. In 1960, fourteen electors from Alabama and Mississippi, and one from Oklahoma choose to cast their votes for Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia although he appeared nowhere on the ballot. In the closing days of the 1968 campaign a newspaper boomlet arose for Nelson Rockefeller as deadlock candidate if the electors could not achieve a majority. In all fact, the Electoral College, as at present frozen into the law of the land, is an anachronistic survival of a primitive past—as useless as a row of nipples on a boar hog.

The chief alternative proposal in present debate is that of direct election of the President by all the people of the United States, one man, one vote. This is a proposal favored by sitting-down political analysts. It rests on the generalized theory of the assembly as-the-whole, or the principle that people, to exercise power, must exercise it absolutely directly.

To approve the theory of assembly-of-the-whole as a way of electing Presidents of the United States is to be so unaware of present reality as to approach insanity.

There is, to begin with, the need to recognize that voting qualifications differ in every state. Four states permit citizens to vote under the age 21—Georgia and Kentucky 18, Alaska at 19, Hawaii at 20—the other forty-six do not. By altering its age laws to 18, or to 16, or to 14, any state can increase its proportion of the whole vote at will; it can also do so by altering its laws so as to include the large numbers of criminals, convicts, mentally incompetent now all variously excluded. Direct, national, one-man-one-vote elections would require a national election law establishing national qualifications and national registration in every one of the 3,130 counties of the United States.

But it requires more than that—it requires national surveillance of each of the approximately 167,000 voting precincts of the United States. And no national surveillance can work without the establishment of a national police system. Those who report elections know, alas, that the mores and morality of vote-counting vary from state to state. The votes of Minnesota, California, Wisconsin and half a dozen other states are as honorably collected and counted as votes anywhere in the world. There are other states in the Union where votes are bought, paid for and, in all too many cases, counted, manipulated and miscounted by thieves. The voting results of the valley counties of Texas are a scandal; so, too, are the voting results in scores of precincts of Illinois' Cook County; so, too, in ward after ward in West Virginia, in the hills of Tennessee and Kentucky, and in dozens of other pockets of rural or urban machine controlled slums.

The present Federal system compartmentalizes voting in the United States by states; the votes of honest states are not balanced off or out-balanced by dishonest counting in other states; contagion of vote-stealing is limited. If all the 68,000,000 votes of 1960 and all the 73,000,000 votes of 1968 had been cast in one great national pool, then the tiny margins of victory in both elections would have evaporated. Each candidate would, necessarily, have had to call for a recount, and recounts would have continued, nationwide, for months. Vote-stealers in a dozen states would have matched crafts on the level of history; and, so slim was the margin, we might yet be waiting for the final results of both elections. And no practical proposal has yet been made to establish either national qualifications, national registration or, above all, national surveillance of counting.

Another proposal—that of dividing the electoral vote of each state among the can-

didates in proportion to the popular vote within the state—is a proposal for retaining the receptacle of state-by-state voting, but for casting away its content. By this proposal, the electoral votes of each state would remain the same (the number of its Congressmen, plus two more for its Senators). But in each state the electoral vote would be divided to correspond with the percentages of the popular vote in that state.

This is a more substantial proposal than that of direct voting, but it has been debated, under various names and styles, for several decades in Congress.

There are two main objections to this system—one political, the other technical.

Politically, this system has been opposed chiefly by the spokesmen of the big cities and the minority ethnic groups, who likewise, and for similar reasons, oppose direct voting. The spokesmen of the cities and the ethnic blocs have always held that the structure of Congress is cast against them; Congress is dominated by traditionalists who control its committees, and, despite recent reforms, Congress is still weighted heavily in favor of rural areas. Such spokesmen insist that the traditional political counterbalance to Congress has been the President, as executive—he is elected by the states, in the largest of which huge electoral-vote blocs may be swung by the voting of local minorities. It is the Presidential, not the Congressional, elections that make the Mexican-American vote of Texas and California important, the Jewish vote of New York important, the Negro vote of Pennsylvania and Illinois important, the Italian vote of the New England states and New Jersey important. To abolish the winner-take-all system in the states is to eliminate the chief leverage the minorities feel they have in national politics. This argument is a difficult one to defend theoretically, or at any highminded level; but, pragmatically, it reflects the nature of America.

A more important technical objection insists on hearing also—a technical objection raised to insistence by the development of third party in the South. No one has yet defined, nor can anyone define, what is meant by "proportional splitting of a state's vote." Does one mean exact proportions? Should New York's 43 electoral votes have been split at 49.8 percent for Humphrey, Michigan's 21 electoral votes at 48.2 percent for Humphrey, Ohio's 26 votes at 45.2 percent for Nixon and so on? Most importantly—what, under this plan, would have been the distribution of George Wallace's percentages? The addition of his electors in Maryland, in the Carolinas, in Florida, in Michigan, in Indiana, might have been sufficient to throw the election to the House. And the mind boggles at what might have happened as the mathematicians decimalized the percentages of the election of 1960, which would have resulted in Kennedy over Nixon by 00.497 etc. over the 00.496 (almost) of the whole that America voted. How many digits would it have required to establish a President by digitalizing yet further the electoral votes of 1960 within the states to their ultimate percentages? Would it have given a clear leadership to the American people than the solid, hard numbers of the old Electoral College which ran 303 for Kennedy to 219 for Nixon?

Yet a third system has been offered for consideration. It is the election of the President by electoral votes by Congressional district—one electoral vote for whoever carried the majority in each district, two votes (to reflect Senatorial presence) to be determined statewide. This is Federalism carried to extreme; the hard-core Congressional districts of the conservative South and the ethnic-minority blocs of the big cities would be given almost no incentive to vote; the results of such districts would be known years in advance by demographic calculation; and the swing districts of the suburbs with

their own parochial needs would be the chief determinants of the choice of President.

One can find fault with any system of choice of leaders. For two thousand years—or longer, if one wants to go back to the Confucian initiative in Chinese thought—men have tried to find a perfect system of leadership. When Moses descended from Mount Sinai, the Hebrews asked of him, "Who placed you as officer and ruler over us?" and Moses had no answer. In Western history, church and academy, tyrant and politician, scholar and terrorist have all tried to answer this question in challenging or defending systems of government. None has had complete answers either. In the last century of American history, no less than 513 resolutions have been introduced into the Congress of the United States for revising our Presidential electoral laws; and none has been accepted because there are no perfect solutions to the problems of leadership—because the thrust of politics must always run in the direction of the preamble of the Constitution of the United States, which says "We, the people of the United States, in order to make a more perfect Union . . ." More perfect," says the phrase, not "perfect." Perfection is impossible.

In this reporter's opinion, the American system of Presidential election has worked for almost two centuries; yet the challenge remains to make it "more perfect." No present proposal under debate offers a wiser or better system of choice than the Federal idea underlying the present way Americans choose Presidents. In any election, some must be winners—and the Federal system has worked, in the experience of this turbulent decade, better than any of the rival proposals would have worked, given the results of 1960 and 1968. What must be made "more perfect" in the system must be done to confront the challenges of the next generation—above all, the challenge of the racist minority which would divide, rather than draw together, the American people.

Nor are the steps to make the present system "more perfect" necessarily too difficult. In this reporter's opinion, the first requirement must be the elimination, by Constitutional amendment, of the entire Electoral College and the anonymous members who cast electoral votes. States, however, should continue to vote by state, giving or denying all their electoral votes to a single candidate, with no intermediary device of individual electors to permit escape from, or distortion of, their vote. If a third party manages to capture enough electoral votes—as is its right—to deny any candidate a clear majority of good, round, solid electoral votes, then, as the Constitution foresaw, the decision must go to a higher court of appeal. There is little reason that I can see to change the identity of the present Court of Appeal, which is the House of Representatives. But since, in such a case, the Federal idea of a vote by communities of states will have failed to prevail, the House should be released from its present Constitutional mandate to vote by state, unit by unit, one state, one vote. Congressmen, elected every two years, are the men closest to the swing of sentiment in American life; and they should be permitted to vote individually, one man, one vote, for the President (and his chosen running-mate, the Vice-President) until a majority has been reached among them. If, at some point to be determined, they cannot reach a majority, then, after a fixed limit of ballots, the man who earns the plurality of votes among them, should be constitutionally accepted as President and his running-mate as Vice-President. And then it is up to him to make history. We may face a future of minority Presidents—but it should be remembered that the greatest of American Presidents, Abraham Lincoln, was the President chosen by the most diminished minority vote that ever elected a President of this

mid-East

# Egyptian Planes Raid in

## Sinai

### 7 Downed Israel Says; Foes Claim 4

TEL AVIV (AP) — Egyptian planes carried out repeated strikes against Israeli forces in the occupied Sinai Desert today in retaliation for Israel's attacks against the Egyptian coastline south of Suez.

The Israelis reported they shot down seven of the raiders and probably bagged an eighth one in two raids against its positions.

The Egyptians said they downed four Israeli planes and destroyed Israeli artillery, naval installations, antiaircraft batteries, ammunition dumps and an administrative headquarters in three successive attacks.

There was no word from Israeli headquarters on the third reported attack.

#### Raid in Retaliation

The Egyptian attacks were in retaliation for the Israeli amphibious raid on Egypt's Gulf of Suez coast Tuesday, in which Israeli troops reported killing 100-150 Egyptians, and an air attack in the same area yesterday.

A military spokesman quoted by Cairo radio said Egyptian planes attacked Israeli army positions and in ensuing dogfights shot down three Israeli jets in the first two attacks. One Egyptian plane was reported lost.

The spokesman declared the Egyptian raid was concentrated on troop and artillery positions in central and northern Sinai and destroyed two Hawk missile sites and a radar station.

The Cairo statement said Israeli planes then tried twice to attack Egyptian defense positions on the Gulf of Suez south of the Suez Canal but were driven off by jet fighters and ground fire.

#### Israeli Account

The Israeli spokesman gave this account of the Egyptian raids:

Egyptian aircraft first crossed the Suez Canal at 9:30 a.m. and wounded three Israeli soldiers in the northern part of the Sinai Desert. Two Egyptian planes were shot down during this raid, one by a U.S. Hawk antiaircraft missile and one by Israeli planes, while a third Egyptian plane "probably" was downed by antiaircraft fire.

At noon, Egyptian planes again crossed the canal and the Gulf of Suez to strike at Israeli forces at Ras el Misalla, 10 miles south of Port Suez, and at an unidentified area along the canal.

The Israeli air force met the raiders, and two MIG21s and two Sukhoi fighter-bombers went down in the dogfights. Another Hawk missile brought down a fifth plane.

No Israeli planes were hit and there were no Israeli casualties in the second attack, the spokesman said.

Israeli planes struck across

the Jordan River into Jordan earlier.

The army said two Israeli planes flew across the Jordan to knock out an Arab guerrilla position south of the Sea of Galilee.

The Israelis said the guerrillas had fired on three Israeli patrols. The military spokesman said both planes returned safely.

The army also reported four Arab saboteurs were killed in a clash with Israeli troops near the Damiya Bridge across the Jordan north of the Dead Sea.

In the northern Jordan Valley, the Israelis said Jordanian forces blew up a water pump turbine today, threatening the water supply to an Israeli kibbutz.

The raid apparently was in retaliation for an Israeli raid into Jordan June 23 in which the Chor Irrigation Canal was hit, severely damaging Jordan's water supply.

In Amman, a Jordanian spokesman charged that the Israeli planes used napalm in the raid, causing Jordanian casualties.

The semi-official Cairo newspaper Al-Ahram charged that the United States collaborated with the Israelis in planning the amphibious raid and that the purpose was to offset the political effects in the Middle East of Libya's revolution.

Representatives of the Central Intelligence Agency met in Rome earlier this week with Israeli military intelligence for the planning, the paper claimed. It said its information came from an Arab embassy in Paris.

The Soviet Communist party newspaper Pravda said the Israeli raid was "a new challenge to the U.N. Security Council and the United Nations as a whole."

Pravda said Israel hopes it can "rely on the unlimited support of its overseas protectors," apparently referring to the United States, but it said such reckoning "may prove to be a grave miscalculation."

At the United Nations, 26 Moslem nations were expected to present a proposal to the Security Council calling for condemnation of Israel's failure to carry out the council's previous resolutions to reverse the annexation of Arab East Jerusalem.

The Communists have time and again in Vietnam as elsewhere demonstrated they have little regard and concern for human life and no comprehension of the concept of humane treatment.

We have all heard, of course, from the two recently released American prisoners how Hanoi actually treats our captive servicemen. These revelations were shocking.

However, I feel that at last one aspect of Hanoi's cruelty to these Americans and their families has not been fully disclosed. It has to do with the scores of Americans, particularly flyers, who are missing over North Vietnam and considered by the Defense Department to, in all probability, be captives.

A case in point involves a Navy flyer from my district, Metropolitan Nashville-Davidson County, Tenn.

He is Cmdr. William Porter Lawrence of the U.S. Navy. Commander Lawrence was shot down near Nam Dinh, North Vietnam, on June 28, 1967, and no word of or from him has been received since.

It is hoped that Commander Lawrence parachuted to safety and is now a captive. His radarman has been reported as having been seen by another prisoner and his parachute was seen opening as his aircraft went down. The Navy also has stated that his homing-rescue device was active and transmitting signals. He is considered by the Navy to have been captured but there is no substantiating evidence of this.

Mr. Speaker, this is mental cruelty and torture of the most perverse type. Billy Lawrence's family have for more than 2 years lived with only hope and prayer that their son may be alive.

Every conceivable effort has been made to secure information on the whereabouts and condition of Commander Lawrence through neutral nations and indirectly through the North Vietnamese Government but to no avail.

What is to be gained Hanoi by this type of conduct—cold, calculated cruelty? There is little we can do by way of overt action to change this policy in North Vietnam. However, if it is true that Hanoi is responsive to American public opinion then our words here today, hopefully, will initiate a wave of national indignation which will be heard by the North Vietnamese. For us it is just about all that we can presently do, but if public opinion is our only weapon then let us employ it with the maximum of efficiency.

#### ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO DEFEND ITSELF

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Mr. FARBSTEIN) is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, the 21st summer of the Arab war against Israel has seen an alarming number of unpunished—and therefore undaunted—aggressions from the many quarters of the Arab world. These include—and the list is by no means exhaustive—constant heavy Egyptian artillery barrages and commando raids across the Suez Canal; innumerable attacks launched from Jordan and Lebanon against Israel po-

sitions and settlements; the shelling of a Dead Sea beach resort area by Iraqi troops stationed in Jordan, killing a 26-year-old American girl—the first tourist death since the June war; the blowing up by terrorists of a pipeline in Haifa and Aramco's tapline in the Golan Heights; the terrorist explosion of a car on a street corner in Tel Aviv; the terrorist hijacking 2 weeks ago of a TWA plane to Syria, which is still holding two Israel civilian passengers captive; and terrorist attacks on Israel and Jewish establishments in London, Bonn, Brussels, and The Hague.

As if to assure the world of their aggressive madness, Arab government leaders have called for a Moslem holy war and Arab terrorist leaders have vowed a no-holds-barred war against Jews everywhere, including the United States.

Throughout this long hot summer of Arab aggressions—cease-fire violations—the United Nations Security Council and Secretary General U Thant have looked the other way, insisting that Israel do the same and condemning her when she does not.

But unlike the United Nations, Israel cannot afford to ignore the fact that Israel soldiers and civilians are picked off and murdered daily by Arab regular and "irregular" forces. And while she surely appreciates the tongue clucking by Western powers occasioned by some particularly outrageous Arab atrocity, she can hardly rely on that as a means of defense.

In keeping with the time-honored adage that those who play with matches get burned, Israel has finally struck back hard at Nasser's Egypt. Once more, as James Reston observed after the June war, Israel has "had the courage of our convictions."

I am, therefore, both shocked and puzzled by the invectives which have been hurled against Israel this week, branding her counteraction against Egypt as "aggression" and calling upon our Government to cut off arms to Israel.

Israel's strength alone keeps the Middle East from exploding into a new war. That the Arabs would launch a full-scale invasion to destroy Israel and massacre her people if there were any chance of success is readily admitted—no, promised—every day by Arab leaders, Arab terrorists, and the Arab press.

Democratic countries who are both willing and able to stand up for themselves are few and far between in this world, and it is in America's highest interest to support them. Surely we can recognize that rarity, a stable democratic state capable of its own self-defense, when we see it.

Israel has never asked that American troops be sent to her defense, but only that she be permitted to buy from us the military equipment she needs to insure her survival. To deny Israel the means for her self-defense is, by definition, to condemn her and her people to death.

#### CONGRESS DELAYS WHILE THE STUDENT LOAN PROGRAM COLLAPSES

(Mr. PODELL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at

this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, hundreds of thousands of students on the Nation's campuses depend upon student loans at moderate interest rates in order to obtain higher educations. This year, while Congress squats on dead center, several hundred thousand of these young people, whose only crime is that they attend colleges and universities, anxiously and with increasing despair watch time run out on their chances to obtain these loans. More than 200,000 of them will be unable to attend classes if they do not receive them.

In 1965, the Federal Government began guaranteeing student loans and paying the 6 percent interest on them until these students completed their educations. In 1968, Congress raised the ceiling on Government interest payments to banks from 6 to 7 percent. Since then, however, banks have been able to raise the prime interest rate to 8½ percent. Such usurious interest rates make it far more profitable for them to invest in enterprises other than higher educations of America's young people. Therefore, they are refusing to make these loans with available funds.

Banks insist supplemental interest payments are essential. They demand their pound of flesh or no capital for education. Sheepskins be damned, is their motto. The hide of the average small borrower is more lucrative to them. Even the sweat of overworked parents cannot come up with enough in the way of interest to make them loosen purse-strings. Therefore, a program is now in jeopardy which loaned college money to 750,000 young Americans last year.

A guarantee of more interest from the Congress to banks is therefore called for, and I believe the House must move in this direction. The Senate has already taken affirmative action. The scope of this looming disaster is readily apparent when we realize that 750,000 students who borrowed last year under the guaranteed loan program accounted for \$670 million. Loans under the three other major Government loan programs to students came to only \$625 million. These latter programs have been cut or held even this year, making action on our part even more imperative.

In addition, we must realize that on almost every campus across the Nation, tuition and other educational fees and costs have risen once again. Students and their families are caught in an impossible bind. Right now the measure which would allow Government to offer a guarantee to banks of an increased interest rate is stalled in a procedural tangle which exposes the worst elements of Congress to the light of day. How can we sit here passively while perhaps a quarter of a million young people helplessly see their educations placed in jeopardy? How can we daily pay lip service to all the American ideals if we are able to turn around and perpetrate such an act against these youngsters, who are not guilty of a thing save a desire for an education?

There is talk of an antirioting amendment. I say this is nonsense, and most



of the Members of this House are in perfect agreement. The vast majority of students on our campuses, and there are going to be 7 million this year, are the finest group of young people this Nation or any other country has ever assembled and produced. They are the hope of our land, and few are guilty of the multitude of sins the ignorant and demagogic among us are fond of accusing them of. On specious grounds of rabble-rousing slogans, we are prepared to deliver a body blow to the hopes of so many. Scandal and national shame are not strong enough to describe this state of affairs.

A time has come for this Congress to reaffirm its hope in the future of this Nation, rather than damn the ills of our past and search for doom in the present. It is time we showed a smidgin of faith in our own ideals and the young people who reflect them, rather than damning them as hoodlums, drug addicts, and professional dissenters. They merely mirror the rest of our society.

#### PRESIDENTIAL ACTION CAN SOLVE THE HOUSING SHORTAGE

(Mr. BARRETT asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, recent newspaper accounts of the confrontation between those employed and those seeking employment in the building trades in Pittsburgh relate a situation which could develop in every city in the Nation. This situation need not exist.

The Congress last year enacted a Housing and Urban Development Act setting forth housing goals for the next 10 years, which if implemented and put into effect by the administration would resolve the dilemma. In fact, a labor shortage could develop in the building trades.

The present situation is a direct result of Presidential determination. The President can act to resolve the problem in Pittsburgh and elsewhere, and at the same time move the programs forward to provide decent, safe, and sanitary housing for all the people of our Nation.

An acute analysis was presented by Michael Harrington in the Washington Evening Star of September 9, 1969, which I include for my colleagues to read:

#### BLACKS, UNIONS ROW CAN BE SOLVED

There is a simple way to resolve the bitter conflict between blacks and building tradesmen in Pittsburgh. But since it is also expensive the government will almost certainly not act and both the Negroes and the union men will both lose no matter which side seems to win.

The basic problem is that decent work is scarce. The blacks rightly want to break out of the menial, janitorial occupations to which this society assigns them; and those whites who are already employed understandably want to protect their jobs. Under such circumstances there has to be a destructive collision.

But if there were a sudden increase in the demand for construction workers all that would change. The white labor force would be secure and there would be a need for new men, many of them black. And once the fundamental economic quarrel over jobs

was settled there would still be personal prejudices between the old antagonists, but the desperate urgency of the current confrontations would be gone.

Such a solution has already been proposed by a Presidential Commission and then, as usual, been filed and forgotten. Less than one year ago Sen. Paul Douglas' National Commission on Urban Problems told the White House and the nation that if the goals of the Housing Act of 1968 were actually put into effect, there would be a labor shortage in the building trades. If that happened then the same economic logic which recently caused auto makers to hire ghetto dwellers would begin to operate: it would be profitable to compete for the talent of the poor, both black and white.

The innocent observer might think that just because a blue-ribbon panel shows that we can get more housing and less racism in one stroke, the society will act. But that, as anyone who has followed the generation of broken promises in this area knows, is not the case. It would take federal money and imagination, and Richard Nixon is stingy with both.

Pat Moynihan's announcement that there would be hardly any new funds for social spending right after the end of the Vietnam war—assuming that the President stops equivocating and ends that tragedy—was a statement of political choice, not economic necessity.

If you assume the administration's particular, and wrong-headed, priorities—like allocating billions to ABM and MIRV—there won't be enough cash around. But if, as Pat Moynihan himself brilliantly pointed out in his last book, the arms race were deescalated and social values became primary, the supply of Federal dollars would grow faster than the demand for them.

So Nixon is not bowing to the economic fates but making his own choice. It is for that reason that there won't be money for housing, or for many other things, and that the war in Pittsburgh between the ex-poor of the Thirties and the now-poor of the Sixties will go on. And the sad fact of the matter is that, under current conditions, neither side can win.

There are union men who have already cheered George Wallace in Pittsburgh and there are blacks who are convinced by these events that labor is indeed racist. In short, two of the key forces in any potential progressive coalition are turning against one another.

Even if the Negroes would win a few jobs, they would lose the political possibility of getting an administration which would open up decent work for all the poor. And even if the whites repulse the blacks, they will be helping forces, like the people behind Wallace, who are the enemies of union security. The overwhelming majority of American trade unionists understood this point when they voted for Humphrey, not Wallace or Nixon, in 1968.

But there is one alternative to the impasse in Pittsburgh which just might work. The nation is filled with people deploring the conflict. Let the union agree that new jobs will be filled without discrimination and with special concern for the poor, of whatever race. Let the blacks understand that the crucial problem is to create new openings and not to displace, and embitter, the employed. And then let them join and call the American bluff. Let them demand that Richard Nixon and George Romney redeem the 1968 pledges about housing and open up new jobs in Pittsburgh in the process.

Farfetched? But the building tradesmen, and particularly the Carpenters, are now accepting the idea of mass produced housing; and as long ago as the great March to Washington of 1963 black America understood that freedom could only come with new jobs. And more to the point, if this so-

ciety continues to default on its promises, if black and whites fight one another rather than uniting to get work for all, those clashes in Pittsburgh are going to be repeated in every city in the Nation.

#### ASSISTANT SECRETARY PALMBY SPEAKS OUT ON AGRICULTURAL TRADE

(Mr. MIZE asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Clarence Palmby has diligently worked and traveled to promote U.S. agricultural exports. His efforts to overcome problems inherited from past years have been appreciated by farmers and by grainmen across the Nation.

His public statements on the difficulties the Nation is experiencing with the International Grains Arrangement have been honest and forthright.

Mr. Speaker, one of the best statements Mr. Palmby has made on the difficult problems of trade was before the September 3 meeting of the Illinois Grain Corp. In that statement, Secretary Palmby outlined some of the steps taken by the administration to keep U.S. products competitive and increase future exports.

There is no more crucial area of trade policy than agricultural trade. Our agricultural plant is the most efficient in the world. Diplomacy and hard-headed business tactics must be combined to promote the future prosperity of U.S. agriculture through productive export policies.

Because of the clarity and obvious good sense of the Assistant Secretary's remarks in Illinois, and because a healthy commodity trade helps our entire economy, I insert his statement in the Record at this point:

#### YOUR AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS

(Remarks by Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Clarence D. Palmby)

I am pleased to be with you this evening—to share views with a group so important to the agriculture of this great farming State. My thanks to Barney Adomiet for his invitation—and to all of you for your kindness and hospitality.

Barney is a long-time friend. I don't have to tell you what he has been able to achieve with the Illinois Grain Corporation, in the very few years he has been your General Manager. But I might add that he is highly appreciated throughout the cooperative field—and throughout agriculture in America.

I want to talk with you about some of the problems that we have before us in world trade. Barney points out to me that Illinois is not only the number one agricultural exporter, but also the leading exporter of manufactured products among the 50 States. Illinois is truly a part of the world community.

The strengthening of American agriculture—through market development here and throughout the world—is a major goal of the Administration. It is one that engages a large measure of my time and energy. It is one that each of you shares in, as a marketer of grain and soybeans.

Our farm exports have fallen off some in each of the past two years—declining more than a billion dollars from the record level of \$6.8 billion in 1966-67. The dock strike was, of course, a major contributor—one

between the Justice Department and the auto manufacturers.

As main features of this drive, I have already written to every legislator in the State asking them, if they agree, to indicate their support for an open trial in this case. I am also asking various government units to show their interest in filing damage suits against the manufacturers if an open trial should eventually prove the Justice Department's charges to be valid.

In addition, a statewide petition is now being distributed in California to show mass citizen concern and support for an open public record and decision in this case.

ME

### CONDEMNATION OF IRAQI EXECUTIONS

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 11, 1969

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues and all our fellow citizens, the recent execution by the Government of Iraq of 15 alleged spies. Since the beginning of this year alone, 36 Iraqis have been executed by their government without even the rudimentary guarantees of due process that we take for granted in the United States.

Because of the present tragic situation in the Middle East, it is undoubtedly true that there are individuals actively engaged in spying and espionage activities. However, it is clear to me that the Iraqi Government is conducting this series of "trials" and executions primarily to distract public attention from its own inadequacies and failures.

Dictatorial and oligarchic regimes have always sought to find scapegoats to blame for their own oppression. In this way, they try to circumvent opposition and criticism by calling for national unity in the face of an imaginary threat. Adolf Hitler and his cohorts in Nazi Germany succeeded in persuading many of their countrymen that the source of Germany's economic and political problems after World War I was an "international Jewish conspiracy." There is no need for me to describe in detail the tragic consequences of this deception for the 6 million Jews who were murdered. The Soviet Union has for many years blamed its shortcomings on the remnants of "bourgeois deviation" rather than on its continued suppression of political freedom and civil liberties.

Nations, like individuals, tend to look for "fall guys." Democracies, like honest individuals, ultimately face up to their problems, and accept the responsibility for error and the necessity for change. Dictatorships find such integrity of purpose inconsistent with their continued existence, and would rather hang people than recognize their inadequacies and act to correct them.

I condemn the reprehensible conduct of the Government of Iraq and urge my colleagues to join me in pressing for a peaceful and mutually satisfactory settlement to the tragic and self-defeating conflict in the Middle East.

### THE FUTURE ROLE OF THE U.S. NAVY

HON. DAVID E. SATTERFIELD III

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 11, 1969

Mr. SATTERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, on August 18, I had the privilege of participating in a press seminar at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, on "The Future Role of the U.S. Navy." This seminar, moderated by the distinguished columnist Mr. Robert D. Novak, dealt primarily with the role of our Navy as it pertains to first, the political and national security environment; second, conditions of peace and conventional war; and third, general war and deterrents of general war.

Discussion of the subject dealt with some of the current issues which have been raised in Congress with regard to the role of the U.S. Navy, particularly its attack aircraft carriers. Because of the timely nature of this seminar, and the important observations it produced, I include at the close of these remarks, for the information of my colleagues, the text of the report on this seminar prepared by the Center for Strategic and International Studies of Georgetown University:

#### THE FUTURE ROLE OF THE U.S. NAVY POLITICAL AND NATIONAL SECURITY ENVIRONMENT AS IT AFFECTS THE FUTURE ROLE OF THE U.S. NAVY

The political and security environment of the world is undergoing significant change. There is in many areas increased instability, increases in the forces of nationalism, tendencies towards neutralism, a withdrawal of western military capabilities and insertion of Soviet military presence through the expanded global role of the Soviet navy, and broad programs of military, economic and political aid.

#### Caribbean Sea and Latin America

From the standpoint of examining the navy's role, at the moment political issues in the Western Hemisphere are the most significant. Looking at the area as a whole, there are three primary kinds of commitment, in regard to which we are facing a time of considerable change. First is the inescapable commitment of geography; the second, the longstanding historical commitment; and third, the most significantly at present, the pattern of commitments that are challenged by on-going change stemming within the structure of the Organization of American States. We have reached a kind of impasse as reflected in Governor Rockefeller's recent trip, preventing constructive, collaborative and cooperative action. There are two points of key concern: One, the Panama Canal, and the other, Cuba and the Florida Straits. In regard to the Panama Canal, negotiations are stalled with respect to the Canal Treaty revision, which may reduce U.S. rights. In Cuba, which lies across the Atlantic approach to the Panama Canal, we may be at the threshold of a new Soviet naval entry into the area with the unprecedented visit of a naval flotilla to Cuba. A permanent Soviet presence there could pose major problems in regard to the political stability of the small unstable states in the Caribbean region.

In the Middle East, the naval interest is very high. We have had our Sixth Fleet there for twenty-one years, but perhaps for fifteen or sixteen, we had no competition. Now

the Soviet Navy has moved into the area, and its strength is at an all-time high in the Mediterranean. This has created all kinds of difficulties, both for the United States and the U.S.S.R. No longer do we have the Mediterranean exclusively to ourselves, therefore, we cannot do all the things we used to do with the freedom and flexibility that could be exercised until about 1965, possibly '67. For the Russians this is a new experience.

They have been trying for a long time to break out of their traditional confinement. They have never been as successful in this area until the present decade. The Soviet Navy has been able to get more and more money for the kind of expansion they would like to see in the coming decade. They have in mind establishing a global presence in support of Soviet World political and economic ambitions. They have unlocked the puzzle of breaking out of their traditional confinement by imitating our underway replenishment and repair techniques. This they would like to do in the Atlantic and in the Indian Oceans. Their presence in the Indian Ocean and the closing of the Suez Canal have posed major logistic problems. Nevertheless, they have been able to establish bases in the Mediterranean and now near the Bab-al-Mandeb at the south of the Red Sea. These may be used as jumping-off places for acquiring other bases. In that area and in the region of the Indian Ocean the British withdrawal presents a vacuum which the Russians are already attempting to fill.

#### NATO

NATO has provided reasonably acceptable responses to three major requirements: first, the justification of the U.S. presence in Europe in a way that is reasonably acceptable to American and European people and their governments; secondly, assistance in building and maintaining internal order in Western Europe, and this means especially reconciling the Germans to their neighbors; thirdly, the provision of forum in which current crises can be examined and, if necessary, dealt with prudence and sobriety and in which security aspects of alternative European futures can be explored. The latter has become difficult. NATO's vigorous past looks better if you stop around 1963. For the past four or five years, there has been considerable increase in tensions and differences, there has been an increase in disputes and backbiting. In spite of the modest rebirth of NATO following the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia, the concrete effect inside of NATO has not been great. The prosperity of NATO appears somewhat superficial, the institution remains somewhat in the doldrums while the United States and European relations and East-West relations become a subject of great debate. We stand at the threshold of a lot of new events in Europe; for example, the forthcoming German election, Britain's domestic problems and the anticipated election in Great Britain, the new government in France, the new prospects for WEU, the possibility that Britain and Scandinavia and other countries may be admitted to the Common, the riddle of Greece, and the question of changed relations between countries like Spain and Turkey with the Soviet Union and other parts of Eastern Europe. While improvements in NATO may be the prudent course of policy, we may face the fact that NATO may have to be replaced some day.

#### The Far East

A key factor in the evolution of developments in the Far East is the Sino-Soviet conflict, which promises to perpetuate itself. It has caused the Soviets to go more to sea for the movement of their weapons to Vietnam. The Soviet Navy in the Far East is of considerable importance. Its presence in an area of conflict where our interests are involved can be a growing detriment. It can, through its presence, bring doubt among some of our allies as to U.S. will and action.

Even Red China, the exporter of revolution, in spite of its trouble in internal problems, is very capable of expanding with what is now a coastal navy. Of this there are some straws in the wind. The basis for our naval presence in the area is founded on commitments to many states. For example, the obligations to Taiwan still exist and for this our naval presence will be necessary. We would like to see Japan fill some role other than economic to supplement our forces in the Pacific but Japan so far has rejected this course. A number of developments in the area create a condition wherein opportunism is going to become more important as well as a turn toward neutralism and greater change. France and Pakistan have repudiated SEATO. Indonesia has rejected any potential alliance and is not leaning to the West. The French have withdrawn, the British are withdrawing, and we, too, hope to withdraw in a measure at least from Vietnam. This could increase the importance of U.S. naval capabilities in the Pacific.

#### DEFENSE VERSUS DOMESTIC PRIORITIES

Perhaps another factor in the political discussion ought to be what is happening here in regard to greater demand for spending on domestic affairs. A rather active debate on national priorities is already under way. It is going to continue for the next four years.

The view was advanced that both internal domestic programs and defenses are essential. In other words, we need what we need to defend the country, and we need what we need to have the country prosper and insure the welfare of its citizens. We need both. We cannot trade them off.

It has been said that you can take a particularly pressing social problem, the need for schools in a particular depressed area, and set it against what we are spending for chemical and biological warfare, and create a sophisticated tradeoff, which of course has no application to the generality of it. The definition of objectives raises many issues about adversaries.

Do we still believe that there is a drive by world Communism for domination? Is it going to be Chinese or Russian or a combination of both, or is it going to be a nationalistic approach by Russia? What is our answer to this and what will we do? And what do we want to do?

It is from these objectives that we will be able to determine what sort of an armed forces establishment we will have and what their role will be. And it will not be a direct argument between social progress and defense.

In this question of trading off one can well say that the greatest social service that a government can render to its people is to keep them alive and free, which is after all the business of the diplomats and soldiers.

As to what our national policy and our objectives for the future are going to be, military men of course await the civilian leadership.

What the decision will be we don't know. But when the decision does come on our future national policy, which is up for debate now, then it will be up to the military to come up with supporting strategies, naval strategies, that will be in support of the national strategy that is to be adopted. Until the United States really decides what its national objectives are, you can not equate aircraft carriers against education and things of this kind. First one must determine what are our national objectives.

The point was raised that the United States still has many friends around the world, and we still are the backbone of the free peoples of the world. We still want people to be able to determine their future. The view was strongly expressed that we are not about to come back to Fortress America. We cannot withdraw from the fact that we are a world power. Some felt our national objec-

tives are not going to be changed to a great extent.

The priority of national security was inferred from references to the Constitution. If you look at the six purposes in the preamble three are related to national security. And if you look at the 17 duties of the Congress, seven of them are related to national security. And if you look at the three duties of the President, two are related to national security. The first one mentioned is Commander in Chief. And the first function of a government is national defense; the protection from outside threats.

Giving priority to national defense, it was argued, worked in the past. In Korea we mobilized a little bit. We spent 18 percent of the GNP for national defense in that war. We not only appropriated enough money to fight the war but started rebuilding the Army, Navy and Air Force. In other words, we went to the war on a pay-as-you-go basis. We didn't do it in this last one. What we did was in effect keep the budget level, the \$50 billion level that Mr. McNamara programmed when he first came in. This represented a decrease in the amount of resources devoted to national defense in terms of the percentage of GNP. We just piled the war on top. So what we actually got was about a 1 percent increase over the rather level allocation of GNP to defense during the Eisenhower administration, where it ran about 8.3 percent plus or minus 2.

This reasoning concerning priorities was directly challenged. Reference was made to the "McNamara catechism" which was given to us all before we sat down to make a posture statement before the Vietnam war broke out, namely, the President told us to buy whatever we needed at the lowest possible price. And then the Vietnam war came along. Project after project was postponed, stretched out or canceled. We found out that for all the brave words of 1960-61 we couldn't back it, we couldn't handle Vietnam and still do the rest of the things in the strategic budget and elsewhere.

It was maintained that domestic problems are more important even than national security to a lot of people. We have a very large segment of the population of two hundred million who haven't at this time the slightest interest in our national security problem because their domestic problems are more important to them. It is a very large segment of our people.

And then there is another large segment that we may be forgetting. There is a generation that is growing up that is totally disinterested in the Communist threat. They don't believe in it. They don't think that it exists. They did not live through the World War II or even the Korean War, or if they did, they were very young, and it doesn't mean anything to them. Nor did they live through a depression period which has an impact on the thinking of domestic problems. This group is a very large one. Its members are going to be our voters ten years and twenty years from now. We are talking about the future of the Navy—are these people really interested in whether a navy floats around the world protecting our national interests, since they don't know what those are. To them domestic problems are much more important. We ought to consider this, and not say that domestic requirements cannot be equated with or traded off with military needs. We are doing just exactly that. The federal budget is a determination of those priorities. These must be tradeoffs.

Use of the Korean War as an example of fighting on a pay-as-you-go basis was questioned on the grounds that other needs were not being met or were put off because of the military priority. It was further argued that one of the reasons for the limited objective in Viet Nam, according to McNamara, was that he was not going to be stuck with

\$12 billion worth of useless surplus equipment that the Eisenhower Administration ended up with.

It then was interjected that the Korean surplus was what saved Mr. McNamara from an embarrassing shortage of munitions during the first two years of Vietnam—that is until we belatedly got the production lines cranked up.

In further rejoinder it was opined that there has been no real orderly approach to many of domestic problems in our government. Spending for domestic purposes has grown extensively when you look at the total budget of \$57 billion in what might be called the HEW area. We could get a lot more for that money by employing modern technical systems. We will come to this.

It was further argued that it is incorrect to say that all of the people under 30 don't worry about the defense of their country or the security, because if you look at the number of people that have gone through the Southeast Asia business you will be surprised at the number of the young people who really see the requirements.

Concern was expressed about a move alleged to be afoot today where many people are suggesting that we should not change our fundamental basic commitments, but that we ought to attempt to control them by curtailing our capabilities either in terms of the size of our forces or the equipment that we provide for them. It was maintained that we should put first things first; ascertain what our commitments would be internationally, and what our commitment should be domestically, determine the priorities in each separately, and then—based on the amount of funds available—divide it up to do the best that we can in each area.

The need for a better definition of national objectives, however, was generally recognized. We are confronted with a two-fold security problem in this country: security from outside attacks and security from within. Priorities must be met to the extent our finances permit, in spite of the problem of inflation.

#### STATUS OF THE SOVIET NAVY

The Soviet Navy is no longer a "coastal" navy. It was 20 years ago following World War II. It was a coastal navy when it operated out of its own coast and its mission was strictly a defense mission. But the Soviet Navy today is entirely a different one. It is the most modern navy in the world, second only to that of the United States in size.

The Soviets are building a navy for their own needs. Their purpose basically is to deny use of the seas to us for our purposes, and then to use the seas for their purposes. Geography gives them an entirely different problem.

The Soviets, in classic fashion, are now engaged in the naval support of a worldwide political-economic offensive. They, unlike the U.S., have emphasized the historic role of the navy in support of foreign policy. The Soviet Navy is part of a total maritime challenge, not just a combatant one. When we think of the modern Soviet Navy we must also think of their modern merchant marine and maritime industrial base. They come hand in hand. The impressive thing about the Soviet effort is the tremendous momentum they have in their ship building capacity, their modernization, and their merchant marine, all of which can be turned to naval purposes. We cannot possibly have a modern navy without a modern merchant marine and a modern ship building industry. They have built up their merchant marine fleet much faster than they built their navy. They are delivering their goods, their arms and their influence throughout the world with their own bottoms. They are backing it up with their navy. And their fishing fleet is large and modern. All the ships that the Russians have today are designed, built and operated



cials disregard the fact that the parent corporation sets production quotas, sends regional directors into the field to pressure its dealers to maintain the production quotas, and seizes entire dealerships when production falls off, plunging longtime, dedicated personnel into virtual bankruptcy. My investigation indicates the degree of pressure applied by the parent organization to maintain high subscription sales quotas is largely responsible for deceptive practices in the industry. The production quotas often are unattainable, unless consumers can be tricked into becoming subscribers.

The tricks, of course, usually involve offers of xx magazines "free of charge" but "of course, you'll have to pay a small sum for postage (or handling, or wrapping, or editing, as the case may be)." One woman reported she was asked to "sign a receipt for 200 free green stamps" and after signing discovered that she had signed a contract to buy magazines.

Obviously, we have just begun to penetrate the surface of shoddy business practices in the magazine subscription sales industry. The complaints continue to pour in. The investigation goes on.

NATIONAL BETTER BUSINESS BUREAU, INC.,  
New York, N.Y., August 22, 1969.

Congressman FRED B. ROONEY,  
Congress of the United States,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ROONEY: Further following your letter of August 11th, I wanted to tell you of our continuing action program.

1. Since my visit with you in May, I have held a series of meetings with individual publishers to acquaint them with our activities and furthermore, to enlist their efforts with respect to their own organizations.
2. When I was in your office, I indicated that some nine crew managers and sixty-eight solicitors had been terminated by their individual employers after the records of bad business practice collected through the auspices of Better Business Bureaus and local Chambers of Commerce had been pointed out. Since then, four more managers and forty-five solicitors have been terminated.
3. Some of those terminated for cause, namely, bad practices, have gone to other agencies who are not a part of the self-regulatory programs. As this has occurred, some publishers have withdrawn their authorizations for agencies who would employ this type of people to sell their magazines.
4. We are having another review meeting in mid-September with local Bureau managers and the industry to discuss first of all, the progress since our last meeting in cleaning up these problems and secondly, to turn our attention to the matter of sales talks and advertising for prospective employees.

While not directly bearing on the magazine selling industry, I thought you should know about our efforts in promoting higher ethical standards for direct selling in general. One of our landmarks has been the adoption by the Direct Selling Association of a code of ethics entitled appropriately "The Right Thing To Do". I am attaching a copy of this brochure. This was released to the press and to the companies in June. Since then, we have distributed over 40,000 copies to people engaged in direct selling.

I really feel, Congressman Rooney, that this is a tangible expression of the concern of business, as well as its willingness to maintain and improve high ethical standards in the public interest.

Kindest regards,

RICHARD MAXWELL,  
President.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star,  
Sept. 7, 1969]

#### HOW MAGAZINE SOLICITORS CAN HOOK YOU (By Arthur E. Rowse)

The charming female voice on the other end of the telephone said she was making a survey (where did I hear that one before?) and wondered if I would answer a few questions about TV advertising.

What a beautiful hooker. Who wouldn't like to give a polling firm some choice comments on the quality and taste of TV commercials? So I lost no time responding to such questions as "What do you think of TV commercials?"

While I was trying to find appropriate words to answer the last question, the voice thanked me very graciously and then got down to the real business behind her call.

#### NUMEROUS FEATURES

"In appreciation for answering these questions," she said, "we are going to send you a brand new Webster's Encyclopedia Dictionary without charge." She said it had 1,500 pages and beautiful color pictures, plus many other wonderful features too numerous to mention here.

My, how generous she was, I thought, just for a few minutes of my time. Before I could even catch my breath to reply she added:

"In addition, with our compliments, we will send you 60 issues of Holiday, Sport, True, Look and Venture."

I knew, of course, that such unbounded generosity was too good to be true, so I asked who she was representing and what the gimmick was.

"The only favor we ask," she explained, "is that you send us 57 cents a week to pay the cost of mailing the magazines to you. You will get a written guarantee verifying what I have said to you. Just give me your complete name and address and I'll have our field representative deliver it to you."

#### NICE NAME

Pressed further for the company involved, she said it was the Educational Book Club— isn't that a nice name?—and that it was a subsidiary of the Cowles Publishing Co., publishers of Look and Venture magazines.

She said I would be billed \$2.45 a month (57 cents a week times an average of 4½ weeks per month). A little hasty figuring showed that \$2.45 a month times 60 months comes to \$147.

When I complained that such an amount was quite a lot for postage for magazines that pay the low-low second-class rate, she said that was not her "department" but the representative would explain it.

Sure enough, a nice man visited my office the next day with the dictionary and the "guarantee." He said he would have a dictionary sent, then explained that it would be better for both of us to pay the whole thing in 2½ years instead of five, only \$4.90 monthly.

The "guarantee" turned out to be an order form. But when I asked if I could check with my wife and mail it with my signature to him, he suddenly turned curt, crossed off my name and walked away.

His reason of course, was to avoid getting anything into the mail and thus make him liable under the laws on postal fraud. By avoiding the mails, this scheme has flourished for years, hooking countless thousands of people on a deal many may regret later.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GONZALEZ) is recognized for 10 minutes.

[Mr. GONZALEZ addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

ME

#### WORLD PEACE DEMANDS POSITIVE U.S. NONALINEMENT ANNOUNCE- MENT ON MIDDLE EAST

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. RARICK) is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, attempting to take sides in the Middle East is impossible to an impartial American because the events of the case have been too confused by the usual sources of information which have, seemingly, in the past several days turned handsprings as if to explain away the essential facts by calling aggression a "deterrent" and military escalation "defensive" in the long boiling tension areas of Northeast Africa.

Yet the provocative utterances of the U.S.-born Prime Minister of Israel, Golda Meir, that Arab leaders "should not be surprised if they are hit sevenfold in response" must be considered in any evaluation of the latest series of events.

Can any thinking American conceive of the wrath of world opinion should the President of the United States threaten sevenfold reprisals against the Communists of North Vietnam for the terrorist acts of the Vietcong? Or the frantic world censure should Prime Minister Ian Smith announce similar policy measures against African states from whose territory guerrilla terrorists stream into Rhodesia. What about South Africa or the Portuguese?

The recent events in the Middle East must be considered the most serious threat to peace in the world which, if major powers participate or allow themselves to be drawn in, could evolve into a nuclear showdown.

The abbreviated policy statement by the U.S. Department of State is that our Government "deplores and regrets cease-fire violations by either side by regular or irregular forces." This weak official announcement by our diplomatic spokesmen will not even convince the American people of a nonpartisan position by our Government. How can it be expected to vindicate our image of suspect involvement in the eyes of the world community?

Under unanimous consent I submit a newspaper clipping for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 1, 1969]

#### GOLDA MEIR WARNS ARABS OF "SEVENFOLD" RETALIATION

JERUSALEM, June 30—Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir warned the Arabs today that if they continued attacking Israel they "should not be surprised if they are hit sevenfold in response."

"Anybody who fails to honor the cease-fire agreement and shoots at us cannot claim immunity from the results of his aggression," she told the Israeli parliament, the Knesset.

"Arab leaders should make a correct appraisal," she said, "of what their aggression achieves and our inevitable reply. They

should realize the suffering they are inflicting on their own people."

Mrs. Meir's stiff warning in Jerusalem followed the explosion of a parked, stolen jeep loaded with more than 100 pounds of explosives in the heart of Tel Aviv early this morning.

The Israelis said 10 persons were wounded in the first significant terrorist attack in Tel Aviv this year. Police set up roadblocks all over the country and picked up 20 to 30 Arab suspects, mostly from Jaffa, the city south of Tel Aviv.

[The Al Fatah Arab guerrilla organization issued a statement in Amman, capital of Jordan, claiming credit for the bombing.]

Israeli jets strafed and bombed Arab guerrilla positions in Jordan south of the Sea of Galilee early this morning, a military spokesman announced in Tel Aviv. The Jordanians mentioned no casualties.

Mrs. Meir referred to an Israeli commando raid last night in the Upper Nile Valley in which the Israelis claimed to have destroyed a 500-kilowatt high-tension power line linking Cairo to the Aswan High Dam.

She said the raid deep inside Egypt proved Israel's potential to strike back.

"Although the acts of aggression along the Suez Canal have multiplied," she said, "we once again appeal to the rulers of Egypt to change their minds and their policy." Unless they do so, she said, they may create a situation "more unbearable for them than it would be for us."

The Egyptians denied that any such raid took place.

Mrs. Meir complained of hundreds of violations of the cease-fire. She said there had been 111 cases this month of firing into Israel from Jordan, 16 of them involving regular Jordanian forces. She said there had been dozens of cases of attempted infiltration from Jordan by would-be saboteurs.

She accused Egypt of having used artillery 333 times and light arms 121 times across the Suez Canal in the last month.

Mrs. Meir's words were the latest in a series of warnings to the Arabs apparently designed to convince them that Israel means business.

Deputy Prime Minister Yigal Allon warned in mid-June that "Israel will stop drawing the distinction between the terrorists and the Arab regular armies" if Arab guerrilla attacks did not cease.

In mid-May, Defense Minister Moshe Dayan warned that Israel would not restrict itself to purely defensive action if the Egyptians kept up their military activities along the Suez Canal.

### CURING A VIRUS BY KILLING THE PATIENT

(Mr. PODELL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, the administration has slashed new Federal construction contracts in order to curb inflation. Cutbacks could total anywhere from \$2 to \$4.5 billion during the remainder of this current fiscal year. All Federal agencies have been ordered to immediately put into effect a 75-percent reduction in dollar value of new contracts for Government construction financed entirely by Federal funds. Some States already are freezing awarding of new highway contracts and advertising for bids. Such an action is like amputating a leg to cure a barked shin.

Our national leaders have put on a great show of sorrow and indignation in recent months over inflation. They beat their breasts and rend their political

garments, claiming labor is the villain because it requires wages to match rising prices. This latest catastrophic decision is supposed to save us from the brink of economic catastrophe. Humbug, nonsense, and flaccidoodle. Our patient has measles, and the doctor is about to attempt brain surgery.

Usurious interest rates charged by banks cause inflation. Our leaders pretend not to notice. Price hikes by steel, aluminum, copper, and auto industries cause inflation. No Republican voice is raised against this herd of sacred cows.

Instead, Government construction is halted, and all States are encouraged and almost commanded to halt projects partially covered by Federal financing. And what is their excuse? Out of the economic dark ages comes their reply. This cutback is supposed to take public housing and homebuilding out of its present depression, mainly caused by the 19th century economic policies of this administration. We are informed by our reigning economic oracles that contractors who build flood control projects, dams, small watersheds, bridges, roads, post offices, and other Federal works, will because of the cutback, turn with eager cries to building of private homes and apartment buildings. Blinding logic. Let us examine it a little more closely.

Almost all contractors engaged in such major Federal projects are specialists in several ways. Their massive capital investment is sunk into earthmovers, road graders, steam shovels, cranes, and similar units. They are as different from most housing contractors as cucumbers are from hoot owls. It would be fascinating indeed to see them immediately switch to construction of homes suited to an average American family. Unless subdivisions are shortly to consist of multi-story buildings poured out of concrete and supported by bridge beams, it is not likely to occur in this century.

Perhaps houses should have foundations 100 or more feet deep. Maybe our apartment houses should have corridors more suited to four-lane truck traffic. Carpets might make a difference, though. Instead of back yard wading pools, an average home would be sold complete with a small watershed project or a diversion dam. Wonderful when it rains. Is this what the Government meant when it solemnly assured us that the cutback would divert construction efforts into housing? Soon an average working-man would not have capital at going mortgage and interest rates to afford a well-furnished and laid-out chicken coop.

This disastrous decision will complete the devastation of our entire construction industry. Already its unemployment figures are at recession levels. Minorities in our midst who hold so many positions in this sector will be economically devastated, pouring more oil on already smoldering social situations throughout the Nation. Essential projects will slide down the drain for years. But we should be consoled by knowing that our housing industry will revive. I imagine that tomorrow Mao Tse Tung will announce his candidacy for the office of mayor of Moscow.

We must halt inflation at its source.

Bank interest rates; steel industry price hikes; price rises by aluminum, copper, and auto firms; these are basic building blocks of our economy. When they raise interest rates or prices, it heaves a huge boulder of inflation into our national economic pond. As long as this administration stands paralyzed on dead economic center, not daring to protest such greedy actions, we shall have disastrous inflation in tandem with other signs of impending economic collapse. And the average worker with a few hard-earned dollars will not be to blame. The tail does not wag this dog. Certainly not in this case.

Is our patient curable? Definitely. But cancer does not yield to poultices. Warts are not banished by stump water and dead cats in a cemetery at night. Correct diagnosis and skillful action will do the job. Right now a first-year medical student is at work rather than an experienced physician. The patient may expire while the student learns basic anatomy. They are sowing the wind. We shall all reap the whirlwind.

### ERRONEOUS INTERPRETATION OF A COLLEAGUE'S REMARKS

(Mr. PODELL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago, when Ho Chi Minh's death was announced, our distinguished colleague, Mr. Koch of New York, had the occasion to make a series of comments bearing on the war in Vietnam. He spoke of the possibility of utilizing the occurrence of his death to seek yet another peace initiative. Simultaneously, he described in general terms the overall role this man had played in the affairs of his own country. I was present on the floor of this House when Mr. Koch made these statements, and can attest to their content.

Several other Members of this body, who were not present when Mr. Koch took to the floor, heard of his comments second or third hand. Most regrettably, they misinterpreted what he said, thinking that his description of Ho Chi Minh's activities was meant as praise. Mr. Koch described Ho Chi Minh as a "patriot" in the eyes of the people of North Vietnam. In no way did he give the impression that he himself shared that opinion. I hold no brief for Ho Chi Minh, a man who murdered so many of his own people so brutally and callously. Nor did Mr. Koch's comments in any way imply praise of him or his works.

We all know our distinguished colleague from New York is an avid, utterly sincere, and dedicated seeker for a solution to the Vietnam conflict. He was merely exploring the possibility of another initiative which conceivably could have been opened or precipitated by an event which no one could have accurately predicted or anticipated. It is ungracious and unfair to place an interpretation upon his remarks which not only does him an injustice, but impugns his motives and casts a cloud over the very floor of this House.

It is to be fervently hoped that Mem-

**ME**  
**UNITED STATES MUST DIVORCE**  
**ISRAELI AGGRESSION**

**HON. JOHN R. RARICK**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
 Tuesday, September 9, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, as men of good will the world over talk of achieving peace, the world community opinion is shocked by today's news that Israeli troops, tanks, and aircraft had executed an aggressive attack against Egyptian forces in the troubled northeast Africa region. In the days and weeks ahead there will be charges and countercharges offered by both sides, and the watching world can expect a counter-retaliation by the Egyptian forces to avenge their people.

The American people, weary of fighting communism—in Vietnam in a war their leaders have not permitted them to win—have been told repeatedly that world opinion would react against attacks across sovereign borders or bombing a hostile force supplying guerrilla infiltrators. To the American people there can be only one major concern with this new international crisis. Why did the United States supply the Israeli forces with jet fighter planes and train their pilots just days before this Israeli attack? How can our Government say that our position is neutral when we supplied the implements of aggression? How can our Government hope to escape censure from the world community for our involvement? Under such circumstances, we fall victim to damaging propaganda that we are supporting the Israelis in a religious war.

Someone must tell the world that the American people will not send their sons into another war created by diplomatic blundering, treaty, or by executive order. If our foreign policy is one of neutrality in the Middle East, then it is time our President announce it to the world and prove our credibility by forbidding any more armaments to be supplied in areas of world tension. Of what value are nuclear test ban agreements or nonproliferation treaties, when we allow ourselves to become drawn into a potential holocaust.

The American people want no U.S. role in bringing about Armageddon.

Mr. Speaker, I include several news clippings:

[From the Washington Star, Sept. 9, 1969]

**ISRAELIS STRIKE EGYPT BELOW SUEZ; 30-MILE SWATH CUT IN 10-HOUR TANK ASSAULT**

TEL AVIV.—Israeli planes, tanks and ships struck Egypt today in the heaviest raid since the 1967 six-day war. Tanks were landed in Egypt by assault craft and cut a 30-mile swath through military installations, radar and rocket sites.

An Israeli military spokesman said the 10-hour punitive raid cost the Egyptians "dozens" of killed and wounded and that the only Israeli casualty was a slightly wounded soldier who was withdrawn safely with the entire attacking force.

An Israeli plane, reported to be an American-built Skyhawk, was shot down by anti-aircraft fire and the pilot parachuted into the Gulf of Suez. He was officially listed as missing.

Intense naval activity preceded the landing which a spokesman said began last night,

when Israel reported its motor torpedo boats destroyed two Egyptian PT boats in the Gulf of Suez. Cairo reported sinking an Israeli patrol boat today with the loss of its crew. These were the first naval engagements since 1967.

**CALLED RESPONSE TO "AGGRESSION"**

An Israeli communique said the raid was in response to Egyptian "aggression."

(This was believed to include not only heavy Egyptian artillery attacks along the Suez Canal but Arab terrorists attacks on Israeli installations in Europe and various attacks against Israeli airlines, spokesmen said in Washington.)

(Despite the obvious warning, the leftwing extremist Arab guerrilla group known as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine warned today in Amman, Jordan, it would escalate its terrorism campaign against Israeli organizations abroad with "more dangerous, possibly fatal" attacks.)

(Cairo Radio had no immediate reaction to the Israeli raid, but it broadcast communiques reporting heavy Israeli shelling of Egyptian installations in the Suez area at the southern end of the Suez Canal and reported dogfights over the canal between Egyptian and Israeli planes today.)

**24 MILES BELOW SUEZ**

The Israeli forces hit the Egyptian coast from El Hafayer, 24 miles below Suez City, south to Ras Zafrana, 54 miles below Suez. The Gulf of Suez ranges from 30 to 50 miles wide at this area across the Israeli-occupied Sinai desert.

Israelis in Tel Aviv said they struck to punish the Egyptians for what they called increasing fire at Israel's troops posted on the east bank of the canal. Nine Israelis have been killed and 11 wounded there in the past week. Observers said Egyptian artillery may have been the prime target.

There was no official word on oil installations being hit. The biggest producer of Egypt's offshore oil works lies about 100 miles south of the Suez and in the general area of today's raid.

The center of that oil works is the offshore Morgan oilfield where about 100 Americans are employed. The field is exploited by GUPCO, owned half by Egypt and half by the Pan American Oil Co.

There was no sign of general war preparations, and no sign of any callup of reserves.

The Israeli spokesmen, when they finally gave details, stressed that the raid was punitive.

It apparently was aimed at drawing Egyptian troops and artillery away from the Suez Canal zone to ease up on the constant Egyptian bombardment.

Israeli sources in Washington said it was unlikely that the first of the U.S. F4 Phantoms delivered to Israel took part in today's raids but that they were thought to be in combat readiness. For the purpose of air support slower planes would be more useful.

The raid followed a series of Israeli warnings to Egypt and the other Arab nations. Israeli Transport Minister Moshe Carmel said in Tel Aviv yesterday Israel was considering new retaliation against Arab guerrilla attacks.

The Israeli army spokesman said Egyptian jets and troops made no effort to interfere with the armored raid's progress although the operation was reported to have lasted 10 hours.

Israeli officials did not announce the action until it was over in midafternoon, but a word that something was afoot subsidiary of Standard Oil of Indiana.

Ras Zafrana, southern limit of today's raiding, lies 50 miles across the gulf from Abu Zemina in the Sinai which Israel occupied in 1967. It is the center of American-owned oil installations in the gulf.

Unofficial reports said tanks went ashore from landing craft and that Israeli troops

plunged ashore from craft protected by the tanks that went ahead of them. Jets swooped overhead to give fire cover and to attack targets ahead of the advancing Israelis. "Warnings are not enough," said one Israeli source. "More drastic action is needed to put an end to these attacks."

Strict control was maintained on all information of military activities.

(Israeli sources in Washington confirmed that the area chosen for the raid is where the Egyptian armed forces are thinnest.)

(The aim, according to these sources, was to show the Egyptians, who are said to have concentrated as high as 100,000 men along the northern reaches of the canal, that their southern flank is vulnerable to Israeli attack.)

**PHANTOM'S FLYOVER DELIGHTS TEL AVIV**

TEL AVIV, September 7.—A U.S.-supplied Phantom fighter-bomber streaked over this Israeli metropolis today, watched by thousands of delighted Israelis.

The warplane was one of a long-awaited batch of Phantoms which the army said yesterday had arrived from the United States. The flight was obviously demonstrative, observers said. Israeli military aircraft are very rarely seen over Tel Aviv.

"Even now we will not ignore our security worries, but we can anticipate the future with a more relaxed feeling," said the influential newspaper Haaretz.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Aug. 11, 1969]

**UNITED STATES TO DELIVER ISRAELI JETS**

WASHINGTON.—The United States plans to deliver four supersonic F-4 Phantom jets to Israel next month and will complete delivery of a shipment of 50 of the high-performance fighter-bombers within a year, according to authoritative sources here.

At the same time, it was reported, Israel has lodged a tentative request for about 100 additional aircraft—including another 25 F-4's—to meet its defense needs.

The State Department declined comment on the report, but reliable sources said the request had come through the Israeli Embassy.

It appeared that disclosure of the Israeli bid for extra aircraft was deliberately leaked here well in advance of Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir's planned visit Sept. 25 for talks with President Nixon.

Israel first turned to the United States Government for new fighter planes after the June, 1967, Arab-Israeli war when France clamped an embargo on an order for 50 Mirage jets for the Jewish state.

In December, long after Israel sought Phantoms from the United States, the outgoing Johnson administration announced approval of the sale of 50 of the sophisticated jets, capable of twice the speed of sound.

Authoritative sources said it was the delivery of that order that would begin next month. About 12 Israeli pilots have completed training in the United States to fly the Phantoms.

[From the New York Times, Aug. 6, 1969]

**ISRAELIS REPORTED SEEKING TO BUY MORE U.S. PLANES**

(By Hedrick Smith)

WASHINGTON, August 6.—Israel is reported to have approached the Nixon Administration with a request for nearly \$150-million worth of aircraft, including F-4 Phantom jets, to maintain long-term air superiority over her Arab neighbors.

Reliable informants said today that the Israeli Ambassador, Itzhak Rabin, had asked the United States to agree to sell about 80 more Skyhawk A-4 fighter-bombers and about 25 more supersonic Phantoms.

Under previous deals the United States is



already selling both types of aircraft to Israel. The Phantoms are estimated to cost \$3-million to \$4-million each and the Skyhawks about \$1-million with the exact cost depending on the equipment included.

The informants said the request was made last month, shortly before the flare-up in the air war between the United Arab Republic and Israel in the Suez Canal area. This was also about the time that President Pompidou indicated publicly that France would maintain her 1967 embargo on the delivery of the supersonic Mirage jets previously bought by Israel.

#### NO U.S. RESPONSE REPORTED

The Nixon Administration was reported to have given no response to the Israeli request, but to have taken it under consideration. If past patterns are followed, the request marks the first step in a lengthy process of negotiations in which the Israeli figures may be revised before the United States considers that it has a final and formal request. Detailed talks are expected to begin this fall, the informants said.

Israeli officials are reported to have renewed their earlier expressions of interest in having the Phantoms equipped for carrying atomic weapons. The United States has rejected such pleas and has insisted that Israel agree not to use American-supplied jets to carry such weapons.

The United States became the principal supplier of the Israeli Air Force after the Arab-Israeli war of June, 1967.

Under an agreement signed in 1966 and expanded in January, 1968, during the Johnson Administration the United States has delivered more than half of 80 promised Skyhawks. Israeli officials acknowledge that some of the planes have been used in the recent fighting.

In a more publicized deal, announced last Dec. 27, the United States agreed to sell Israel 50 Phantoms. The 1,200-mile-an-hour aircraft was then the most advanced American fighter-bomber in operation. About a dozen Israeli pilots have completed training in this country, and Israel is scheduled to begin receiving a squadron of 16 Phantoms next month, at the rate of four planes a month.

#### WILL PUBLIC WORKS CUTBACKS CURE INFLATION?

### HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 9, 1969

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, with regard to recent statements by President Richard M. Nixon to halt construction on 75 percent of public works projects, I should just like to add my voice to the increasing chorus of critics on this issue.

Although the President has stated that his curb on Federal construction projects will also serve to curb inflation, I must wholeheartedly disagree. Although economists have various and sundry ideas on what will serve to halt the present inflationary spiral, it is generally agreed that the main cause of the present problem is defense spending.

I cannot see where it would serve the public interest to halt projects already in various stages of completion. It would seem to me that such methods would only cost the public more in the long run. These projects will be taken up at some future time for completion, when

construction costs may be much increased. Additionally, unemployment would certainly ensue were projects under construction to be halted midway. To increase the number of unemployed workers is certainly not an efficient solution to the problem of rising prices.

I urge the administration to more thoroughly investigate the matter of inflation, so as to arrive at an answer that will not throw the baby out with the bath water.

#### NEW U.S. AMBASSADOR TO PANAMA MUST BE OBJECTIVE

### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 9, 1969

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, there has been widespread discussion in the press of the Nation during recent weeks quoting from a letter by me to the President of the United States in opposition to the appointment of Robert M. Sayre, now U.S. Ambassador to Uruguay, as our Ambassador to Panama.

My information is to the effect that Mr. Sayre was an active participant with Walt W. Rostow in the formulation of the three proposed new Panama Canal treaties, which were never signed after completion of negotiations in 1967, because of strong opposition in both Panama and the United States.

What is needed as our Ambassador in Panama is someone who will defend the indispensable sovereign rights, power, and authority of the United States over the U.S.-owned Canal Zone territory and Panama Canal and not one who has been active toward subverting them, and who cannot be objective because of his previous commitments.

Mr. Speaker, it is, indeed, unfortunate that the President has surrounded himself with advisers whose records have, in effect, been unsound as regards the best interests of our country. It is fortunate that we do have able and well-informed men in the United States, with the proper qualifications for appointment as our Ambassador to Panama, and they should be appointed.

In order that the Congress and the Nation at large may know precisely what I have stated regarding the proposed appointment, I include the entire correspondence with the White House; also, an article in a recent issue of Human Events that quotes me correctly:

JULY 28, 1969.

The PRESIDENT,  
White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Recent Spanish language press news from Panama is to the effect that the Panamanian Government hopes to reopen the negotiations for new Panama Canal Treaties. This news, coupled with current reports that Foreign Service Officer Robert M. Sayre is being seriously considered for appointment as U.S. Ambassador to Panama, is ominous.

According to my information, Mr. Sayre was an active participant with Walt W. Rostow in the formulation of the discredited

1967 proposed new Panama Canal treaties, which proposed treaties aroused strenuous public opposition in both Panama and the United States. In the latter, some 150 members of the Congress introduced resolutions opposing ratification. Many speeches in opposition were made in both the House and Senate.

As those proposed treaties were not only weak and unrealistic, but also perilous to the security of both the United States and the Western Hemisphere, including Panama, I trust that you will not appoint anyone associated with the preparation or negotiation of the proposed 1967 treaties as Ambassador to that country, but someone who can be depended upon to protect the indispensable sovereign rights, power and authority of the United States over the Canal Zone territory and canal. Except for our presence in Panama today, Soviet power would be dominant there, and would absolutely control the Panama Canal in which project the United States has made a net investment, including defense, from 1904 to June 30, 1968, of more than \$5,000,000,000, all supplied by the American taxpayer.

The situation affecting the Panama Canal is of such grave character that it should not be dictated by shabby sentimentalities. We have enough trouble on our hands with Cuba, which was permitted to pass into the Soviet orbit; we do not wish to have another like, and even more grave, situation at Panama.

Sincerely,

DANIEL J. FLOOD,  
Member of Congress.

THE WHITE HOUSE,

Washington, D.C., July 30, 1969.

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. FLOOD: This will acknowledge your letter of July 28 to the President regarding Mr. Robert M. Sayre, a Foreign Service Officer, and the proposed Panama Canal treaties which were submitted to the 90th Congress.

I know the President will appreciate having this frank expression of your views which will be called to his attention upon his return. At that time we will be in further touch with you.

With cordial regard,

Sincerely,

WILLIAM E. TIMMONS,  
Deputy Assistant to the President.

THE WHITE HOUSE,

Washington, D.C., August 14, 1969.

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FLOOD: With further reference to your letter of July 28 regarding Panama, you will have noted that on August 9 the President announced his decision to nominate Mr. Robert M. Sayre, present Ambassador to Uruguay, as Ambassador to Panama. The President wants to assure you that this decision was taken only after the most careful consideration, and that Mr. Sayre is a very able career officer who can be depended upon to protect the interests of the United States and to implement faithfully the policy of this Administration.

With respect to reports that Panama hopes to re-open negotiations for a new canal treaty, such a suggestion has not formally been made by the Panamanian Government. We do not know if it will be, but again the President wishes to assure you that our policy toward this question will be carefully reviewed within the National Security Council mechanism.

With cordial regard,

Sincerely,

WILLIAM E. TIMMONS,  
Deputy Assistant to the President.

duced. So our hard-pressed apartment dweller will end up by receiving nothing, another example of this administration's contempt for cities and those who live in them. Tax relief for single persons over 35 is lowered by one-third. Wealthy Americans who feared the House bill would trim their profit-filled sails can rest easy, for the President is very solicitous of their good life. He has proposed a 50-percent ceiling on earned income, so they may keep their integrity, bacon, and profits intact.

Figures and counterproposals will now fill the air for weeks. Average citizens will shake their heads in confusion, only vaguely aware of what is transpiring from within. I would not blame them for being confused. Anyone would be. Yet there is one basic conclusion emerging from all this. After the House passed a bill which would measurably help people now being taxed most, the President decided to support a series of changes which deprive them of tax relief. Instead, he wants to aid the wealthy and major business enterprises. Does this make sense? Then so will the Archbishop of Canterbury run off tonight and become a circus acrobat.

Is it not touching to see our administration worry so much about those poor little waifs on Wall Street? Poor, barefooted stock brokers plodding through the snow, clutching tattered rags around their poor shivering bodies, have moved the President to the quick. After all, \$75,000 a year is not an awful lot to struggle by on, is it? It costs wheelbarrows of money to support a yacht, buy emeralds and sables and take lengthy cruises. How can millions of middle-income Americans who make those big \$7,500 to \$15,000 salaries begrudge a millionaire his profits? So the President will rescue those persecuted coupon clippers and slam door in the face of the slaving wolf of tax reform. Poor tax reform. Always a bridesmaid, and never a bride. President Nixon will aim his bouquet at a far more eminent member of the wedding.

Mr. Speaker, I fervently hope the public is aware of what is being done to it by these proposals. Let its voice be heard. The present Government of our country is obsessed with 19th century economics, and is bringing economic ruin upon the Nation. Prosperity deteriorates before our eyes. Men are losing their jobs. Homes and other necessities are increasingly out of the reach of millions. All the while, the administration is worrying about how to better help out the rich. Heaven help us if this is the logic governing the reasoning of our elected leaders. They are carrying on a holy war against working people and horsensense.

#### ME TALES OF ARABIAN NIGHTS: SYRIAN PIRATES AND IRAQI ASSASSINS

(Mr. PODELL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, just as there are individuals who by their acts become outlaws, so there are nations which, by their policies and actions, violate all accepted norms of international

behavior. The truth of these accusations is amply illustrated by recent events in the Middle East. It is one thing to observe these happenings. It is quite another to allow them to go unpunished.

On August 29, a U.S.-flag aircraft owned and operated by Trans World Airlines enroute from Rome to Tel Aviv, was hijacked by Arab terrorists and forced to fly to Syria. It carried 113 passengers and crew, among them six citizens of Israel; four women and two men. After a terror-ridden flight, ending in detonation and destruction of the plane, the Israelis began their inevitable ordeal. After 60 hours of detention, the Israeli women were released. As of this moment, the two Israeli men are still in Syrian custody, tender as it must be. This of course is a complete violation of all formal and unwritten codes of accepted international behavior. I am astounded that our Government has allowed this pirate state, run by a bloodthirsty coterie of Communist stooges, to insult and defy our Nation, flag, and international conventions we are a party to.

This is the very same Syrian regime which is inexorably persecuting the 4,000 remaining Jews within its borders to the ultimate degree. The same regime which races through the most menacing powder keg since the Balkans in 1914; uttering loud childish shouts, waving torches and throwing lighted matches around. This is the regime which acts as a Soviet satellite, allowing them to utilize Aleppo as a naval base. Now it blandly contravenes basic international conventions and dares the United States to do something about it. Much credit is due the International Federation of Airline Pilots' Associations for their prompt, no-nonsense stand on behalf of international law. The United States can do no less than follow their example and demand Syria's adherence to these conventions.

From Syrian pirates we move to the bleak darkness inhabited by Iraqi murderers. Some 2,500 Jews survive in Iraq, living in the shadow of the gallows which so aptly symbolizes the essence of that unhappy country's present regime.

About 80 of Iraq's hostage Jewish population are already believed to be in prison. The rest live in terror of further orgies of public executions which have already sickened the world. Torture and discrimination are their daily lot, combined with censorship, economic discrimination, constant surveillance, and denunciation by informers. Of 51 people already executed by this coterie of sadistic killers, 11 were Jews. In addition, it is reliably stated that at least seven other Iraqi Jews have been tortured to death in Baghdad jails.

While such atrocities are being perpetrated, at least 1,500 Egyptian Jews are suffering similar fates under the heavy hand of an increasingly desperate Nasser regime.

What is the response of the United Nations to all this accumulated evidence of Arab brutality and nationally focused hatred? It yields to Arab refusals to permit investigation of the plight of Jews in Arab lands. A U.N. Commission has toured the Middle East, investigating the condition of Arabs in areas administered

by Israel, lending a solemn ear and aura of respectability to the most fanciful fevered imaginings and distorted accusations the Arab mentality can conjure up. Except for Adolph Eichmann, not a single death sentence has been passed in Israel. Israeli conduct is an open, fair book to thousands of impartial observers, including innumerable journalists.

So here we have some of the more memorable modern tales of the Arabian Nights. Instead of genies, incense, gardens of the night, and fabulous treasures of the east, we recoil in distaste from assassins, jingoism, torments, and hatreds let loose by these modern demons. It is an old story of persecution in a new setting, and the world beats its breast from afar as the torment of innocents proceeds apace. Is there justice? Is there fairness? Not for the Jews of Arab lands. Not at the hands of the United Nations. Not, it seems, from the United States, either.

#### LOGAN COUNTY CAN HEAR AND COMPARE BOTH JOSEPH YABLONSKI AND W. A. BOYLE

(Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, Logan County annually ranks at the top or right near the top among all counties in the United States in its production of coal. It is entirely fitting that both candidates for president of the United Mine Workers of America should come personally to Logan to be seen, heard, and judged by all the people of this coal-rich county. Since Mr. Boyle was in Logan on Labor Day, the people of the entire county will have an equal opportunity to come and hear Mr. Joseph Yablonski, also a candidate for president of the United Mine Workers of America when he appears at Midelburg Island Stadium at 3:30 p.m. on Sunday afternoon, September 14.

It is my understanding that several of the leaders in the West Virginia black lung movement, including Dr. Donald Rasmussen and Dr. H. A. Wells—who pioneered in directing the searchlight of attention on the need for new health and safety legislation to protect coal miners—will also be present and speak at next Sunday's meeting. It is also possible that Dr. I. E. Buff may be present, depending on his plans for a foreign trip to inspect coal mines in other countries.

The legislation which is now pending in Congress designed to strengthen the coal mine health and safety protection of the coal miners cannot be fully effective without two important factors: First, effective enforcement; and second, a strong and aggressive United Mine Workers of America to insure that the rules and regulations pertaining to health and safety are interpreted and enforced to the fullest degree throughout the coal industry, and in such a way as to provide the best protection for every individual coal miner.

The only way that all those concerned with improved coal mine health and

safety can get to size up those who will be responsible officers of the UMWA is to attend meetings like the Labor Day meeting, and next Sunday's meeting at Logan High School at 3:30 p.m.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. COLLINS (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. PRICE of Texas (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for September 11, and 12, 1969, on account of official business.

Mr. SAYLOR (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for September 10, 1969, on account of official business.

#### SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. PATMAN, for 15 minutes, today, to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. McDONALD of Michigan (at the request of Mr. DENNIS), for 5 minutes, on September 9, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. ANDERSON of California) and to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous matter:)

Mr. DENT, for 10 minutes, today.

Mr. FLOOD, for 30 minutes, today.

Mr. ADDABBO, for 15 minutes, today.

Mr. STAGGERS, for 15 minutes, today.

Mr. GONZALEZ, for 10 minutes, today.

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. RYAN and to include extraneous matter during his remarks in general debate on House Joint Resolution 247.

Mr. BERRY immediately following Mr. SMITH of California during consideration of House Resolution 491.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. DENNIS) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. KEITH in three instances.

Mr. WYATT.

Mr. MIZE.

Mr. SNYDER in 10 instances.

Mr. DERWINSKI in three instances.

Mr. WYMAN in two instances.

Mr. TALCOTT in three instances.

Mr. MAILLIARD.

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin in two instances.

Mr. SCOTT.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. ANDERSON of California) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. MONAGAN in two instances.

Mr. FISHER in four instances.

Mr. FRASER.

Mr. ADDABBO in two instances.

Mr. FLOOD in three instances.

Mr. RARICK in four instances.

Mr. CORMAN.

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia in two instances.

Mr. KASTENMEIER in two instances.

Mr. DINGELL in two instances.

Mr. ASHLEY in two instances.

Mr. MIKVA in two instances.

Mr. GONZALEZ in two instances.

Mr. PICKLE.

Mr. MURPHY of New York in two instances.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts in two instances.

Mr. MINISH in two instances.

Mr. BINGHAM.

Mr. BROWN of California.

#### BILL PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. FRIEDEL, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on this day present to the President, for his approval, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 7208. An act to adjust the salaries of the Vice President of the United States and certain officers of the Congress.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 31 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, September 10, 1969, at 12 o'clock noon.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1124. A letter from the Acting Administrator, Foreign Agricultural Service, Department of Agriculture, transmitting a report of agreements signed under Public Law 480 in July and August 1969, for foreign currencies, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 85-128; to the Committee on Agriculture.

1125. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the potential for savings by reduction of aircraft engine procurement, Department of the Navy and Department of the Air Force; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1126. A letter from the Under Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to modify the boundaries of the Santa Fe, Cibola, and Carson National Forests in the State of New Mexico, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

1127. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Administration, Department of Commerce, transmitting the report of the Department on commissary activities outside the continental United States for fiscal year 1969, pursuant to the provisions of 5 U.S.C. 596a; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1128. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting a report on the administration of the Foreign Agents Registration Act for calendar year 1968, pursuant to the provisions of that act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. DULSKI: Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. H.R. 13000. A bill to implement the Federal employee pay comparability system, to establish a Federal Employee Salary Commission and a Board of Arbitration, and for other purposes; with an amendment (Rept. No. 91-480). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. YOUNG: House Resolution 534. A resolution providing for the consideration of H.R. 474. Committee on Rules. An act to establish a Commission on Government Procurement. (Rept. No. 91-481). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. DELANEY: House Resolution 535. A resolution providing for the consideration of H.R. 13300. Committee on Rules. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 and the Railroad Retirement Tax Act to provide for the extension of supplemental annuities and the mandatory retirement of employees, and for other purposes. (Rept. No. 91-482). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. MADDEN: House Resolution 536. A resolution providing for the consideration of H.R. 8449. Committee on Rules. A bill to amend the act entitled "An Act to promote the safety of employees and travelers upon railroads by limiting the hours of service of employees thereon," approved March 4, 1907. (Rept. No. 91-483). Referred to the House Calendar.

#### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BUSH:

H.R. 13682. A bill to amend the Federal Meat Inspection Act; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. CLARK:

H.R. 13683. A bill to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States with respect to the rate of duty on whole skins of mink; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 13684. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to provide payment for chiropractors' services under the program of supplementary medical insurance benefits for the aged; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DELLENBACK:

H.R. 13685. A bill to amend the Gun Control Act of 1968 to provide that certain records of the sale or delivery of firearms and ammunition shall be maintained for a period of only one year and shall thereafter be destroyed; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GALLAGHER (for himself, Mr.

BARING, Mr. BIAGGI, Mr. BRASCO, Mr. BURKE of Florida, Mr. BUTTON, Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania, Mr. CHAPPELL, Mr. CLARK, Mr. COLLINS, Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey, Mr. DUNCAN, Mr. FARBERSTEIN, Mr. FREY, Mr. FRIEDEL, Mr. FULTON of Tennessee, Mr. GRIFFIN, Mr. HAYS, Mr. HELSTOSKI, Mr. HORTON, Mr. McKNEALLY, Mr. NIX, Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia, and Mr. PETTIS):

H.R. 13686. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to increase the penalties for the unlawful transportation of narcotic drugs and make it unlawful to solicit the assistance of or use a person under the



2. Show veteran entitled to Vietnam Medal.  
3. Furnish copy of casualty report from US Department of Defense.

*Directions*

With application, you will receive an addressed envelope for purpose of mailing your bonus application to Harrisburg. Stamp and send by ordinary mail.

If undue delay, write me and I will be glad to follow up for you.

Sincerely,

JIM FULTON.

ROCKY MARCIANO

SPEECH OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to join my colleagues in expressing my profound sorrow at the death of a beloved friend and a great boxing champion, Rocky Marciano.

I first met Rocky 25 years ago, before the beginning of his pugilistic career, through a mutual friend, and member of the Massachusetts Legislature, John Asiaf. Thereafter I was to see Rocky on numerous occasions, for he often came to watch the Massachusetts State Legislature in action. He made his entry into the boxing world in 1947 and began a career that was to last for 9 glorious years.

This man compiled the most fantastic record of 49 victories out of his 49 boxing encounters, and managed to remain the undefeated world heavyweight boxing champion for 4 of those years before his voluntary retirement in 1956. The brilliance of his unblemished record dazzled the professional boxers and spectators alike. Although purists of the sport and critics deplored the lack of polish and refinement in his technique, they conceded that he possessed fantastic physical stamina and verve and an overwhelming desire to win. To the average sports fan Rocky symbolized the essence of boxing; that is, to hit your opponent as hard and as often as you can, hit him more than he can hit you, and keep going until you have earned a victory.

This primitive motif seemed to be the driving force behind his triumphs in the arena. He endured dreadful batterings and survived brutal bashings which would have caused admission of defeat by a less determined and courageous man. An outstanding example of this tremendous will to win was his victory over Jersey Joe Walcott in September 1952. Rocky had a very difficult time with Jersey Joe, who gave him quite a thrashing, but despite all the agony and the blood of 13 gruelling rounds, Rocky found the way to win. Indeed it was a fight well worth the effort, for this earned him the coveted title of world heavyweight champion. And what a winner he was.

Rocky worked hard and long for his successes, and he invested every ounce of energy and enthusiasm into his training sessions. He was an honest man who was

liked by those he had defeated, and admired by the public he entertained. He exuded an aura of sincerity, wholesomeness, and respectability, and wherever he appeared the crowds would greet him with warmth and adulation. The world knew and loved Rocky as a fighter of the first order, whose superior powers in the ring placed him with the giants in the history of American sports; but it was my privilege to know this man personally as a gentle soul with a good and kind heart.

Mr. Speaker, these words are inadequate expressions of the respect and affection which I felt for a valiant boxer and a very dear friend, Rocky Marciano.

Mrs. O'Neill joins me in extending my deepest sympathy to Mrs. Lena Marchegiano in her hour of loss and grief.

ME

U.S. FOREIGN POLICY ON GREECE

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, the official U.S. foreign policy concerning Greece is no longer a workable one.

Our State Department stand has been to deplore the lack of democracy in Greece under its present military dictatorship and to put diplomatic pressure on the military junta to end its reign of terror. But in one of those classic cases of "on the one hand and then on the other hand," the State Department and the Pentagon have said Greece is fulfilling its North Atlantic Treaty obligations and therefore the United States cannot get too tough with the junta.

This dual policy has led to a series of strange events involving the Voice of America, the State Department, and the U.S. Information Service, including apparent censorship of the opinions not only of Members of Congress, but also a representative of the Secretary of State. A policy of talking out of both sides of the American mouth has produced its usual results. The people of Greece, confused at best about the U.S. policy, are turning against this country. The military junta brags about our "support" and applauds our naming of an ambassador to that nation.

And that junta continues its destruction of the Greek Armed Forces, the only so-called reason for our continued military support of the dictatorship.

The Christian Science Monitor on Friday, August 29, 1969, documented the sad condition of the Greek Army.

I will insert the Monitor article in full at the end of my statement, but I would like to quote some of its conclusions at this time.

The Greek Army no longer exists as a stable, organized force-in-being . . . In three successive waves the colonels' regime has jailed, placed under house arrest or exiled to remote villages large numbers of the nation's most influential military leaders . . . The Army is divided and humiliated and its ef-

fectiveness as an instrument of the Greek nation is broken.

These are harsh words, but the Monitor staff correspondent, Saville R. Davis, documents them with facts, figures, and names.

So, the United States through its confused foreign policy has in effect supported a government which is tearing down the NATO shield.

Our convoluted policy has led us into even deeper confusion, confusion which involves apparent censorship of the opinions and statements of Members of this House and of the U.S. Senate by the Voice of America.

On Sunday, August 17, 1969, Paul Grimes of the Philadelphia Bulletin, in a story entitled "Greek News Censored on Voice of America," reported on this situation. I will summarize his story, but I will have it be reprinted in full at the end of this statement.

The Voice of America is deliberately subduing its service to Greece and permitting the State Department to censor its newscast so as not to upset the dictatorial military regime there.

Mr. Grimes reported.

He added that Greece is blackmailing the State Department by threatening Voice of America transmitters on Greek soil.

Mr. Grimes continued:

One news item that the State Department is known to have censored was broadcast August 7. It concerned a letter dated July 30 that 47 members of the U.S. House of Representatives and three Senators sent to Secretary of State William P. Rogers.

As a signer of that letter, and as president of the U.S. Committee for Democracy in Greece, I was concerned about these charges. I asked the State Department, the Voice of America, and the U.S. Information Service to report on these allegations. Specifically I asked for transcripts of the original news scripts and for the changes made in them.

I am still waiting for a reply. I have been told by USIA the transcripts are available, but will not be released to me until senior officers, now out of the country, review the answers to be given me. A target date of September 8 has been set by USIA for release of this information. The reason for the delay, USIA has said is to give me the "full picture" of what happened.

Without the transcripts, and the other information, I cannot say for sure whether censorship of those broadcasts took place. I can say for sure, however, that censorship is being imposed by USIA on the information I requested. I would suspect there might be reason for that censorship.

I would like a full explanation of that censorship, yet I can understand it when faced with the basic flows in the U.S. foreign policy toward Greece.

We have not made our opposition to the military dictatorship in Greece known. We must do so.

I ask the State Department to make clear its disapproval of the Greek Government.

I also ask that the Voice of America broadcast in full the letter to Secretary Rogers, signed by 50 Members of Con-

gress, which was apparently censored by the Voice of America, and the State Department's reply, including both of its "on the other hands." Finally, I ask that the Voice report the Christian Science Monitor story on the destruction of the Greek Army.

Let us make clear where we stand. The material referred to above follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Aug. 29, 1969]

#### BLOW TO NATO—GREEK ARMED FORCES DISINTEGRATING?

(By Saville R. Davis)

ATHENS.—The main reason for American support of the present Greek Government has been removed. The United States depended on the integrity of the Greek armed forces to support the Western military position here and to act as a bridge to the Turkish Army on the east flank of the NATO defense area.

The Greek Army no longer exists as a stable, organized force-in-being.

This is conceded by friends and opponents of the "colonels' government" that now controls Greece.

In three successive waves the colonels' regime has jailed, placed under house arrest, or exiled to remote villages large numbers of the nation's most-influential military leaders. Names and facts are listed below.

The remainder of the armed forces have been subjected to a systematic campaign which, the regime says, is necessary to protect the government against a coup. Critics call it a reign of organized terror, designed to eliminate opposition.

In either event, the Army is divided and humiliated and its effectiveness as an instrument of the Greek nation is broken. Higher officers who remain are not allowed to command. Lower officers who hold power are faced with a passive resistance they cannot overcome.

This is the picture gained from well-informed sources both tolerant of the regime and opposing it. If this picture is oversimplified, the main argument still holds: The battle for allegiance of the armed forces has torn and dismembered them.

It was the former stability of the Greek armed forces which made that country a valuable military ally of the United States.

It cannot be said that in trying to purge the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force the Greek regime has been carrying out its announced policy of "saving the country from falling into the hands of the Communists."

Most of the arrested military leaders had fought directly against the Communists when they attempted to seize power by force in 1946-49. They were the bulwark of Greece against Communist subversion.

One of them said, "Their offense against the present government was that they were broadly nonpolitical, but pledged to the Western institutions of freedom that were born in their land, and they detest the enslavement of a free and proud people by the present rule of dictatorship and martial law."

Some of them supported King Constantine in his abortive effort to overthrow the dictatorship.

#### FACT SHEET ON ARRESTS

A fact sheet on the arrest and detention of the military leaders follows:

In later February of last year the first group of retired officers was exiled. In July and August, when the government was campaigning for a referendum coming in September, a second major group of officers was arrested. This year, after celebrating the second anniversary of the colonels' coup in April, a third group was taken.

Methods: arrests were normally between two and three o'clock in the morning. Police cars surrounded the residences and in some cases searchlights illuminated the houses.

The officers were removed in most cases without explanation other than the charge of being "dangerous to public order and security." They spent different amounts of time in the central security detention cells, sometimes under primitive conditions.

Most of them were then escorted to an Aegean island, in some cases to remote mountain villages. There they were asked to report to the local gendarmerie at specified intervals.

Villagers were warned by the gendarmerie not to approach the officers. Adequate medical help was denied in at least two cases of serious illness.

Some of the third group were charged with trying to alienate officers on active duty from the junta and were brought under formal judicial inquiry which is still in progress. Others were not charged, trials not scheduled, and in most cases the original period of detention extended.

#### IMPRISONED WITH CRIMINALS

Some of the officers are now in various prisons together with common criminals. They are not allowed to communicate with relatives or their lawyers.

Army officers not detained or arrested and still in active service have been subjected to surveillance by varied and intensive methods. These include the placing of informers in the lower ranks who report to the security forces on the statements and activities of their officers. They also include mail censorship and telephone tapping.

The result is said to be extensive and deep-lying demoralization, with no one able to be confident of who would support or oppose his position in the event of a showdown.

The ruling group is generally described as a small minority of men within the Army, coming largely from small village backgrounds, trained in intelligence and conspiratorial methods, and much tougher in their methods of seizing and holding power than at first was realized.

As the months passed under arbitrary rule and martial law, these methods became harder rather than easing. Because the "colonels" were a small minority seeking to eliminate the old leadership of the armed forces and to control the rest by a campaign of systematic and deliberate "terror tactics," they appear to have alienated large sections of the armed forces as well as to have controlled others.

#### TACTICS DEFENDED BY SOME

Friends of the regime argue that these tactics were necessary in order to compel hostile elements in the armed forces to obey the new government. Critics say these tactics are the prelude to the final destruction of freedom in Greece and that the regime does not dare to relax its use of terror tactics.

Arguing either way, it appears that the armed forces have themselves become a battleground in the struggle for power and that they are no longer the stable force that the United States counted upon.

Following is an incomplete list of arrested or exiled officers. The wartime record and experience of these officers, their outstanding training both in Greece and in the United States and their anti-Communist position is spread on the public record.

First group, February 1967:

Brig. Gen. Dimitrios Zafiroopoulos, who had been second in command of an infantry division, who escaped in the Middle East during World War II and was severely wounded in action, had commanded the raiding forces and been assistant military attaché in London.

Brig. Gen. Andreas Hoerschelman, commanding general of the 20th Armored Division, who escaped from Greece during the German occupation, fought the Communists in 1946-49, served in NATO headquarters, and was top of his class in the Greek Military Academy.

Col. Demitrios Opropoulos, also top of his class, served in the Washington NATO staff, had an excellent combat record, and was promoted for bravery on the battlefield.

Col. Constantine Tzanetis, a highly respected senior artillery officer during the combat against the Communist guerrillas who became commanding officer of divisional artillery.

#### SECOND GROUP IN JULY

Col. Nicholas Zervoyannis, commanding officer of parachute school and the Greek officer with the largest number of parachute jumps, who escaped in the Middle East during the German occupation and fought against the Communists. Also navy commander Vardis Vardinoyannis.

Second group, July-August, 1968:

Lt. Gen. Antonakos, Air Force chief of staff who escaped in the Middle East during the German occupation, a fierce anti-Communist. Lt. Gen. K. Kolias, commanding general of the First Field Army and commanding officer of the raiding forces, who fought against the Communists.

Lt. Gen. George Peridis, a Ft. Leavenworth graduate who was twice promoted in the battlefield for bravery, was commanding general of the 3rd Army Corps, participated in the non-Communist guerrilla units during the German occupation, and fought the Communists in 1946-49. (General Peridis became seriously ill in exile, was hospitalized in Athens under guard, his hospitalization was discontinued before the conclusion of treatment, and he was sent into exile in May of this year.)

Rear Admiral Spanidis, representative of Greece at the SHAPE NATO headquarters, a submarine commander in World War II who escaped in the Middle East during the German occupation.

Brig. Gen. George Koumanakos, a Ft. Leavenworth graduate. (The cases of these last two officers were recently detailed in the American press in the Evans-Novak column.)

Gen. Kon. Koniotakis, who also represented Greece at the SHAPE NATO headquarters and had escaped in the Middle East under the German occupation.

#### EXILES ANNOUNCED

Col. Periklis Papathanasiou, a raiding forces combat officer who also escaped in the Middle East. Maj. John Demestichas, a field Army staff officer who fought against the Communists. Air Force Col. Tsasakos, who served with NATO, Navy Capt. Konofaos, who also served with NATO and escaped in the Middle East during World War II. Brig. Gen. Ch. Tsepapadakis, who was an instructor at the National War College and fought against the Communists. Maj. Epissias, a brilliant young combat officer and an instructor at the Army War College.

Third group, May 1969: An official announcement which listed only 10 of the following said they were to be exiled for "activities directed against public orders." Two weeks later the junta said that a judicial inquiry was under way to determine responsibility for a movement against the regime.

Vice Admiral Avgeris, Navy chief of staff and chairman of the joint chiefs of staff. Lt. Gen. John Genimatas, commandant of the Army War College, director of a special group which developed the new organization of the modern Greek Army, Army corps commander, Army chief of staff who fought in Korea as well as against the Communists.

Lt. Gen. George Tsichlis, commanding general of an infantry division which had fought against the Communists. Vice Admiral Egoopoulos, Navy chief of staff who served in NATO, who escaped in the Middle East and is one of the most talented and respected senior naval officers in Greece.

Maj. Gen. Vardoulakis, an officer with a

brilliant war record, commander of an infantry division, participated during World War II in special wartime raiding forces missions from the Middle East against the Germans in the mainland of Greece and in the islands of the Aegean and fought against the Communists.

Brig. Gen. Const. Papageorgiou, commanding general of the military district of Athens, who fought both the Germans and Communists. Brig. Gen. Nicholas Demestichas, chief of staff of an Army corps who had fought the Communists.

Lt. Gen. Christos Papadatos, commanding officer of the military academy and commanding general of the Athens region. Brig. Gen. Dem. Papadopoulos, chief of staff of the Athens region, second in command of an infantry division.

#### RECORDS FULL OF HONORS

Navy Capt. Georg. Psalidas, who escaped in the Middle East. Brig. Gen. P. Panourias, commanding general of an armored division and Ft. Levenworth graduate, who escaped in the Middle East, fought the Communists, and was wounded in action.

Colonel Kalamakis, chief of staff of an Army corps who served with NATO headquarters, fought in Korea and against the Communists. Colonel Kalamakis was decorated by the United States as a member of the 7th Cavalry in combat action against the North Korean and Chinese Communists. Brig. Gen. Balkos, a Ft. Levenworth graduate, instructor at the War College, and a distinguished senior staff officer.

Col. Perivoliotis, regimental commander who fought the Communists. Brig. Gen. Bouras Anast, who served as assistant commander of an infantry division and with the Washington NATO mission, escaped in the Middle East, and fought the Communists.

Lt. Col. John Souravias, who had escaped in the Middle East and been a raiding forces combat officer. Lt. Col. Drosouyannis, who was also a raiding forces combat officer and fought the Communists.

Col. George Tavernikis, a regimental commander who fought the Communists. Finally, the following combat officers who fought against the Communists: Air Force Colonels Diakoumakos, Pierakos, and Papageorgiou, three distinguished Air Force commanders and staff officers, who escaped as young pilots in the Middle East during the German occupation.

#### MORE ARRESTED SINCE MAY

Army Col. Pipanikolaou, Lt. Colonels Christostalis, Bouras Anast, Vlachos, Somarakakis, and Zafharopoulos. Majors Zervas, Maragakis, Moros, Yannopoulos, and Moustakakis, Captains Mathioudakis, Grivas, Zarkadas Alex. In addition Maj. B. Kioqkafas, an outstanding raiding forces officer, arrested in May, 1969, is feared missing since the time of his arrest.

Since May, 1969, among those arrested are Colonels Blouttsos, Mitsovoleas, Tzanetis, Maj. Gen. Em. Kehagias, an infantry division commander, and Lt. Gen. Sof. Tzanetis.

Gen. Tzanetis was arrested while vacationing in the Island of Rhodes. He escaped from Greece during the German occupation, he commanded an infantry unit in Italy in World War II, he was commanding general of the Army War College, he was vice chief of the National Defense General staff.

There are at least four young officers on active duty who during 1968 have been arrested in their units, court martialled, and are now serving sentences in various prisons. These are Lt. Charalamboulos (serving a 10-year sentence in the Koridalos Prison), Captain Zervopoulos (15 years in Egina Prison), Maj. Agelos Pnevmatikos (10 years in Korfu) and his brother Capt. Konst. Spnevmatikos (4 years in Kupidalos). There is positive evidence that these officers were subjected to severe tortures during the time of the investigations.

There are some hundreds of other distinguished officers of all ranks, who have been retired and removed from any position where their talents and their devotion to the mission of a modern soldier-officer in a free society, could be utilized for the defense of Greece and NATO.

Many of the United States-trained officers have been purged, arrested, or exiled. The purge continues.

The Greek press gave names of about 300 officers in January and February, 1969, and 463 in July, 1969, who were promoted. A large investment of the Greek people and of the United States is lost. War experience, professional training, and devotion to the ideals of the free world could eventually vanish.

These "terror tactics" are being witnessed by the population with apprehension and anxiety. Friends and opponents of the dictatorship are disturbed to see the prestige of the Army questioned by the people.

In talking with many people, one quickly realizes that the uniform of the Greek officer, once a symbol of pride, has become a source of embarrassment and even an object of scorn.

This is a disturbing fact to all concerned since in today's world, tanks, ships, planes, and men in uniform are known to be worthless if not supported by the will of the people. This popular support is lacking today in Greece.

Combined with this is a very rapidly growing "anti-Americanism" which stems from the conviction of most people in Greece that the dictatorship exists in power only because of American toleration and support.

[From the Philadelphia Sunday Bulletin, Aug. 17, 1969]

#### TRANSMITTERS AT STAKE—GREEK NEWS CENSORED ON VOICE OF AMERICA (By Paul Grimes)

WASHINGTON.—The Voice of America is deliberately subduing its service to Greece and permitting the State Department to censor its newscasts so as not to upset the dictatorial military regime there.

At stake are nearly \$35 million in radio transmitting facilities that the U.S. Government maintains or is constructing in Greece. Washington appears determined to keep them, even if this means compromising with a regime that it acknowledges is highly undemocratic.

#### SERVICE IS VULNERABLE

The Voice of America is the broadcasting arm of the U.S. Information Agency, the government body that is charged with carrying America's message abroad. Its commentaries and some other programs are admittedly tailored to suit U.S. policy, but its newscasts are ostensibly objective.

Richard G. Cushing, acting director of the Voice, conceded in an interview here last week that because "we have a lot of expensive real estate in Greece," the service is "vulnerable."

"The Greeks are very sensitive to anything we say about Greece," Cushing said. "We have to get along with the regime."

"We don't want to be thrown off Greek soil. We have this problem. Yet we don't want to compromise our broadcasts."

#### RELAY STATIONS

The most important real estate involved is a \$28.7 million transmitter complex that is under construction at Kavalla in northern Greece. It will include ten 250-kilowatt and one 50-kilowatt transmitters for short wave and one 150-kilowatt for medium wave.

The transmitters will relay broadcasts that originate in Washington. They will be beamed primarily to central Europe, the Balkans and South Asia.

"The signal into India," Cushing said, "has not been good."

When the Kavalla complex is completed in about two and a half years, the United States plans to give Greece a \$1.5 million, 150-kilowatt relay transmitter that it now uses at Thessalonike, also in the north. The Voice plans to retain, however, a \$4.5 million transmitter on the Greek island of Rhodes in the Aegean Sea. The 300-kilowatt Rhodes installation relays broadcasts primarily to the Arab countries of the Middle East.

#### CENSORED ITEM

One news item that the State Department is known to have censored was broadcast Aug. 7. It concerned a letter dated July 30 that 47 members of the U.S. House of Representatives and three senators sent to Secretary of State William P. Rogers.

The signers included Rep. Joshua Ellberg, a Democrat from Northeast Philadelphia.

The letter expressed "deep concern" over actions and policies of Greece's military junta. It said the United States was losing friends abroad because it appeared to support the regime.

"Our policy of occasional, tepid expressions of 'hope' that the junta will return to democracy," the letter said, "stands in rather hollow contrast to the repeated instances of high-ranking American military figures being pictured and quoted in the controlled Athens press lavishing generous comments on the junta."

"In the short term, and in the long term, we are in danger of reaping the whirlwind of anti-Americanism, especially when the junta falls, as it inevitably must."

The letter urged that Secretary Rogers consider measures to show clear diplomatic, moral and political disapproval of the Greek regime and to curtail U.S. military aid.

#### GREEK STABILITY

Replying in Rogers' behalf, William B. Macomber, Jr., assistant secretary of state for congressional relations, stated that the present "internal order" in Greece "does not coincide with the best interests of Greece, whose stability, in the long run, we believe, depends upon the free play of democratic forces."

But Macomber also noted that Greece, "even under the junta, has fulfilled its treaty obligations" to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

"This, then," Macomber wrote, "is the dilemma—how to deal with an ally with whose internal order we disagree yet who is a loyal NATO partner."

In discussing the way the exchange was distorted in Voice of America Greek-language newscasts, officials here insisted that Greek membership in NATO was considerably more important than radio transmitters. They also made it clear, however, that the Athens regime doesn't seem about to withdraw from NATO, but that, if ruffled, it might very well seize the Voice facilities.

Thus, the transmitters appeared to be their greatest immediate concern.

#### STIFF STAND

The Aug. 7 newscast was pegged to Macomber's reply but also embraced the congressman's letter. It included nothing that was in the original letter, however—only a note that the congressmen had urged a "stiff stand" against the regime.

The newscast said Macomber's reply had been "welcomed" by Rep. Don Edwards (D-Calif.), one of the most outspoken congressional critics of U.S. policy toward Greece. The script, as it was originally prepared in the Voice newsroom, included the following two sentences marked "opt," for optional:

"Congressman Edwards also said that widespread purges of the Greek armed forces have weakened the effectiveness of the Greek contribution to NATO. And he charged that Greek officials have refused entry to Greece to some American citizens with no advance warning and no explained reasons."



Before being broadcast, according to authoritative sources, the script was sent to the Greek desk at the State Department. It was returned to the Voice with the advice that the two sentences should be deleted. The Voice concurred.

#### DIRECTOR'S APPROVAL

The deletion is understood to have been approved personally by Henry Loomis, acting director of the USIA in the absence of Director Frank J. Shakespeare, Jr., who is in Vietnam. Loomis, who rejoined the agency in April, had resigned as Voice director four years earlier after complaining that his superiors were forcing the Voice to censor news.

The Voice has had several brushes with the Greek junta since it seized power in April, 1967. At first, according to Cushing, "they wanted to censor everything we said in the Greek language."

Rather than submit, Cushing said, he and John Chancellor, then the Voice director, decided "we would prefer to go off the air, which we did."

#### GREEKS EMBARRASSED

"But then," Cushing said, "the Greek regime went to the (U.S.) Embassy and said, 'Look, this is embarrassing. Go back on the air, be careful and we won't censor it.' So they backed down and we went back on the air."

"We have been careful in our output. We don't put anything out that hasn't been pretty well checked."

#### LEE HAMILTON

### HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, I insert the following to illustrate the cause for the Indiana delegation's pride in LEE HAMILTON. The ability to express the essential with brevity is a rare talent indeed. His remarks follow:

REMARKS DELIVERED BY THE HONORABLE LEE HAMILTON ON SATURDAY, AUGUST 30, 1969, FRENCH LICK, IND.

Let me begin with some statistics. In 1965 the Democratic Party in Indiana had two Democratic Senators. We had won three straight senatorial races (1958, 1962, 1964). We had a Democratic governor and had won two straight contests for governor. The last race by the largest margin ever given an Indiana candidate. We had six of eleven U.S. Congressmen, 78 of 100 representatives in the General Assembly and 35 of 50 state senators. Every state office, except for a few judges, was filled by Democrats.

In 1965 Indiana was solidly Democratic.

In 1969, the figures are not quite so interesting. We still have two U.S. Democratic senators. There is a republican governor, a republican in every state office (except for a few judges).

Republicans have seven of eleven U.S. Congressmen; 73 of 100 seats in the Indiana House; and 33 of the 50 seats in the Indiana Senate.

You know the story of the woman who wrote her Congressman saying: "I'm so disgusted, let's give the country back to the Indians." The congressman wrote back saying he was not sure that was the best thing to do but it was better than giving it back to the republicans.

In Indiana we have given the government back to the republicans.

So I come to French Lick with one question on my mind:

Are the Democrats of Indiana ready to begin in 1970 the climb back to power?

The answer to that question lies in this room. Because you will determine the will and the spirit and the vitality of the democrat party in Indiana in 1970 and 1972.

Each of us instinctively wants to answer that question affirmatively.

But let me inject a note of caution.

The democrats will begin to climb back to power to the extent we are able to understand the changes taking place in American politics today, and to articulate and capture the root feelings of the American people.

You and I must understand that politics in America has become unglued. The rules of the game have changed.

We can no longer automatically assure that the Democrat party is the dominant party. In the six presidential elections since World War II we have won a clear majority only once in 1964. Truman and Kennedy were minority winners.

The Democratic Coalition, which gave us electoral victories many years, can no longer be counted on. The South is no longer automatically democratic—Franklin D. Roosevelt used to get 75 to 80% of the vote of the deep South. Hubert Humphrey got 29%.

The working man, as he becomes increasingly middle class in status and concerns, does not vote democratic automatically. Young people (and 60% of our population will be under 30 next year) and minority groups are asking—not should I be a democrat or republican—but the more probing question: will the system work? Will it meet the challenges of the 70's? And, they will not accept the glib clichés of politicians who want to solve the problem of the 70's with remedies that only partly worked for the problems of the 40's and 50's.

The suburbs have perhaps become the key to winning elections and when people move to the suburbs their thinking and their politics change. In short, the American politics is changing. Our efforts, as always, must be directed toward the common man. But, the common man of 1969 is not the same as the common man of the 30's. He earns more money, is better educated, expects more, and has different interests and concerns than his father and mother.

And we will begin our climb back to power as we grasp the implications of these changes. Let me venture to my fellow politicians in this room what some of those root feelings are:

The people are deeply concerned—and in some cases, even furious—about the relentless increase in taxes: local, state and federal. They neither understand nor accept those increases, and they think we can do better in collecting and spending the revenues of government.

They want tax relief and tax equity—a reasonable assurance that Americans in similar circumstances pay approximately the same tax.

They want a saner sense of priorities. Enough money for national security, but not for monstrous military expenditures.

Adequate funds to stop the fouling of our natural environment and to improve the quality of education and health care, but not swollen expenditures for programs with marginal results.

They perceive the global responsibilities of a world power, but they reject the idea that this nation is the policeman of the world, the gendarm to guard every gate.

They want from all of us in public life less rhetoric and more candor, fewer promises and more performance, less talking and more listening.

And, as much as anything, they want a piece of the action, a sense of participation, a feeling they are not shut out from the decision making processes in the political party and government.

These feelings and demands of the people are difficult to satisfy fully. But those of us in politics have the obligation to try. No one can really say if the democrats will begin the climb back to power in 1970. But the

formula for success in 1969 is what it has been since 1789: listen hard to what people say, and do our level best to respond with concern and reason and compassion.

### ANNIVERSARY OF INVASION OF POLAND

### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I remind the Members that the Polish Government in exile continues to function in London and the voices of its officials are far more representative of the people of Poland than the mutterings of the Moscow-controlled puppets in Warsaw.

Therefore, I insert into the Record the address of His Excellency August Zaleski, President of the Polish Republic in exile, on September 1, commemorating the 30th anniversary of the German invasion of Poland.

The text of President Zaleski's statement which follows is of unusual significance emphasizing as it properly does, this historic anniversary which started World War II:

#### MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND TO THE POLISH NATION

It is thirty years since Poland fell victim to the treacherous aggression of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia.

As a result of this onslaught the whole world was enveloped by the flames of the Second World War.

It was not the first time that Poland, which in the course of the thousand years of her history has always represented the ideals of human freedom, justice and love of one's neighbour, as well as respect for international treaties, became the object of aggression on the part of two adjacent imperialist powers. Poland, the most easterly outpost of Western civilisation, a country of civic freedom and hundreds of years of parliamentary democracy, the cradle of some of the greatest minds in the field of national and international law, a state of religious and cultural tolerance which in the Union of Lublin in the year 1569 gave birth to a free association of nations in a single Commonwealth—this Poland has always been an obstacle to the wilful egotism of the two neighbouring powers.

In the defence of these lofty ideals Polish Soldiers fought on all battlefields of the last war, on land, at sea and in the air. The September campaign, Narvik, the campaign in France, the Battle of Britain, Tobruk, Monte Cassino, Ancona, Bologna, Falaise, Arnhem, the Warsaw Rising—these were the stages of the Polish struggle for freedom.

After the war, however, in spite of these enormous sacrifices the Polish people were abandoned to the demands of unbridled Russian imperialism. And the world, since 1945, has not attained the desired peace.

The Polish people, undeterred by this experience, have not given up hope that in the end good will triumph over evil, and law over injustice and armed might.

We, Poles dispersed over all the corners of the free world, have the duty, put upon us by the captive nation, to show the world the nature of this conflict between law and justice on the one hand, and naked might and despotism on the other.

We are fully aware that the road to the victory of law and justice is hard and may extend into the indefinite future, but we shall never lose hope that by the Grace of God good will eventually triumph over evil.

bonds and 6 percent on tax-free municipals. Ordinary families receive the same 4 to 5 percent on their savings. Government is even paying large investors over 7 percent on short-term borrowed money. But it continues to pay series E savings bond buyers the same 4.25 percent, and 5 percent on Freedom shares available with E bonds. We therefore see the grotesque spectacle of a family borrowing money from a bank, paying anywhere from 8 percent to 15 percent, while its savings remain on deposit at 4 percent. The administration's response consists of pious mumblings about curbing inflation, balancing the budget, paying off the national debt, squaring the circle, and achieving perpetual motion. Industry and labor have been given the green light on prices and wages. Guideposts controlling such inflation-producing activities have been jettisoned. Oil companies, America's princes of plunder, have raised their prices nationally several times this year.

Meanwhile, our elderly are quietly overcome by hopelessness, as inflation devastates their limited incomes, which Government is not making even the slightest move to adjust and raise. Pious Presidential platitudes are cheap, but decent cuts of meat and drugs for arthritis are dear. But skies are so blue in California, and those golf courses are so green and inviting. Problems are so far away. It can all wait another day or another year. Or even forever. Who knows? Maybe it will all go away.

Unemployment edges higher daily. There are now more than a quarter of a million more Americans unemployed than when President Nixon took his oath of office, and the worst is yet to come. The National Industrial Conference Board estimates that more than a million workers could lose their jobs in a few short months. And do we not all remember that unctuously smooth rhetoric during the campaign that talked of ending inflation without increasing unemployment? The rate is now at a 9-month high, with adult men accounting for the lion's share of the increase. Is it meaningful to remind people that there were no such happenings during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations? We were in the ninth year of the longest uninterrupted economic boom in history, which aided the poor measurably through growth of payrolls, a phrase we have heard much of in recent months. Millions of people ceased to be "poor" as they were put to work by a prospering economy. They were willing to work and found jobs. Today, it was learned that the administration will announce a 75 percent cutback in Federal construction projects to curb inflation. These cutbacks could affect as much as \$1 billion worth of work. Once again, we see Government being used to harm people, rather than help them.

Our picture is bleak, indeed. Wrong solutions are being applied to inflation, which only succeed in harming those who are most vulnerable. Irresponsible elements in our business community on the highest levels are being encouraged to give overly acquisitive impulses the full go-ahead. Government raises its voice against those who seek tax justice,

but remains silent when malefactors of enormous wealth and power rob an entire nation. If this is the way to run a government and manage an economy, then so do cucumbers give light and so will your local water commissioner start at fullback for the Redskins. Their ears are open, but they listen selectively. Their eyes are open, yet they see only in a limited sense. The voice of the people is unheard. The cry of the dispossessed rings out, but is unheeded. Perhaps it will continue until we are hip deep in an economic swamp which has no bottom. Only one thing is certain. Ordinary people will pay the economic bill and do the physical suffering. Their reaction will be fascinating to watch. Certainly, they have no reason to allow this to be perpetrated upon them. I must admit that it is quite an accomplishment to ruin a prosperous economy in less than a year.

**ME**

**UNITED STATES SHOULD RETALIATE TO HIJACKING OF TRANS WORLD AIRLINER TO SYRIA BY SENDING 50 PHANTOM JETS TO ISRAEL IMMEDIATELY**

(Mr. PUCINSKI asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the shameful and deplorable hijacking of the Trans World airliner last weekend by Arab partisans shocked the conscience of the whole free world.

It appears to me that we should not let this attack on an American airplane, an international carrier, go unchallenged. It is obvious that Arab partisans are developing a new form of terrorism against the United States and any other country which helps Israel.

As deplorable as the hijacking of this airplane was, even more shocking and shameful is detention by the Syrian Government of six Israel citizens who were passengers on this American airliner.

Mr. Speaker, the House must react as strongly as possible against this new form of political piracy by countries such as Syria. We must arouse the conscience of the world against this international outrage.

I was pleased to learn over the weekend that the International Federation of Airline Pilots Associations is contemplating very serious action against Syria for the detention of these citizens of Israel. The federation is planning a 24-hour worldwide strike if the remaining two passengers are not released by Monday.

Further, Mr. Speaker, I was interested to learn that the Airline Pilots Association in the United States is supporting this action.

I hope President Nixon will provide further leverage by signing the Tokyo Convention treaty as soon as possible so we can show Syria and the rest of the world that we will not tolerate this type of hijacking.

But most important, it would be my hope that the United States will send forthwith to Israel the 50 Phantom fighters that the Israel Government so badly needs to build up her defenses.

We should not permit hoodlum hi-

jackers to set our foreign policy through these hijackings in an effort to deter American support to Israel. The hijackers arrogantly boasted after they brought down the TWA liner in Damascus that they hijacked the plane in retaliation for American military aid to Israel.

Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that unless the United States does take a positive stand and sends these Phantom jets forthwith to Israel, we will see more of these hijackings. We should serve notice on the Arab countries and their terrorists who persist in these attacks on American aircraft that any action against the United States will only bring more assistance on our part to Israel. We must impress on these terrorists that any further attacks against the United States in any form will mean more arms to Israel. We must make it clear these attacks will not defer our aid to Israel. And we must make it clear through stepped-up military aid to Israel that international hoodlumism is not going to dictate American foreign policy. That appears to be the only way we are going to be able to stop these hijackers and these outrages on American rights.

**THE LATE HARRY P. BERGMANN**

(Mr. HARVEY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, the District of Columbia and the surrounding metropolitan area lost one of their most distinguished citizens this past weekend when Harry P. Bergmann, senior vice president of the Riggs National Bank, was accidentally drowned in a boating accident in the Chesapeake Bay.

The tragic passing of Harry Bergmann is a deep, personal loss to me. It was my privilege to count him as a friend and as a neighbor. My relationship and my friendship with him date back to my first year in Congress. I first met Harry in 1961. He was then chairman of the American Bankers Association's Mortgage Finance Committee. At the time he was testifying in favor of the Housing Act of 1961—a pioneer piece of legislation in the housing field—then before the Banking and Currency Committee, on which I served.

In the years following, he testified in behalf of the American Bankers Association on several occasions, for he was a leader in the effort to provide suitable housing for all Americans through the use of our private enterprise system. I recall very well the last occasion that he testified while I still served on that committee—April 2, 1965. At the time, together with other ABA representatives, he testified in favor of the very controversial rent supplement feature of the Housing Act of 1965. He suggested that it was a better alternative for solving the housing problems of the District of Columbia and other areas of the country than subsidized interest rates or public housing.

It was typical that Harry Bergmann tackled any problem with vigor and did not shy away because the problem might be controversial. In his tenure as president of the Congressional Country Club,

gation of new areas of legislative concern.

Routine office tasks also make up a large portion of the interns' duties. The combined effects of an increase in the normal workload and staff vacations during the summer help to account for the high priority given to such duties as filing, typing, and handling mail. Among offices that were chiefly oriented toward this approach, we found that the most highly successful were those who gave prospective interns a clear indication of what their office duties would be. The educational value of this type of activity should not be underemphasized, but a substantial number of the respondents were careful to point out that the educational perspective afforded through participation in office work was enhanced by giving interns ample opportunity to attend the seminars and meetings conducted by the bipartisan intern program or by the college programs.

#### FUNDING

We found that nearly 82 percent of the interns covered by our survey received funding either from their offices or from a college program. This is a rather impressive figure, until one begins to delineate and analyze the separate sources of funding.

The cutoff of House funds previously set aside for compensating interns placed an increased financial burden on the college programs, and their very limited financial resources necessarily prevent them from adequately bridging the "expense gap." Several programs provide no funding whatsoever, one provides only scholarships, another only transportation costs, and a remaining few provide grants which range from \$150 to \$900 for the summer. These various forms of funding reach 56 percent of those in a college program, and only 22 percent of the total number of interns covered by our survey. Fortunately, adequately funded intern programs in other sectors of government allow the chairmen of college programs to reserve most of their money for financing positions on the Hill, a situation which has its paradoxical aspects, since Congress is responsible for approving the funding of all the agency programs.

The clerk-hire allotment available to each congressional office provides the other principle source of intern funding. Simple calculations, using the figures in our survey, show that 326 of the 542 interns received funding only from their office, and, since a portion of the interns receiving money from their colleges undoubtedly receive additional funding from their offices, the available clerk-hire funds are spread even thinner. Yet, this is the major source of funding for the intern program.

It is unfortunate that the funding of a program of such importance is subject to the variations in regular staff hiring among individual congressional offices. There is no reason why an intern should be paid less just because the workload in his Member's office requires a larger full-time staff, but such is the logic of the present system of intern funding.

Consequently, there is great diversity in the amounts and sources of compensa-

tion available to interns in each office. At one end of the scale, our study shows that there were 98 interns who received no funding whatsoever—and an estimated total of 148 interns in this category, based on the bipartisan intern program's total figure of 820 House interns. These are positions which are not open to students with scant economic resources, and, to paraphrase many of the letters sent to prospective summer interns, only those who have enough money to pay summer expenses need apply. Our figures indicate that, for this summer, a total of 89 offices either were new participants in the intern program or had increased the size of their summer intern staff, and, in the absence of corrective measures, further expansion of the program will doubtless increase the tendency of offices to divert attention away from students who first, require outside funding or second, do not have access to organized college intern programs.

The scope of this study did not include a determination of the average amount received by funded interns, but it is safe to conclude that the House intern program is an opportunity largely closed to students who cannot afford to come here in the absence of outside funding adequate to cover living and travel expenses.

There are a number of partial remedies available. Individual offices could, theoretically, squeeze more money out of available office funds, and colleges undoubtedly will do so, in spite of pressing financial limitations of their own. However, only the House as a whole can, by restoring the funding provisions of Resolution 416, guarantee that a minimum of funds will be available for interns in each office, thereby including in the public record, and incorporating in the budget, a well-deserved vote of confidence in our intern program and the young people who participate in it. While this will not guarantee equal opportunity for intern positions regardless of financial need, we can, with the growing support of the colleges, take a forward step in that direction.

#### RECESSION IS JUST AROUND THE CORNER

(Mr. BODELL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BODELL. Mr. Speaker, wherever we look today, storm signals of economic distress are flying. The administration placidly observes the ominous trend, doing nothing to halt it, and everything to increase its momentum. Already the average workman is feeling the pinch. Already pustules of unemployment are breaking out across the Nation.

Last month home construction activity declined another 9 percent, as tight money continues to depress the real estate industry. The Commerce Department announced that housing starts in July plunged down to a seasonally adjusted annual rate of 1,336,000, the sixth consecutive monthly drop in construction of privately owned housing, in-

cluding farm homes. On the west coast scores of lumber mills are laying off workers in droves. Apartment construction also declined, as potential lenders pursue usurious profits alltime-high interest rates allow. The administration chooses not to attack such staggering rates of interests. Instead, it fights like a demon to extend the surtax, and now makes burbling noises about cutting House-enacted tax reforms which benefit lower- and middle-income taxpayers.

Big Steel calmly raised prices an average of 4.8 percent, to be followed by the rest of this basic industry. Aluminum companies promptly followed suit. This morning copper and zinc companies did the same. Even the auto industry sought to roll these hikes back, and lost the battle because for pressing need for steel as a new model year neared. Ford has now raised truck prices 5 percent, and all new cars will be carrying significantly higher prices. The administration, its eyes riveted upon traditional laissez-faire policies of noninterference, is as silent as a closed door and as inactive as a snail at full gallop. It certainly admires old-fashioned American virtues, like greed in high corporate places. Simultaneously, the Federal National Mortgage Association offers debentures at all-time high rates of interest, 8.30 percent. The Farmers Home Administration announces a new top interest rate of 8.5 percent on notes it uses to cover loans for rural housing and rural community projects, including water and waste disposal systems. Orders for new and sales of used machine tools fell steeply. New orders in this basic category fell 22.1 percent, as used tool orders plummeted 16 percent. All background orchestration for this drama-turning-into-tragedy was provided by the stock market, which plummeted more than 150 points.

Twenty-six million stockholders and 100 million affected Americans watched in horror as they sustained a loss of \$125 billion. Soothing noises and much rhetorical vaseline flowed from the White House in response to anguished cries from all points of the economic compass.

Meanwhile, costs of homeownership rose nearly 1 percent in 1 month due to higher property taxes, mortgage interest rates, and home repair costs. Utilities across the Nation are lining up expectantly in front of public utilities commissions, requesting higher rates, which are being granted. Food prices alone tell the woeful consumer story, as family budgets stagger and collapse. Prices skyrocket. Hotdogs contain more fat and up to 15 percent of chicken ordinarily treated as garbage, and the administration could care less about tainted fish in the marketplace. The consumer is leading a shopping life akin to that of a fly alone in a room with 100 boys, each armed with a fly swatter. The administration watches happily from the sidelines, nodding approvingly.

Small savers are paying for high interest rates, but not sharing in the rewards. Banks are charging the highest interest rates in a generation on business, mortgage, and personal loans. Large investors obtain 8 percent on corporate



August 13, 1969

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — Extensions of Remarks

N.J., we have learned of the announcement that Mrs. Lillian M. Bradshaw, Dallas, who has been named as the president-elect of the American Library Association. Everyone in Dallas shares this great honor and recognition with her. Mrs. Bradshaw has been an outstanding participant in all of our community activities. She will bring this same charm, enthusiasm, and intellectual drive with her into her administration as the head of the American Library Association.

The following is the complete report on Mrs. Lillian M. Bradshaw, who is now serving as the director of the Dallas Public Library, and who will become president of the American Library Association in 1970.

Mrs. Bradshaw received her undergraduate degree from Western Maryland College, Westminster, Md., and her library science degree from Drexel Institute of Technology in Philadelphia.

She has served on the staff of the Utica Public Library, N.Y., from 1938 to 1943; as assistant coordinator of young adult work at the Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore, Md., from 1943-46. She has held positions of director of reader's services, coordinator of adult services, assistant director and acting director of the Dallas Public Library from 1946-62. In 1962 she was appointed director of libraries for the Dallas Public Library System.

Mrs. Bradshaw has previously filled various offices in the American Library Association, including president of the adult services division, 1967-68; director of the executive committee for the public relations section of the Library Administration Division; and has diverse responsibilities in the Public Library Association. She is currently a member of the American Library Association Council and chairman of the Association's National Library Week Committee. Mrs. Bradshaw has also served as President of the Texas Library Association, 1964-65, and is now chairman of that association's legislative task force.

In other activities, Mrs. Bradshaw has served as a member of the national steering committee for National Library Week; as a member of the advisory council and board of trustees of the association for Graduate Education and Research in North Texas; director of the Texas Municipal League; director of the Dallas County Community Action Committee; a conferee and assistant task force leader on the goals for Dallas program; and president of the Dallas Metropolitan Area Public Libraries Association. She is a member of the Zonta Club of Dallas and the Dallas chapter, American Association of University Women. Mrs. Bradshaw is listed in Who's Who in America and Who's Who of American Women. She was a representative of the American Library Association at the Swedish Public Library Conference in 1960, was chosen Librarian of the Year by the Texas Library Association in 1961, was chosen B'nai B'rith Woman of Awareness in 1965 and has been the recipient of numerous local honors for civic endeavors.

# AN ACHILLES HEEL—THE GREEK POST

## HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 12, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the very highly respected member of the Chicago Tribune's Washington bureau, Mr. Phillip Warden, has written a very timely article about the selection of an American Ambassador to Greece.

Mr. Warden's column appeared in this morning's Chicago Tribune and I should like to call it to the attention of my colleagues.

Mr. Warden's column follows:

### AN ACHILLES HEEL—THE GREEK POST (By Phillip Warden)

WASHINGTON, Aug. 11.—The choice of an ambassador to Greece threatens to become an Achilles heel for the Nixon administration.

Greek-Americans want to see one of their own chosen. They look to Vice President Agnew, the son of a Greek immigrant, to influence the administration in its choice. Agnew, however, has refused to become involved.

The state department proposes to give the post to one of its career diplomats, Henry J. Tasca, now ambassador to Morocco. His post-doctoral studies in the London School of Economics and his service as economic adviser to W. Averell Harriman on North Atlantic Treaty organization matters make his political views suspect to many Republicans.

"The liberals are trying to ram him thru as ambassador to Greece," a Member of Congress who has worked closely with the Greek-American community in Chicago, said last week. "The reports we receive from Sweden say that the state department has chosen Tasca. The Kennedy-Johnson carryovers in the state department have been pushing him."

Ever since Nixon chose Agnew to be Vice President, the Greek-Americans have contributed heavily to the Republican Party. Consequently, no one wants to bite the hand which is feeding it.

The naming of an ambassador acceptable to all the Greek-American has been complicated by the growing debate over the Greek government. The once-powerful support for the Greek military junta has waned.

These undoubtedly are among the reasons why Agnew decided not to become involved. But stronger reasons are found in Agnew's background. Agnew's father drummed into the mind of his son the fact that Spiro was an American, not a Greek. The elder Agnew would not allow Greek to be spoken at home. The Vice President speaks no Greek. Agnew is proud of his Greek ancestry and his immigrant parents, but the Vice President stresses that he is "an unhyphenated American."

The state department has received a number of nominations for the ambassadorship. Anthony Angelos, a business man of Chicago, is among them. Sen. Dirksen (R., Ill.), Senate minority leader, asked for the appointment of his close friend, Kimon T. Karabatsos, a banker, Karakatsos lives near Dirksen in suburban Virginia. George Christopher, former mayor of San Francisco, is another nominee.

Sen. Barry Goldwater (R., Ariz.) has pushed Lt. Gen. William W. Quinn, chief of the army section, United States military advisory group to Greece from 1953 to 1955, as a nominee. Quinn has been extremely popular with the Greek-Americans. If they cannot have an ambassador from their own ethnic group, members of Congress say that

Quinn probably would be the first choice of the group.

Whoever is chosen by the White House will have to first be cleared by Thomas Anthony Pappas, millionaire food importer and capitalist, and a member of the Republican national finance committee, administration officials said.

Ultimately a far greater problem for the Nixon administration will be whether the man finally chosen will be acceptable to the Greek government.

Tasca, who will be 57 this month, did his undergraduate work at Temple university. He pursued his economics studies at the University of Pennsylvania and the London School of Economics. He received a post-doctoral social science research council fellowship and was a Penfield traveling scholar in Europe in 1938 and 1939.

### SECONDARY MARKET FOR STUDENT ASSISTANCE

## HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 12, 1969

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, when the Federal guaranteed loan program was enacted in 1965, there was great optimism that it would fulfill a real national need, particularly in alleviating the increasing burdens of a college education for middle-income families. Although the concept is sound, the program has, unfortunately, been unable to meet the need for a variety of reasons.

The program now faces a crisis situation. As a result of soaring interest rates and the tight money market, one-third or more of the students seeking guaranteed loans in order to enter college this fall are being rejected.

I commend the administration for offering proposals to help solve this immediate problem and I am pleased that hearings in both Houses of the Congress have made this acute situation nationally visible.

Concern for the immediate needs is not enough, however, as we contemplate the educational demands of the country over the remaining years of this century. What is needed, in my opinion, is creative arrangements utilizing the strengths of our private lending sector to unlock yet untapped pools of money to meet these increasingly pressing demands. Lender participation must be increased by several magnitudes if we are to achieve a meaningful "breakthrough."

One of the key problems is the lack of a secondary market mechanism to allow lending institutions to avoid or minimize their liquidity problems in connection with long-term loans. Testimony at the recent hearing acknowledges that this is a major part of this complicated situation and certain of the proposals are thought to indirectly enhance the potential for a secondary market and thereby bring in new sources of loan funds.

What is needed, as I see it, is a direct and determined effort to do for education in this country what has been done for housing through the FHA with its secondary market.

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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—Extensions of Remarks August 13, 1969

I have recently written to President Nixon advocating the establishment of an FHA-type mechanism for education in order to assure the needs of lending institutions who might be induced to participate in the student loan program. And I was very pleased to note, shortly thereafter, that in testimony before the Senate, the American Bankers Association devoted a goodly portion of their testimony to this point; indicating, among other things, that they were appointing a special force of experts in the investment and student loan areas to formulate a specific proposal for a secondary market. I commend them for this initiative and trust that this will contribute to the much-needed discussion on this issue. With such discussion, we should be able to frame specific proposals and identify alternatives.

Admittedly, this is a difficult area to work in—statistics are meager and advice is often conflicting. But the national interest makes it imperative that we attack the problem head on. And we must start now so that we can have workable possibilities available when the economy allows for improvement in the money market.

In this regard, my understanding is that the Joint Economic Committee is tentatively planning to hold hearings this fall on the structure and financing of higher education and I would hope that this matter of a secondary market for student loans would be given in-depth attention.

My feeling is that it is none too early to be working hard to substantially increase the quality and quantity of opportunity in education available by 1976, the 200th anniversary of the U.S. Declaration of Independence. Perhaps the most appropriate way to mark this significant date would be to have available to all our people a comprehensive "bill of education rights."

## SALUTE TO GABON

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 12, 1969

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, although Gabon is a small and relatively unknown country on the West Coast of Africa, it has the highest per capita income of all the former French African territories. The economic outlook for the future of this palmy, mountainous, forested country which straddles the Equator on the West Coast of central Africa, holds more promise still. Currently, Gabon's most important natural resource is its forests; the lumber industry is the country's largest employer and main source of revenue. Perhaps more significant for the country's long-term development, however, are its rich mineral resources, which have only begun to be exploited in recent years.

Gabon is bounded on the north by Rio Muni and Cameroon, and on the south and east by the Congo Republic—Brazzaville. Unlike many of its sister republics, Gabon enjoys a favorable bal-

ance of trade and payments, and its per capita gross national product is the highest among the independent states of black Africa. Gabon finds itself in this fortunate situation partly because it has a relatively small population and partly because it possesses enormous wealth in natural resources.

Gabon is rightly proud of her development since independence. The country's burgeoning economy is an encouraging contrast to the economic problems of many of her neighboring states in Africa. In 1967, Gabon's total exports represented a 19.3-percent increase over exports in the previous year.

Gold, uranium, and petroleum are other natural resources expected to bring in increasing amounts of foreign exchange in future years. Thus, in Gabon's rich minerals would seem to be the key to her development as a modern self-sufficient nation. Like all of the other new nations, however, Gabon badly needs foreign capital to build up her economy. But Gabon has been more successful in attracting foreign capital than some of the other new countries. Realizing that foreign private capital investment is necessary to the development of the country, the Government has made significant efforts to encourage the inflow of investment capital. Gabon's Investment Code provides liberal terms for private investors and makes no distinction between foreign or locally owned firms concerning privileges and guarantees. Gabon has had an investment guaranty agreement with the United States since April 1963.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this occasion to congratulate the people of Gabon on their achievements since independence and to express my hope that they will continue to enjoy the blessings of steady economic and social progress in years to come.

## ANATOLY KUZNETSOV

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 12, 1969

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I attach herewith an article from the New York Times of Sunday, August 10, by Anatoly Kuznetsov. This is an interesting article by a man recently a resident of Russia. I feel sure my colleagues will be interested in reading the article:

SOVIET DEFECTOR TELLS HOW SECRET POLICE USED HIM

(NOTE.—The following article, "Russian Writers and the Secret Police," is by the 39-year-old Soviet author who received asylum in Britain on July 30, saying that he could no longer work under repression and censorship. He describes the surveillance directed against him, and his enforced role in overseeing other prominent writers. He also tells of his long yearning, frustrated by the secret police, to go abroad.)

(By Anatoly Kuznetsov)

It is a frightful story that I have to tell. Sometimes it seems to me as though it never happened, that it was just a nightmare. If only that were true.

The Soviet system remains firmly in power in Russia only thanks to a exceptionally powerful apparatus of oppression and primarily thanks to what has been called at various times the Cheka, the G.P.U., the N.K.V.D., the M.G.B. and K.G.B. In other words, the secret police, or the Soviet Gestapo.

Everybody knows that the number of people murdered by the secret police runs into many millions. But when we come to reckon the number of people who are terrorized and deformed by them, then we have to include the whole population of the Soviet Union. The K.G.B.'s tentacles reach, like cancerous growths, into every branch of life in Russia. And in particular into the world of Soviet literature.

I do not know a single writer in Russia who has not had some connection with the K.G.B. This connection can be one of three different kinds.

The first kind: You collaborate enthusiastically with the K.G.B. In that case you have every chance of prospering.

The second kind: You acknowledge your duty toward the K.G.B., but you refuse to collaborate directly. In that case you are deprived of a great deal, and in particular of the prospect of traveling abroad.

The third kind: You brush aside all advances made by the K.G.B. and enter into conflict with them. In that case your works are not published and you may even find yourself in a concentration camp.

How all this works out in practice I shall explain by reference to my own experience. As a matter of fact a similar story could be told by any Russian writer who is even slightly known. But they are there, and they want to live, and so they keep quiet.

In August, 1951, I was preparing for the first time in my life to travel abroad, to France. I had been included in a delegation of writers. It was a most impressive experience (because in the Soviet Union the only people who are allowed to travel abroad are those with "clean" records, who have been thoroughly "vetted," who have not been in any trouble at their work or in their political activities, who have never in their lives consulted a psychiatrist, who have never been before the courts, and so on and so forth).

What is more, the whole process of getting one's papers in order lasts many months and requires a mass of references, questionnaires, secret signatures and confidential advice on how to behave. By the time a person has gone through this procedure he is so intimidated and tensed up that the trip begins to seem like some religious ritual.

I had already gone through this intimidating procedure and was packing my case when someone telephoned to say that people from the secret police were going to visit me. A couple of men appeared and showed me their identity cards. They made a few jokes, chatted about literature, then got down to business:

"You realize, of course, why we've come. One of our comrades will be traveling, as usual, with your delegation. But it will be difficult for him to cope on his own. So you will help him. You just keep an eye out to see that nobody slips away and stays abroad, to see who talks to whom, and to see how people behave."

"No, I don't want to," I said.

"You must."

"Let somebody else do it."

"Others will be doing it."

"I don't want to."

"Well, then, we shall have to reconsider. In that case, what's the point of your going?"

I remained silent, quite overcome. And the two men started to explain to me that this was the most usual and most natural thing: No group of tourists and no delegation could do without its "comrade" and the voluntary assistants attached to him. The Western world was devilishly cunning, and we had to

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the tenuous hold over the hearts and minds of the captive peoples.

Mr. Speaker, I am glad that we are celebrating Captive Nations Week once again this year. We have indeed made great progress, in these 10 years, and I feel even more strongly now than I did in days past that the day of real freedom for the peoples of Eastern Europe and elsewhere in the world is not really so far away as we had once thought it might be.

#### THE STATUS OF GREECE

(Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, recently I had the privilege of visiting Greece for the first time. Though this trip was completely unofficial and at my own expense, I thought perhaps my colleagues would be interested in my making a few observations.

The visit was necessarily brief, but included Athens and the surrounding area, Rhodes, and Symi—a delightful small island where there are no automobiles or buses to pollute the air, one of the very earliest seats of learning within our Western civilization.

As an American, I have always been fascinated by the influence of Greek history and culture on the world, and on our own country. As a politician, I revere Greece as the birthplace of democracy. As a former military man, I am deeply appreciative of the heroic achievements of Greek soldiers and sailors during World War II and Korea. As a friend of many Greek-Americans, including several in this Chamber, I am intensely aware of the great contribution of her native sons and daughters to the success of America.

Mr. Speaker, I am also a pragmatist, and as such I must speak in terms of a profound national interest in the continuation of the strongest ties with Greece.

While all of us realize it, I believe one must visit the country to fully appreciate the strategic importance of Greece to the cause of Western noncommunism, and the bulwark of Western strength that nation has been, and is today. In terms of geography, Greece has but a thread of continental connection with NATO. Geographically, it is of a piece with its Balkan Communist neighbors to the north. Even Western Germany is not so militarily vulnerable as Greece. It is an outpost in most tenuous geopolitical circumstance, but one laced in code, interests, commitment, and traditions to our mutual cause.

There is no profit in playing fast, loose, and arrogantly in our relations with Greece. I talked with dozens of citizens ranging from modest fishermen and small businessmen through industrialists, bankers, and prominent educators. Without exception, everyone I talked with had favorable comments about the existing government and the stability, confidence, the atmosphere of personal dignity, and the climate of opportunity it has achieved.

Certain magazine writers and others would lead us to believe that Greece is an armed camp, carried on by a government built on oppression and torture, not unlike that of the days of Nazi Germany. As a brief visitor to Greece, I would be foolhardy to take the role of defense attorney against these charges. On the other hand, I would be a coward not to say that I found absolutely no evidence to support these charges. Thus, I am compelled to report to my colleagues.

American magazines sell better with stories about torture than about emancipated businessmen. A publicity seeker does better to attack than to defend.

Mr. Speaker, I shall not take any more time except to suggest to my colleagues the following points of consideration:

It will be a disaster of great consequence if Greece should be left exposed, isolated, and alienated at the mercy of its Balkan neighbors.

Perhaps there are some idealists who tend too easily to equate the problems and solutions of different nations in differing circumstances. There are certainly seekers for accommodation who bristle with invective over every transgression of the right, while ignoring, forgiving, or defending monstrous crimes against freedom, human conscience, and political decency by Marxist regimes.

Before we assume the exalted role of advising Greece how to handle things, let me point out that compared to the United States, there is very little crime in Greece—virtually no civil strife, virtually no uprising on the campuses. Greek taxicab drivers do not swear at their passengers or other taxicab drivers. Greek children are well fed and not left to drift on their own. A narcotics addict or hippie is a person disrespected from another land.

The current new government has acknowledged its pledge and aim to return to a consensual democracy. I cannot assure you that they will do it, but I can assure you, Mr. Speaker, of this: Its record thus far seems beneficial to the people of Greece, and distrust of this Government seems more endemic among the literati in the United States than among the fishermen, farmers, and businessmen of Greece.

Stable democracy is notoriously the hardest form of social organization to learn. Certainly we, who inherited at our national birth a great body of democratic practice, and have sought to improve upon it ever since, are yet far short of perfection. The history of democratic political development is everywhere similar in its gradually decreasing cyclical swings between authoritarian and permissive emphasis. Any such society collectively learns, usually with pain, to inculcate a variable scale of balance between organizational necessity and personal freedom within democratic parameters. It learns to adjust this scale in a manner acceptable to its citizens in response to external and internal crises and calms. Any nation which commits itself to the pursuit of consensual democratic governance undertakes a grueling task fraught with perils. To opt for political democracy is to seek the best and the hardest.

Greece has made this commitment. It

has thrown its lot with the European democracies, with NATO, with the great western maritime trading world. It has opposed the Communist advance, defeated a guerrilla war of subversion, and fought beside the United States in the Korean war. It has rejected the Fascist and Communist totalitarian systems, and done so with blood and sacrifice. But it is having its pains in democratic political development. This is hardly shocking, nor should it be viewed as an excuse for shrill vilification and retribution.

Finally, we should recognize that despite the celebrated achievements of ancient Athens, Greece, has less experience in modern political democracy than most people realize.

Greece languished under foreign rule almost continuously from 146 B.C. till 1830, and from 1940 to 1944. Modern political parties became effective factors in Greek life in the mid-1920's, and the vote was extended to women in 1952. Greece is learning the hard balance of democracy between political freedom and workable national unity. The latest swing in emphasis is toward authoritarian organization. I suspect that the pendulum may swing two or three times in the next 30 years, each time in a less extreme arc. On each occasion there will be temptations here in the United States to agonize, dramatize, lecture, and chastise. Let us think twice, keep our historical perspective and our geopolitical cool. We can begin now.

#### THE PRESIDENT'S RECENT WELFARE MESSAGE

(Mr. FOLEY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I should like to express my very deep concern about the recommendation in the President's recent welfare message which states:

For dependent families there will be an orderly substitution of food stamps by the new direct monetary payments.

Mr. Speaker, it was only last May 6 that the President took a momentous step forward in behalf of all Americans when he said:

America has come to the aid of one starving people after another: But the moment is at hand to put an end to hunger in America itself.

On that date the President recommended proposals which—if carried out—would be useful first steps toward meeting the goal.

In general, I support and applaud the suggestions of President Nixon in his recommendations to reform the present welfare system. These recommendations as they apply particularly to the aid-for-dependent-children program, represent a movement toward greater equity, adequacy of funding and broadening of participation. In addition, the President's recommendations tend to eliminate discrimination against the working poor and tend to discourage undesirable rural-to-urban migration.

However, I am deeply concerned that the President's message indicates that



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the change in his position about providing an adequate and nutritious diet for all American families threatens a long-overdue expansion of the food stamp program.

In the President's May 6 message on hunger and malnutrition, he pointed out and emphasized the need for adequate nutrition for millions of American families who lack sufficient means to obtain it.

The welfare reforms recommended by the President cannot substitute for food-stamp programs. The income support is too minimal to accomplish that purpose. It is particularly disturbing that the President's recommendations in cutting back food stamps come so soon—only a little over 2 months after his hunger and malnutrition message. If the Congress were to endorse the food-stamp cutback and pass the welfare reform only, we would be committing a fraud on millions of Americans whose hopes have been raised.

The two programs are not only compatible but complementary. Indeed the original concept of food stamps can work with far greater effectiveness if the welfare reform is implemented. And the concept of breaking the poverty cycle by both sound education and wholesome care for all children and job opportunities for adults will fail without an adequate nutrition program.

#### THE FAMILY NUTRITION ACT OF 1969

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. GREEN) and I were pleased on Monday to present to the House a proposal—H.R. 13423—we believe may be the most far-reaching, responsible approach yet to meeting the grave scandal of hunger and widespread malnutrition among American citizens and nationals. In this effort, we were joined by 23 other Members. After the August recess, we hope additional Members will join in cosponsorship.

The successful eradication of domestic hunger and malnutrition, I should like to point out, is perhaps the most concrete way we can today help to break the poverty cycle. Other programs are certainly important, but malnutrition is—if not the single most critical element—certainly one of the basic factors in the poverty cycle and clearly that element that we can most promptly, effectively, and measurably cope with.

I do not believe we can too often reiterate the basic facts of domestic hunger and malnutrition. Here are some of the key findings as they relate to poverty, to learning ability and to the immense social costs the American taxpayer incurs from permitting this situation to continue:

Although only 12 percent of the white population in the United States lives in poverty compared with 40 percent of the black population, a total of 21 million white people and 10 million black people live at or below the poverty level using the definitions provided by the Social Security Administration.

One-fourth of the Nation's children, and one out of every three children under

6 years of age, are living in homes in which incomes are insufficient to meet the costs of procuring many of the essentials of life, and particularly food.

There is strong evidence that malnutrition may be the common denominator of the evils—among the impoverished—of a high incidence of prematurity and low-birth-weight infants, increased maternal mortality and almost unbelievable prevalence of mental retardation. Children in the culture of poverty, particularly those prematurely born, contribute the major numbers of those of our population who grow up to be mentally retarded. Up to 50 percent of low-birth-weight infants may, upon survival, have intellectual quotients below 70 percent. It is estimated that approximately 70 to 80 percent of all mentally defective children are born in a poverty environment. We might note here that severe nutritional deprivation during the first 18 months of life prevents normal brain development. The number of cells present in the brains of infants dying of severe malnutrition may be from 20- to 50-percent below that present in age peers dying of causes unrelated to nutrition. In general, we can say that while there is no evidence that feeding people makes them smart, there is indisputable evidence that hunger makes them dull.

#### HOW DO THE POOR GET FOOD HELP TODAY?

The food stamp program reaches only about 3.2 million people. Many poor families live in jurisdictions without this program. The commodity distribution program reaches approximately 3.7 million people. The defects of the latter program are well-known. In response to my inquiry, the U.S. Department of Agriculture advises that their estimate of the percent of the poor with incomes under \$3,000 participating in the food stamp program is only 16 percent and the percent of the poor participating in the commodity distribution program is only 22 percent—on a national average.

Some 1.3 million Americans have no cash income at all; 561,000 are unrelated individuals; 770,000 live in families of varying size. More than 5 million Americans live in families whose yearly household income is less than the total amount they must have for food alone—less than the equivalent of \$1,200 a year for a family of four, the amount the Department of Agriculture claims is the minimum cost of an "emergency economy" diet. Another 9 million live in families with incomes between \$1,200 and \$2,400. They cannot spend more than half their income on food and still meet their childraising and other fixed living expenses. These 14 million hard-core poor have inadequate diets. Many, perhaps millions, suffer from chronic and severe hunger and malnutrition simply because they do not have the money to purchase a nutritious diet. Our Nation's food programs are clearly not designed to meet a hunger and malnutrition problem of these dimensions.

#### TOWARD AN ADEQUATE DOMESTIC FOOD PROGRAM WITH STABLE FINANCING

Our proposal, we suggest, has the particular merit of tying together—perhaps

for the first time in the history of U.S. farm programs—the legitimate interest of the agricultural producer and the compelling human and social needs of a large segment of American consumers or potential consumers in the same program on a basis that will insure fair representation of the interests of both groups. In short, we are linking, in an operational way, through the mechanism of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the producer, consumer, and welfare aspects of American agriculture.

I need only point out that the precedent for doing so is well settled as far as U.S. aid to other nations is concerned. The Commodity Credit Corporation today finances the sale and export of agricultural commodities under the Food for Peace Act—commonly known as Public Law 480. I should like to underscore the fact that title II of Public Law 480 authorizes the donation of U.S. agriculture commodities to combat malnutrition, to provide help for needy persons and for nonprofit school lunch and preschool feeding programs outside the United States. The United States has been utilizing Commodity Credit Corporation financing for such activities abroad since 1954.

The provision of adequate financial support for a major and successful effort to combat hunger and malnutrition in the United States is the basis for our proposed increase of \$5 billion in the borrowing authority of the Commodity Credit Corporation. There is no requirement that all of this authority be used every year. There is sufficient latitude in this authority to provide for both a major effort in domestic food programs and to take care of farm emergencies resulting from bad crop years. Responsible estimates indicate that in addition to the amount the United States is presently spending for domestic food programs we must spend another \$3 billion if we are to provide adequate food for all those in America who are now suffering some degree of malnutrition.

#### ADDITIONAL FEATURES OF PROGRAM

Other major features of our program are:

Allowing the working poor to participate in Federal food programs;

Making distribution of stamps more convenient by allowing retail stores and other outlets to sell them.

Approaching budgeting problems more realistically by offering stamps weekly instead of monthly and bimonthly;

Authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to establish food stamp programs in every county in the United States, and allowing him to administer programs directly or through private nonprofit agencies in counties where participation falls below 50 percent of eligibles;

Authorizing free food stamp coupons for certain very low income households; and

Allowing self-certification by affidavit for low-income households thus drastically cutting administrative costs. The bill also carries heavy penalties for fraud.

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Edward J. Driscoll, president of the national charter airline organization, said he was trying to reschedule at least 20 Standard flights on other carriers.

He said 12 of them had already been handled but he couldn't make any guarantee about the others. Only one flight, a Toronto group in Rome, involved returning passengers.

Robert Fraley, Standard's vice president and legal counsel, would say only that all operations had been suspended with a final flight between Las Vegas and New York early yesterday.

He would not discuss the reason for the shutdown or what might happen next.

Standard moved its headquarters to Seattle from Miami, Fla., in 1966. Despite vigorous leadership, it never seemed to get untracked in the heated competitive world of the supplemental or charter carriers.

Just this May the Civil Aeronautics Board filed a complaint against the company for allegedly dealing with charter groups which were improperly certified.

Earlier the line leased two twin-engine propeller airlines to expand its business to smaller charter groups. Before that its fleet consisted of two Boeing 707s.

The small-group business apparently fell through and the leased planes were returned to their owner.

In a later deal, Standard worked out a reported \$8.5 million contract with a San Francisco travel firm which was to supply charter passengers.

The fate of that arrangement hasn't been revealed.

One airline industry observer speculated that Standard isn't actually going out of business but is "regrouping" in order to attract new financial support.

The airline's stock has not been traded on a regular basis recently.

Fraley said the company might have a statement to make next week.

Driscoll, who heads the National Air Carrier Association, said his organization had no legal requirement to take up Standard's unfulfilled flights, some of which are domestic military charters.

He said other supplementals were in the midst of their busy season and might not be able to spare aircraft to rescue Standard passengers.

#### CONGRATULATIONS TO WASHINGTON WORKSHOPS FOUNDATION

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. GERALD R. FORD) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to extend my congratulations to the Washington Workshops Foundation for the wonderful program which it is offering to this country's secondary school students.

The foundation which is offered in cooperation with Mount Vernon Junior College is a nonprofit educational foundation offering high school youngsters a unique opportunity for specialized summer study in the Nation's Capital.

The participants come from throughout the country to attend the 2-week seminars. Daily morning classes on the legislative process are conducted by graduate instructors. These classes are followed by afternoon visits to Capitol Hill where the group is addressed by various Representatives and Senators. The Congressmen lecture briefly on the politics of the legislative process. These talks are followed by a question and answer session

between the participants and the Congressmen.

The Washington Workshops students come from every State in the country and from every social and economic background. A number of students are assisted by title I funds for disadvantaged students under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Some of this country's larger corporations are underwriting the cost of participation for ghetto area youngsters.

Realizing that there is a need for more and better communication between the leaders and youngsters in this country, the Washington Workshops Foundation is taking meaningful measures to satisfy this need.

#### GREEK EXPULSION LIST FOR AMERICANS

(Mr. EDWARDS of California asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, the deteriorating situation inside Greece must concern all of us. While some of those opposed to the present Greek Government are now venting their feelings on Americans, because of their belief this government supports the present dictatorship, that dictatorship has apparently established a proscribed list of Americans.

I must warn every American tourist planning to visit Greece to first contact the Greek Embassy here to see if he or she will be allowed into that nation.

A recent incident, the strange case of Chris Janus, illustrated what may happen to Americans wishing to visit Greece.

Christopher Janus, Jr., and his wife, Nancy, both of Chicago, have been in Tunnis. He is a Peace Corps volunteer, an employee of the U.S. Government, and he plans to extend his term of duty with the Peace Corps.

Mr. Janus, like many other Americans planned a summer vacation, a vacation in Greece. He and his wife flew to Athens, but as they got off the airplane they were met by police and Mr. Janus was held at the airport. Some hours later he was expelled from Greece.

His case is not a single one, but it illustrates what may happen to any American tourist going to Greece.

I and other Members of Congress asked the State Department what is Greek policy.

The following is the cablegram the State Department has forwarded to me, a report by the U.S. officials in Greece:

Based on explanations given by two different official sources, Christopher Janus, Jr. was refused admission either because of his father's anti-regime activities, or because passport control officers at airport mistook him for his father who has the same name.

Christopher Janus, Sr., a Chicago stockbroker, who has organized numerous tours of Greece, was decorated by the Greek Government once for his services as a U.S. official in aiding Greece to combat communism. Mr. Janus, Sr. has written anti-junta articles, published in Chicago papers.

The present Greek dictatorship punished the son for the writings of the father. That government has no more consideration of freedom of the press in the United States than freedom of the press in Greece.

How many others are on the proscribed list? I do not know, although I have asked the State Department to inquire.

I do know this: Look magazine was invited to Greece by the Government at Government expense after it published an article exposing the use of torture by that government. Look replied it would send a team at its own expense. I was invited by Look to be a member of the team along with James Becket of Amnesty International. The Greek Government withdrew its invitation and said none of us would be welcome. I suppose I am on that list, along with my staff and the staff of Look magazine.

The actions of the Greek dictatorship are those of desperate men. Let me share with you some encouraging and some discouraging signs concerning Greece.

On the 30th of July, 49 other Members of Congress and I joined together in writing Secretary of State William P. Rogers outlining our views on the deteriorating situation in Greece and calling for a tougher U.S. policy toward the dictatorship in Greece.

I am pleased both with the international response to his appeal and to the response from our State Department. William B. Macomber, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations, writing in the absence of the Secretary of State, made clear the present situation in Greece when he noted:

On the one hand we see an autocratic government denying basic civic liberties to the citizens of Greece. We think such an internal order does not coincide with the best interests of Greece, whose stability in the long run, we believe depends upon the free play of democratic forces.

The State Department's position was never more clearly outlined, and I will include the full text of the letter at the close of my remarks.

Mr. Macomber did include an "on the other hand," which I believe points out the one-flaw in present American policy. He notes the military junta has fulfilled its treaty obligations to NATO. He does not note that the present dictatorship violates the very principles of NATO, the very reason for NATO, the protection of free people through the presentation of governments chosen by the people.

He also fails to note that up to 2,000 U.S. trained Greek officers have been purged and the Greek military forces have accordingly been weakened.

Both the congressional letter and the State Department reply have been widely circulated overseas. A steady stream of mail has poured into my office, much of it in support of our stand against the dictatorship in Greece.

There was one writer, however, an American living in Greece, who said, "Greece is no more ready for democracy than Spain."

I would ask the Greek Government, the Greek people to reply to that kind of opinion.

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were of great benefit to her husband. She passed away on October 10, 1960.

Mr. Speaker, on August 15, Governor Thatcher will be 99. Though most of the facts that I have enumerated have been commented upon from time to time in the annals of the Congress, in view of this anniversary, repetition is justified.

Young in spirit and mentally alert, and possessing the abundance of genius, he still holds important positions, and continues to perform valuable services of beneficent character. I believe that I reflect the feelings of my colleagues, and of all others who know Governor Thatcher, or are familiar with his career, when I say that our country is fortunate in having had for so long a leader who has accomplished so much of lasting value. I deem it fitting to quote a sonnet written by him in recent years:

#### YOUTH AND AGE

How may one keep his youth, despite the years?  
Or face the East, altho his sun be setting?  
Or stay Time's pen, naught aiding or abetting  
Its cruel graph which all too soon appears?  
How shall dear Hope supplant the doubts and fears;  
The sense of loss, the racks of sighing, fretting,  
Which aging breasts are constantly begetting?  
And what shall staunch the flow of silent tears?  
None may reply; but Faith may well suggest  
That never does life end, but it begins  
With each new hour, whate'er the Past may be.  
The spirit's all-in-all: by it we're blest,  
Or cursed; its force, unquenched, the vict'ry wins  
O'er Time's advance and Death's dread regency.

#### RADIOISOTOPES AND THE WOOD INDUSTRIES

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from West Virginia (Mr. STAGGERS) is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, the future of wood products in West Virginia was enlarged and brightened by an occurrence in Hanover, N.J., on July 31, 1969. The occasion was the dedication of the Radiation Machinery Corporation's new headquarters and development center. This new plant is designed to produce radioisotopes, particularly cobalt 60. A similar plant is projected for Hardy County, W. Va., a plant, however, three times as large.

At the Hanover dedication, Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, discussed the use of radioactive isotopes in industry and in the arts. His address was necessarily somewhat technical in nature, and some simplification might make the explanations he gave more acceptable for general use.

Chemistry asserts that the unit of matter is the atom, but that the atom itself is made of building blocks. The heaviest of these building blocks is the proton, or neutron. Each element contains a normal number of protons in an atom, and this number of protons provides the atomic weight. Hydrogen, for instance, has only one proton, and therefore an atomic weight of one. Oxygen

weighs 16, carbon 12, and so on through the approximately 100 different known elements.

Occasionally an atom may be made up of more than the normal number of protons. A few atoms of hydrogen may contain two protons, or even three. Water made up of two- or three-proton atoms is called "heavy water," and is different from ordinary water. Carbon 14 has two extra protons, and its use in measuring the age of objects found in nature has been publicized for some time.

In consequence of the different number of protons found in an element, the atoms of such elements have different atomic weights. These different weights are called isotopes.

Many isotopes disintegrate in the course of time by casting off one or more of the extra protons. Such isotopes are said to be "radioactive." Radium and other elements are highly radioactive, and throw off not only protons but other building blocks of the atom. The process of throwing off the extra particles of matter is explosive in nature, and this gives up atomic power.

In modern scientific development, man has learned to produce radioactive isotopes of many elements. This is exactly what the plant at Hanover, N.J., will be doing, and likewise the plant in Hardy County, W. Va. Cobalt 60 is an isotope which disintegrates much more slowly than radium. But the energy given off by the disintegration has pronounced effects on various materials.

At the Hanover dedication, Dr. Seaborg explained that:

Wood-plastic material treated by cobalt 60 radiation "yields a solid wood-plastic combination which:

1. Is harder than natural wood by several hundred percent—thus more resistant to blows, scratches, etc.
2. Has much higher compression strength and abrasion resistance.
3. Absorbs water more slowly and therefore provides resistance to warping and swelling.
4. Retains the natural wood grain and color, or can be artificially colored throughout.
5. Can be sawed, drilled, turned and sanded with conventional equipment, giving a hard, beautiful, satin-smooth finish.

The distinct advantage of this new process is that many of the properties of natural wood are improved without sacrificing any of the wood's important characteristics, including aesthetic appeal."

In a word, this means that we can now take the waste products of lumbering, milling, and construction, such as sawdust, waste lengths of lumber, and turn them into a material better than the natural wood. What this may mean to the wood industries of West Virginia can be easily imagined at a time when lumbering prices skyrocket by the day.

The Hanover plant is designed to produce enough cobalt 60 to treat 25 million square feet of flooring per year. It is estimated that within a few years there will be a market demand for 100 million square feet.

The plant to be constructed in Hardy County will help to supply the increased demand. It will cover 100,000 square feet, and will be built on a site of 500 acres. Hardy County was the logical choice for the plant because of the abundance of

red oak, a highly desirable wood for radiation treatment.

It is significant that research and development on wood-plastic materials was initiated at West Virginia University in 1962 with a Federal Government grant of just \$9,000. The project was under the direction of the Atomic Energy Commission, as were most of the projects involving the production of radioactive isotopes. Up to this time, the Atomic Energy Commission has turned over the job of production and distribution of some 37 different isotopes to private industry. Altogether about 100 different private firms produce such isotopes, and as many as 4,500 firms are licensed to use them. Research and development has been taken as the responsibility of the Federal Government. When a product has been found to have commercial application, it is turned over to private industry. Thus the Government promotes industrial progress and expansion, to the benefit of the total populace.

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GONZALEZ) is recognized for 10 minutes.

[Mr. GONZALEZ addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

#### SUPPLEMENTAL AIR CARRIERS FLYING IN VIOLATION OF REGULATIONS SET DOWN BY CAB

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. HAYS) is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, you will recall that on the 9th of July I brought to your attention the fact that many so-called supplemental air carriers were flying around this country and around the world in violation of the regulations governing their behavior set down by the CAB.

At that time I urged immediate corrective action by the CAB regulation department charged with keeping these carriers in line and out of the hair of the regularly scheduled air transport companies certificated by the CAB. It has been brought to my attention, Mr. Speaker, that one of these carriers, Standard Airways, has suddenly suspended operation and gone out of business leaving many hundreds of people scattered around the world. The Standard decision to cease operating even affected a group of passengers in Rome who were supposed to be delivered by that carrier to Toronto.

Nevertheless, the Seattle Post-Intelligencer of just a few days ago carried an interesting and illuminating news-story about the plight of Standard Airways and I include it in the Record at this point:

[From the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, Aug. 2, 1969]

#### CHARTER AIRLINE SHUTS DOWN

Standard Airways, a Seattle-based charter airline, suddenly suspended operations yesterday, stranding some vacationers who had to find other transportation.

The airline operates two Boeing 707s, primarily on domestic charters between large Eastern cities and Las Vegas and Hawaii.



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Our basic political concepts, those on which this nation was founded, came from Greece. If Greece is not ready for Democracy, then more than 2,000 years of history are a lie.

Sadly, however, time is running out in Greece, at least for the good will once evoked by the United States. Anti-American feeling, feeling coming from the mistaken belief the United States supports the present dictatorship, is rising, witness the recent bombings. Currency is flowing out of Greece, witness the dictatorship's recent action, as reported on the financial pages of Monday's New York Times, in attempting to block that flow. The oppressions of the dictatorship are growing more desperate, witness the recent arrests and tortures.

What should we hope for in Greece?

I do not know that answer, but I can outline the answers of a former high Greek official who visited in my office recently. I outline his views in the hope that their repetition will bring them to the attention of our State Department and to the Pentagon.

He called for three steps:

First. The withdrawal of the junta, hopefully without bloodshed;

Second. The establishment of a coalition government, including all spectrums of Greek political life, except the junta;

Third. National elections to be held as soon as possible, and in no case later than a year from the establishment of the coalition government.

This gentleman also pointed out the proposal, apparently now being circulated in some of our military circles, that the junta can broaden its support by bringing opposition members into its government while retaining its control over key government positions. He made it clear that this proposal will not work. He said there can be no compromise with the junta.

However, these are decisions to be made by the Greek people. The U.S. role is clear. It should disassociate itself from this hated military dictatorship.

The letter referred to follows:

AUGUST 5, 1969.

JOSEPH P. ADDABO,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ADDABO: In the absence of the Secretary I am replying to your letter of July 30, also signed by a number of your colleagues, concerning our policy towards Greece. I am sending a copy of this reply to the other Members who signed the letter.

Your letter points up the dilemma we face in determining our policy toward Greece. On the one hand we see an autocratic government denying basic civil liberties to the citizens of Greece. We think such an internal order does not coincide with the best interests of Greece, whose stability in the long run, we believe, depends upon the free play of democratic forces. We have been pressing this viewpoint upon the Greek Government, and our policy on military assistance has been motivated by our desire to see Greece evolve toward representative government.

On the other hand, Greece is a NATO ally which has scrupulously fulfilled its treaty obligations. It is important to our strategic interests in the Mediterranean area and has extended full cooperation in this field.

This, then, is the dilemma—how to deal with an ally with whose internal order we disagree yet who is a loyal NATO partner

working closely with the United States in furtherance of the purposes and obligations of the NATO Treaty.

Our policy toward Greece is now under intensive review. As we consider this difficult problem we will keep the suggestions of yourself and your colleagues very much in mind.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM B. MACOMBER, JR.,  
Assistant Secretary for Congressional  
Relations.

# OFFERING A DROWNING MAN AN ANCHOR—OR—COMMUTER OR SUBWAY TRAINS ANYONE?

(Mr. PODELL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, this administration has derailed the hopes of millions upon millions of Americans who depend upon subways and commuter trains every day. Rarely, if ever, have I seen an administration more completely misjudged, misunderstood, and misdirected evidence, pleas and reality more than in the case of the gentlemen downtown regarding urgent needs of mass urban transit in our country.

Buses, subways, and railroad trains all over the Nation are creaking, collapsing, and dying financially before our eyes. Our cities are utterly dependent upon mass urban transit for continued survival, much less prosperity. It is absolutely imperative that massive Federal aid be pumped into cities of our land in form of aid to such modes of transportation. Our cry has gone unheard in the White House, for a change.

Cities, in order to make massive, long-range commitments for urban transit construction, require long-term fund guarantees. A trust fund to finance such improvements on a Federal level would have been the best and only really viable alternative. Such a plan has been the used for interstate highway construction for years. Secretary of Transportation Volpe enthusiastically supported such a concept. Mayors of so many of our major metropolitan areas—members of both parties—pleaded for Presidential approval of this approach, in vain.

Instead of \$10 billion spent over a 5-year span, which is required to meet existing and proven needs, the President offers a \$10 billion program over a 12-year period, the appropriation for which may or may not be forthcoming. Totally inadequate. Such expenditures would begin with a paltry \$300 million in 1971. Disastrously late. Putting out a three-alarm fire with an eye dropper would be a more sensible exercise.

The plan advocated by so many, from Mr. Volpe and the mayors to so many Members of Congress, including myself, would have funneled some revenue from excise taxes on new autos into the trust fund. Here was guaranteed revenue. Instead, Congress under the President's plan would have to approve any and all appropriations on an annual basis.

Without a new long-range program of Federal aid to improve, expand, and upgrade metropolitan transportation systems of the Nation, our cities elsewhere will wither, choke and die. That is the truth of it. What a horrible catastrophe we face as a result. For death of our

cities will mean chaos and destruction of the rest of our Nation. No area will be immune. Such a danger will be faced with ever-increasing imminence by this Nation. All blame is to be laid directly and squarely at the door of this administration for refusing to help avoid a potential disaster almost without comparison.

Our cities are choking on automobiles and their pollution. We are aiming at crossing oceans in 2 hours with an SST. For what? To wait three hours in traffic jams? Why should any city or suburban Congressman support programs which leave the overwhelming majority of our people's problems unattended to? Millions of Americans demand mass transit aid just as they have demanded tax reform. We cannot afford more breakdowns in the traffic of our cities. We are sick unto desperation of more concrete ribbons tearing neighborhoods to pieces in the name of dumping more cars into our cities. We must have mass transit. We must have a trust fund. If the White House will persist in ignoring city needs. Congress cannot follow its example.

The Metropolitan Transit Authority of New York alone will need \$2.1 billion over the next 7 years. Chicago's Transit Authority will require \$1.5 billion over the next 5 years. This very capital of our Nation is a scandal as far as mass transit is concerned. Depriving this city of a subway for another useless bridge and more destructive roads is a situation more in keeping with some macabre and grotesque Punch and Judy show.

The President, under his plan, proposes to pay one-third of total cost out of Federal funds for urban mass transit. Today, the Federal Government absorbs 90 percent of cost for building highways out of the trust fund. Applying the same Federal rule and share to mass transit brings the concept within reach of localities, encouraging them to choose one over the other. Now they have no choice.

Mr. Speaker, there will come a day, and soon, when cities will grind to a halt and choke. As the Nation contorts in economic, political, and physical agonies, people will ask how and why amidst the carnage. When that time comes, I feel certain that a battalion of articulate voices will ensure that from sea to shining sea the person and administration causing it is given full credit in the minds of all the American people.

So as the dirty, crowded, and late commuter and subway trains continue, and the agonized, uncomfortable American pleads for relief—he can always look up in the sky to note a Presidential helicopter hovering or flying, whatever the case happens to be. Who knows? Someday, every American may have a helicopter.

## THE CONSTITUTIONAL OATH OF OFFICE PRESCRIBED FOR THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

(Mr. PATMAN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a joint resolution to amend the U.S. Constitution by adding

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the words "So Help Me God" to the official oath taken by the President of the United States at his inauguration. The Constitution, in article II, section 1, prescribes the exact wording of the oath of office for the President, and while the taking of an oath in other cases almost necessarily concludes with the words "So Help Me God," the constitutional oath does not use this phrase. The remarkable fact is, however, that every American President has voluntarily added these four words to his oath of office upon being sworn in as President of the United States. Oaths of office for Members of Congress, Cabinet members, and other Federal officials are specified by law and they do include "So Help Me God."

Mr. Speaker, it is understandable but unfortunate that neither the Constitution or its 25 amendments contain any reference to a Supreme Being. Why have we not written the word "God" into the Constitution by amendment? Or, we might ask—how have we had the effrontery to ask His help in actual fact when we deny Him constitutional recognition? Or do some people view the entire question as too petty for consideration? I think it is high time to put our house in order by adding the words "So Help Me God" to the constitutionally prescribed oath of office for the President of the United States.

#### FORT KNOX STUDENT CREDIT UNION TEACHES FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

(Mr. PATMAN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the main reasons, I believe, that personal bankruptcies are at an alltime high in our country and some lenders are able to extract usurious interest rates is the lack of consumer financial training available to the American public.

In too many cases, students graduate from college without knowing how to fill out a check or make a bank deposit and thus they are easy targets for unscrupulous lenders and are often induced to get in over their heads in financial matters.

Financial education is one of the answers to the problem. If we can teach our young people how to save and budget their funds, they will not be so easily lured into financial difficulties when they go out on their own. One of the best institutions to accomplish this education is the credit union and it is my hope that credit unions across the country will begin consumer education programs in connection with our Nation's school systems.

In order to get some experience for this program, a pilot project has been set up at Fort Knox, Ky., using the Fort Knox Federal Credit Union and the Fort Knox Dependent School System. The student credit union will be run entirely by the students. In a few weeks this credit union will hold its first annual meeting and although the credit union has been in operation but a short time, its results have been impressive. Not only are students learning habits of thrift but

they are learning all aspects of personal finance that will serve them so well in later life.

The August issue of the Credit Union magazine, the official publication of CUNA International, the worldwide credit union association carries an excellent story about the operations of the Fort Knox student credit union. I am including the article in my remarks and I hope that in the near future the pilot project at Fort Knox will be extended into every school district in the country:

#### GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY AT FORT KNOX

While many credit unions are striving to bring youth into their existing organizational structure, Kentucky's Fort Knox Federal Credit Union has helped a group of youngsters set up its own credit union.

Owned and operated by students at Fort Knox High School, it functions according to federal credit union regulations and bylaws even though not chartered. The students elect their own officers and committee members, pool their savings to make loans to each other, and maintain their own records.

Fort Knox Federal Credit Union serves more than 12,000 military and civilian government employees at Fort Knox; its student counterpart serves military dependents attending the army post high school.

Although the Fort Knox Federal Credit Union is sponsoring the student project, the students set their own policies. For example, at the student board's first meeting the directors adopted the following guidelines:

Once a member, always a member;  
Minimum deposit requirement for opening an account is \$1; minimum for subsequent deposits is 25 cents;

Date of the monthly board meeting is the third Wednesday of each month;

Date of the annual membership meeting is August of each year;

Interest on loans is 1 per cent a month on the unpaid balance;

Signature loan limit is \$36 with a maximum term of six months;

Secured loan limit is \$500 with a maximum term of 18 months.

The credit committee appointed a loan officer, granting him authority to approve signature loan requests up to \$10.

Although the Fort Knox First Student Credit Union uses the same forms and supplies as its sponsor—membership cards, deposit slips, withdrawal slips, and so forth—the students did design their own loan application. The federal credit union's was used as a guide, but the new one is geared to student use.

The program is actually a pilot project, conceived by Rep. Wright Patman (D-Tex.) to remedy the lack of "consumer education, particularly in the area of handling money," in the school systems. "Because of this, students, even on the college level, know little about handling money and are financially naive," the Congressman said.

To set up the program, Rep. Patman sought the assistance of the Fort Knox Federal Credit Union and school system. As a result credit union manager Robert Schaffner and superintendent of Schools Herschel Roberts drew up the proposal. It called for a minimum of 20 students to manage the student credit union: board of directors, seven; credit committee, five; supervisory committee, three; and education committee, five.

"The objective of this program is educational in nature," manager Schaffner said. "All of the students involved will reap the benefits of a deeper insight into a portion of the economic and monetary system of our nation. They'll participate in the democratic processes of an open and free election of officers by the members. They'll exercise the right of free expression during annual meetings. And through their participation they'll

generate income that will be returned to the student owners."

When Schaffner met with the student body in March he explained the proposal and the reasons for it, and also outlined the history, organization and operations of a credit union. "This is a new bag," he told the youngsters. "It's never been tried in any other high school, and it's all yours. You organize it; you plan it; you sustain it; and you maintain it."

The students picked up the challenge when 133 of them—representing a quarter of the school's 550 students—turned out for the organizational meeting on April 14, 1969. The attendance was so overwhelming that the meeting eventually had to be recessed until April 16. That day 206 showed up—37 per cent of the student body—and the elections were concluded.

The first board of directors of the Fort Knox First Student Credit Union consists of Ron Karpinsky, president; David Dayton, vice-president; Jo Kelly, secretary; John Marchese, treasurer; Laura Rawlings, membership officer; and Jennifer Kimball and Reed Kimbrough, directors.

Among its initial actions, the new board had set May 15 as the deadline for charter memberships in the credit union. But by May 14, the new credit union had only 17 members. The next day, however, was a busy one for treasurer Marchese. By the time he closed up shop, membership had swelled to 143. "Every single one of them had waited until the last minute," Marchese said amazedly.

"A lot of seniors were reluctant to join," Marchese continued, "because they knew they were leaving within a month after the credit union was being started." Still, 15 seniors did sign up and three of them were elected to the board.

A month and a half later—on June 30—membership was 141 with total assets of \$2,231. Four loans totaling \$429 had been granted, with \$54 repaid. The first two loans were to pay expenses for going to the high school prom; the third loan was to buy a mini-bike; the fourth for a Honda.

The response of the students to the credit union project reinforced the faith of Sgt. Major Leo C. Pike, president of the Fort Knox Federal Credit Union and a member of the school board.

"This is a most worthwhile experiment," Sgt. Pike said. "Young people today know how to spend money, but they don't know how to manage money. This is an opportunity for them to learn."

The credit union was available to the students on Tuesday and Thursday mornings during the school year. Marchese would set up office in the school building at 7:30 a.m.—25 minutes before classes began. After-school hours had proved unproductive because 90 per cent of the students rely on school buses to get home. Although there is a late bus, students remaining that long are usually involved in other extracurricular activities.

During the summer, Marchese and William Raker, high school mathematics teacher and coordinator of the student credit union program, are working at the Fort Knox Federal Credit Union office as fulltime employees.

Raker is the link between the school board, the student credit union and the Fort Knox Federal Credit Union. His assignment for the summer is twofold:

"I'm learning the inner workings of this credit union and credit unions in general so I can guide the students in the operation of their credit union. And I write the letters and prepare the brochures to keep interest in the student credit union alive during the summer."

Early indications are that he's succeeding admirably.

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ment, because the contractor is committed to make every effort to employ five applicants from minority groups.

In your Solicitor's memorandum it is argued that the "straw man" sometimes used in opposition to the Plan is that it "would require a contractor to discriminate against a better qualified white craftsman in favor of a less qualified black." We believe this obscures the point involved, since it introduces the element of skill or competence, whereas the essential question is whether the Plan would require the contractor to select a black craftsman over an *equally* qualified white one. We see no room for doubt that the contractor in the situation posed above would believe he would be expected to employ the black applicant, at least until he had reached his goal of five nonminority group employees, and that if he failed to achieve that goal his employment of a white craftsman when an equally qualified black one was available could be considered a failure to use "every good faith effort." In our view such preferential status or treatment would constitute discrimination against the white worker solely on the basis of color, and therefore would be contrary to the express prohibition both of the Civil Rights Act and of the Executive order.

It is also contended in your Solicitor's memorandum that substantial judicial support for administrative affirmative action programs requiring commitments for contractors for employment of specified numbers of minority group tradesmen is contained in the decision of the Ohio Supreme Court in *Weiner v. Cuyahoga Community College District*, 19 Ohio St. 2d — (July 2, 1969). That decision upheld the award of a federally assisted construction contract to the second low bidder, as a proper action in implementation of the policies of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, after approval of award to the low bidder was withheld by the Federal agency involved for failure of the low bidder to submit an affirmative action program (including manning tables for minority group tradesmen) which was acceptable to that agency pursuant to an OFCC plan established for Cleveland, Ohio.

While the decision in *Weiner* case (which was a majority opinion by five of the justices with dissenting opinions by two) has some bearing on the issues here involved, since the decision appears to be based in substantial part on the conflicting opinions of Federal courts cited earlier we do not believe the decision can be considered as controlling precedent for the validity of the revised Philadelphia Plan.

In support of the required procedure, which is admitted at page 33 of the Solicitor's memorandum to require contractors to take actions which are based on race, the memorandum relies upon the acceptance by the courts, in school, housing and voting cases, of the use of race as a valid consideration in fashioning relief to overcome the effects of past discrimination. Aside from other distinctions, we believe there is a material difference between the situation in those cases, where enforcement of the rights of the minority individuals to vote or to have unsegregated educational or housing facilities does not deprive any member of a majority group of his rights, and the situation in the employment field, where the hiring of a minority worker, as one of a group whose number is limited by the employer's needs, in preference to one of the majority group precludes the employment of the latter. In other words, in those cases there is present no element of reverse discrimination, but only the correction of the illegal denial of minority rights, leaving the majority in the full exercise and enjoyment of their corresponding rights.

In addition it may be pointed out that in those cases the judicial relief ordered is directed squarely at the parties responsible for the denial of rights, and we therefore do not

consider them as supporting requirements to be complied with by contractors who, under the findings of the Plan, are themselves more the victims than the instigators of the past discriminatory practices of the labor unions. Moreover, in the court cases the remedies are applied after judicial determination that effective discrimination is in fact being practiced or fostered by the defendants, whereas the Plan is a blanket administrative mandate for remedial action to be taken by all contractors in an attempt to cure the evils resulting from union actions, without specific reference to any past or existing actions or practices by the contractors.

While it may be true, as stated in the Plan, "that special measures are required to provide equal employment opportunity in these seven trades," it is our opinion that imposition of a responsibility upon Government contractors to incur additional expenses in affirmative action programs which are directed to overcoming the present effects of past discrimination by labor unions, would require the expenditure of appropriated funds in a manner not contemplated by the Congress. If, as stated in the Plan, discrimination in referral is prohibited by the National Labor Relations Act and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, it is our opinion that the remedies provided by the Congress in those acts should be followed. See also in this connection section 207 of Executive Order 11246.

While, as indicated in the foregoing opinions and in your Solicitor's memorandum, the President is sworn to "preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States," we question whether the executive departments are required, in the absence of a definitive and controlling opinion by the Supreme Court of the United States, to assess the relative merits of conflicting opinions of the lower courts, and embark upon a course of affirmative action, based upon the results of such assessment, which appears to be in conflict with the expressed intent of the Congress in duly enacted legislation on the same subject.

In this connection, it should be noted that, while the phrase "affirmative action" was included in the Executive order (10925) which was in effect at the time Congress was debating the bills which were subsequently enacted as the Civil Rights Act of 1964, no specific affirmative action requirements of the kind here involved had been imposed upon contractors under authority of that Executive order at that time, and we therefore do not think it can be successfully contended that Congress, in recognizing the existence of the Executive order and in failing to specifically legislate against it, was approving or ratifying the type or methods of affirmative action which your Department now proposes to impose upon contractors.

We recognize that both your Department and the Department of Justice have found the Plan to be legal and we have given most serious consideration to their positions. However, until the authority for any agency to impose or require conditions in invitations for bids on Federal or federally assisted construction which obligate bidders, contractors, or subcontractors, to consider the race or national origin of their employees or prospective employees for such construction, is clearly and firmly established by the weight of judicial precedent, or by additional statutes, we must conclude that conditions of the type proposed by the revised Philadelphia Plan are in conflict with the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and we will necessarily have to so construe and apply the act in passing upon the legality of matters involving expenditures of appropriated funds for Federal or federally assisted construction projects.

In this connection it is observed that by section 705(d) of the act, Congress charges the Equal Employment Opportunity Com-

mission with the specific responsibility of making reports to the Congress and to the President on the cause of and means of eliminating discrimination and making such recommendations for further legislation as may appear desirable. That provision, we believe, not only prescribes the procedure for correcting any deficiencies in the Civil Rights Act, but also shows the intent of Congress to reserve for its own judgment the establishment of any additional unlawful employment practice categories or nondiscrimination requirements, or the imposition upon employers of any additional requirements for assuring equal employment opportunities.

We realize that our conclusions as set out above may disrupt the programs and objectives of your Department, and may cause concern among members of minority groups who may believe that racial balance or equal representation on Federal and federally assisted construction projects is required under the 1964 act, the Executive order, or the Constitution. Desirable as these objectives may be, we cannot agree to their attainment by the imposition of requirements on contractors, in their performance of Federal or federally-assisted contracts, which the Congress has specifically indicated would be improper or prohibited in carrying out the objectives and purposes of the 1964 act.

Sincerely yours,

ELMER B. STAATS,  
Comptroller General of the United States.

# AMERICAN PRISONERS HELD CAPTIVE IN NORTH VIETNAM

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, the statistics are known, the despicable condition of their confinement has been confirmed, and the arrogant and uncooperative attitude of their captors has been broadcast throughout the world—yet little or nothing has been accomplished toward the release or more humane treatment of more than 1,300 of our servicemen held prisoner by the North Vietnamese. Dissatisfied with the lack of progress made by the State Department which coordinated the problem for the former administration, the Defense Department requested and received earlier this year, the authority as primary action agency on the prisoner problem.

Since then, the Department has made a vigorous effort to obtain maximum information on the prisoners from the meager sources available. Disgusted by the combination of poor and frequently inhumane treatment, Secretary Laird has issued two strongly worded statements requesting a list of prisoners' names, the immediate release of all prisoners, particularly the sick and wounded, and that the North Vietnamese honor the Geneva Convention rules which include: First, neutral inspection of confinement areas; second, proper treatment of prisoners; and, third, free flow of mail.

Speaking for the North Vietnamese Government at the Paris meeting, Xuan Thuy has rejected these requests stating that his government will never provide even a list of the names of those confined.

The administration of captured North Vietnamese soldiers has been the responsibility of the South Vietnamese Government. Here great emphasis has been placed on proper treatment of enemy



prisoners including adherence to the Geneva Convention rules and regular inspection of POW camps by the International Red Cross. Sick and wounded prisoners have been released and repatriated to North Vietnam. The North Vietnamese, however, have shown little or no interest in their own captured soldiers. All offers of exchanges have been rejected. In recent months the south unilaterally released 103 prisoners in the hope that the north would react favorably. The results were negative.

Of the more than 1,300 American prisoners, nearly 800 are airmen downed over North Vietnam. The first U.S. pilot who we believe is still a prisoner was captured in August 1964. As of June 1969, more than 200 American servicemen have been listed as either prisoners of war or missing in action for more than 3½ years. This period of time is longer than any U.S. serviceman was held prisoner during World War II.

It has been more than 6 months since the bombing of North Vietnam was halted. During this period which has included other peaceful initiatives such as the beginning of a combat troop withdrawal of 25,000 men, there have been no releases and almost no information on American prisoners. In the past 5 years, North Vietnam has released only six pilots and all six had been held for relatively short periods of time ranging from 3 to 7½ months.

The meager information on captured U.S. servicemen come primarily from a few propaganda photographs and films, leaks from Communist-bloc reporters, and from escaped American prisoners. Although inexact and sketchy, all indications are that the American prisoners are being physically mistreated. The great majority have been isolated from the outside world for long periods of time. There are strong evidences of malnutrition and improper medical care. Recent photographs show that some prisoners are continuing to suffer from injuries incurred at the time of capture. Other pictures show considerable and dangerous losses in weight.

In the past 5 years less than 100 prisoners have been allowed to write their families. For the most part these letters have been short, sterile, and obviously censored. Their frequency has averaged two per year—an unbelievably low number in view of their confinement. Conversely, in December of 1968, 714 Christmas packages were forwarded to prisoners by their relatives. We have no confirmation whether any were actually received. In two cases, propaganda films indicating that the prisoners were opening Christmas cards revealed under close study that the mail shown was Easter cards sent many months before.

Mr. President, almost all Senators have suffered some personal grief or anguish. What makes these trials bearable is the knowledge that these trials will eventually end. Think for a moment of the courageous families of these prisoners who have lived for months and years under the clouds of worry and uncertainty. Seventy-five of these families reside in Arizona. I can think of no tribute worthy of their suffering. I can, how-

ever, think of some actions appropriate to today's situation.

First, we should not hasten into commitments in Paris or elsewhere with a government which is unwilling to honor even the humanitarian accords of the Geneva Convention. Second, we should support and encourage an extension of the determination recently stated by the Secretary of Defense:

We will not relax our efforts to ensure humanitarian treatment for all American servicemen while they are in captivity and to secure their release. These brave men and their families shall not be forgotten.

Mr. President, I urge that we support the Secretary of Defense in his new and vigorous efforts to resolve this complex and exceedingly difficult problem. It is apparent that determination, unity, and resolve are necessary to success. We in this body should provide these essentials.

#### ILLCIT NARCOTICS SALES

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the illegal flow of drugs from foreign countries compounds the serious burgeoning problem of narcotics addiction in our country. Recent investigations to trace this traffic, have disclosed that about 80 percent of the illicit heroin entering the United States traces its origin to opiates grown in Turkey clandestinely manufactured in France. I have been deeply concerned about our need to effectively control the unlawful flow of narcotics into the United States and have written to Mr. John E. Ingersoll, Director of the U.S. Bureau of Narcotics, in order to determine what action has been taken by our Government to suppress this illicit traffic in narcotics from Turkey.

Mr. Ingersoll has advised me that an agreement has been reached with the Government of Turkey which provides for a phased reduction in the number of provinces currently growing opium. Moreover, the Agency for International Development initiated a \$3 million loan project designed to provide Turkey with scientific equipment and expertise for crop substitution and agricultural techniques. Also, funds have been allotted to strengthen and increase law enforcement by the Turkish Government for the prevention of illicit opium sales.

The Director is confident in the sincerity of the Turkish Government's intentions in this area, and by the propitious results of the loan program so far. He expresses the belief that opium production in Turkey will end entirely at least by the fall of 1972. The information herein illustrates important governmental action on the matter of the availability of narcotics; as well as a peaceful self-help relationship between the United States and Turkey.

#### ACHIEVING NATIONAL HOUSING GOALS

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, few domestic programs are more essential to future national welfare than providing adequate housing for all Americans. Despite general recognition of this need, essential goals in this field cannot be achieved

without massive and concerted efforts by all agencies and organizations, both public and private. In meeting the ever-increasing demand for improved housing, a major role must continue to be played by traditional building contractors and craftsmen. However, because of the unprecedented, overwhelming needs throughout the country, architects, engineers, and designers have been turning to newer techniques which may prove feasible in producing livable homes on a quantity basis.

In this connection I was interested to note that Mr. James R. Price, president of the National Homes Corp., which is the Nation's largest manufacturer of housing, on July 22 suggested to the Senate Subcommittee on Housing and Urban Affairs ways of easing the critical shortage of decent housing in our large cities. Through innovative methods of mass production and by adapting industrial techniques, this firm in less than 30 years has produced attractive housing for more than a third of a million families, many in lower- and middle-income groups. Moreover, National Homes, which has its home office in Lafayette, Ind., since it was organized in 1940, has been an exemplary illustration of how Government and private enterprise can cooperate in the resolution of problems.

Under the leadership of Mr. Price and his associates this company has pioneered in developing and applying new processes which have earned an enviable reputation in the field. Late last year National Homes won a nationwide competition and contract awarded by a jury of outstanding experts to design and construct the Thomasville Urban Development Area at Atlanta, Ga. The five proposals submitted in the competition were evaluated on the basis of such criteria as the excellence of the site plan in relation to an optimum living environment, excellence of architectural design, quality of proposed construction, achievement of stipulated goals with respect to education, recreation, commerce, streets, utilities, rentals, and other factors, and the financial responsibility and demonstrated capability of the developer. It is a tribute to National Homes that the jury unanimously selected it as the company which best met the criteria established for this large and unique project.

Mr. President, it is important that careful consideration be given to all constructive suggestions which might help alleviate our critical housing shortage. In his testimony Mr. Price offered some thoughtful comments about housing with respect to such matters as the need to secure inner-city land, the advantages of industrialized module construction, the desirability of Federal insurance for large-scale projects, and the value of providing leadtime for builders through advance commitments of funds. Because his proposals should have widespread significance to all those who are concerned with our serious housing needs, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Price's statement and an article written, describing National Homes project in a Chicago ghetto, by Jerry Reedy, and pub-

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play more Minuteman missiles to the date when the first missile would be ready. If the deployment were to be carried out on the same moderate-priority, moderate-cost basis as Safeguard, it would be six and a half years before even three hundred additional Minuteman could be deployed. Doubling the Minuteman force, as some opponents of Safeguard have suggested, would not be possible by the mid-70's unless it were done on a costly crash-program basis.

There would be an even longer lead time for the deployment of other offensive systems such as Polaris. A former Secretary of the Navy has testified that "the leadtime for Polaris is more than 4 years; I would think 5 to 6 years, from the time you make a decision to go forward, before you would have additional boats in the water."

Those who contend that the leadtime for deploying Minuteman would be as little as two years have supported this contention by quoting Secretary Laird's statement that "it only takes 18 to 24 months from the start of construction to the operational availability of an ICBM in a silo." Had they examined the context of this quote, they would have known that Secretary Laird was referring to the problem of detecting Soviet missile deployments. Eighteen to twenty-four months is the interval between the start of site construction, the first observable step in missile deployment, to the time when the missile is ready for use. It is an inadequate measure of the time it would actually take the U.S. to deploy more Minuteman, for it does not include the time required to make the decision, negotiate contracts, build the missiles, and survey and purchase sites.

Thus, to be ready in the time period for which Safeguard has been planned, additional deployments of offensive missiles would have to begin very soon. In exchange for this short postponement we would be surrendering our option to deploy a defense of our own existing missiles that in no way threatens the Soviet deterrent, and committing ourselves to the course of additional deployments. Such offensive deployments would reduce the number of missiles the Soviet Union could expect to have survive a U.S. attack. Whereas the Soviets would not have to respond to Safeguard unless they are determined to have the ability to destroy our Minuteman force in a first strike, they would have to respond to additions to our offense simply in order to insure the security of their own deterrent. We would then have the very sort of arms race which the opponents of Safeguard are so concerned to avoid.

#### WOMEN'S RIGHTS HAVE A LONG TRADITION IN THE UNITED STATES

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I speak today for the ratification of the Human Rights Convention on the Political Rights of Women. I fully realize that the issue of women's rights is not "Page 1" news, but few would deny that our failure for 15 years to join the many other nations that have signed this convention is significant and worthy of the Senate's attention.

The long history of women's rights in the United States goes back to 1691, when the province of Massachusetts gave women the right to vote for all elective offices in its Old Province Charter. New Jersey, Kentucky, and Kansas followed with limited voting rights for women. Full suffrage for women was first granted by the territory of Wyoming in 1869. The State constitution, subsequently adopted by Wyoming voters, was approved by Congress in 1890. Before 1920, 13 States had given 18 million women full suffrage.

The first woman Member of Congress, Jeannette Rankin, was sent to Washington in 1917 by the State of Montana.

For the remaining States, the cries of such leaders as Susan B. Anthony led 9½ million women to the streets to fight for universal suffrage before the 19th amendment was ratified in 1920. Today, our children accept the political equality of women as natural in a democracy. They look on the history of the women's marches with the same curiosity reserved for only the strangest of events—just the same way that children, 50 years in the future, will look upon accounts of the epic landing on the moon.

Throughout the history of the United States, women have played active roles in business, in science, in social reform, and in Government. We recall the names of Dolly Madison, Barbara Fritchie, Clara Barton, Jane Addams, Amelia Earhart, Eleanor Roosevelt, Margaret Mead, and Helen Keller. In the Senate we have outstanding examples in former Senator Maurine Neuberger and Senator MARGARET CHASE SMITH. These are just a few of the women who, over our history, have been admired by our Nation. But there are many more who have quietly made their contribution. Today, one-third of our labor force is comprised of women, some of whom hold the highest positions in their fields. Throughout the country, women serve on juries, the judicial bench, boards of education, city councils, and State legislatures. We continually make progress in adding social and economic equality to the political equality our women enjoy.

For 50 years, we have recognized the political equality of women. But, for the last 15 of these years, we have failed to add our signature to that of other nations which have ratified this convention. It is not enough to tell the world that our Nation's laws comply with this convention. I submit that we can join other signatories in encouraging adoption of this important democratic concept in all countries only by ratifying the Convention on the Political Rights of Women.

#### KNOWLEDGE OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, on Monday, April 14, of this year I entered into the Record the results of a survey conducted by the University of Maryland, European division. The survey polled a cross section of Americans at an Air Force base in Germany to determine their knowledge of the Declaration of Independence, and their attitudes toward the ideas expressed in the document. The study consisted of presenting, in the form of a petition, the preamble of the Declaration to the people and asking them to sign it. Only 16 percent recognized the document as the Declaration of Independence; 27 percent signed the petition, leaving 73 percent who refused to sign.

However, I am sure that Senators will be interested to learn that this has not been the only survey conducted concerning attitudes toward the Declaration of Independence. Recently I received a let-

ter from Mr. Robert Farrell, owner of Farrell's Ice Cream Parlour Restaurants International, Inc., in which he described his restaurants' "Declaration of Independence campaign." From July 1 to July 6 of this year, each of Farrell's 21 restaurants displayed an enlarged copy of the Declaration of Independence with an attached sheet of white paper. The restaurants' patrons were urged to "sign the Declaration of Independence, it will be something you can tell your grandchildren about." It was heartening to learn that during the 6-day period well over 5,000 people "signed the Declaration." Mr. Farrell wrote:

If it has done one thing, it has shown a lot of us that patriotism does run deep in people, regardless of our changing times and attitudes.

*ME*

#### GREECE—A NEW VIETNAM?

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. President, since the beginning of the cold war, the United States has been the acknowledged leader of the Western World. In this role, we have had to seek ways to contain the spread of communism on behalf of ourselves and our allies. Considering the magnitude of this commitment, we might be very disturbed to learn that many of our efforts have been counter-productive.

The United States has actively solicited the friendship of all nations that proclaim to be anti-Communist, and in doing so, we are vulnerable to the charge that we support any government that supports us, regardless of how oppressive it might be. Facts often bear out this conclusion and several of our allies have governments that could never be defined as democratic. Even more distressing, however, we are open to the allegation that we have used our influence to bring undemocratic governments to power and maintain their authority. If this were true, we would actually be encouraging communism with a policy that was designed to contain it.

By supporting foreign dictatorships, we are frustrating liberal elements within these societies. In such situations, Communist propaganda becomes believable and freedom-loving people see the United States as an oppressive force rather than as a symbol of democracy and individual liberty. If this discontent should erupt into revolution, it is the United States that is called upon to restore the status quo.

I know that many Senators are very much concerned about the possibilities I have mentioned, and I commend to their attention a position paper by Elias P. Demetracopoulos which deals with the present military junta in Greece. Mr. Demetracopoulos was a distinguished political editor of international standing in Greece before the junta seized power, and he has been highly critical of the present regime. His paper, published by the Hudson Institute with a very interesting introduction by the noted U.S. strategic thinker, Herman Kahn, discusses recent events in Greece and speculates on the ramifications of current U.S. policy toward that country. In addition, I commend to Senators an article

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by Mr. Demetracopoulos published on the editorial page of the Wall Street Journal on April 21, 1969, which supports the ideas in his important and revealing paper.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that these items be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

## GREECE—A NEW VIETNAM?

(By Elias P. Demetracopoulos)

INTRODUCTION BY HERMAN KAHN

A recent Hudson Institute study, which attempted to identify various possible crisis areas, pinpointed Greece as a real possibility for future trouble. As part of our continuing program to build up our own internal competency on Greek issues and to contribute to internal and external discussion of these important issues, we are requesting a number of people to write papers on various aspects of the potential Greek crisis.

This Hudson discussion paper, written by a Greek national, Elias P. Demetracopoulos—the distinguished political Editor in exile and a leader in the United States of the Resistance Movement against the Athens Junta—who has consistently opposed the present military regime, is in some ways unique. For while it does contain the kinds of arguments that one would expect from an author opposed to the existing government in his home country, it argues very seriously that U.S. policy regarding Greece should be changed on the grounds of America's own national interests. While I myself have some disagreements with the contents of the paper, it is refreshing to see that instead of basing his arguments for a change in U.S. Greek policies merely on the internal situation in Greece, the author has chosen another tack.

Mr. Demetracopoulos points out that current developments in Greece are not only contrary to American national interests but also have seriously weakened NATO's southern flank. While I have not followed events in Greece very closely, several of the points made herein are worth serious study. This is especially true concerning the possibility of a renewal of a civil war and the weakening of the effectiveness of the Greek military. In any case, this paper deserves attention as it is a coherent statement of the beliefs and positions held by the more objective and anti-communist critics of the military Junta in Greece. Thus, if only because so many of the views expressed here are held by such critics, this paper is worthy of careful consideration by serious students of contemporary Greek, NATO and U.S. foreign policy issues.

## GREECE—A NEW VIETNAM?

I would like to discuss the situation in Greece; a situation which I believe not only denies the Greek people basic democratic rights but is also harmful to the national interests of the United States and contains the seeds of another "Vietnam." The element of time is terribly important in this connection, as the dangers posed by the current Greek situation leave little time for constructive action by the United States. In other words, I believe the clock is running out in Greece, and unless some major changes are forthcoming in American policy, both the U.S. and NATO are apt to be faced with the reality rather than the potential of explosive political, military, and economic developments on NATO's Southern Flank.

U.S. foreign policy in Greece, inherited by the Nixon Administration, is based on the hypothesis that the present dictatorial regime provides sufficient military, political and economic stability to satisfy America's strategic interests in the area—the kind of stability, supposedly, which could not be

guaranteed by any realistic alternative. In support of this hypothesis ex-Defense Secretary Clark M. Clifford, in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last May said, "I believe that the obligation upon us as a member of NATO is such that I place that as a more important consideration than I do the present government of Greece. I believe that we deal with a highly imperfect world, and if we were to confine our help to our Allies on the basis of our approving completely the different types of governments that existed then, I believe that NATO would disintegrate, and I believe that would be a calamity."

If that were true—if indeed the regime offered the only reasonable hope of stability in Greece—it would be possible for me to understand Mr. Clifford's position, even though both as a Greek and as a supporter of free democratic systems of government as a matter of moral and political principle, I am strongly opposed to dictatorship in any form. In my opinion, however, the premise that the Junta has or can bring stability to Greece is false. On the contrary, not only has the Junta failed to provide stability in spite of dictatorial and ruthlessly repressive tactics; it has actually created instability, uncertainty and the very real risk of civil war in Greece.

First, let us begin with the premise that the Junta has brought military stability. Both the Pentagon and other senior U.S. officials claim that the Greek armed forces and terrain, as well as the U.S. and NATO bases in Greece, are necessary to maintain control of the Eastern Mediterranean, to deter direct communist aggression from the North, and to provide a vital link with Turkey which would otherwise not be a viable military ally. In addition they cite increased Soviet naval strength in the Mediterranean to strengthen their argument. I agree with their assessment as to the importance of a strong and stable Greece as far as NATO is concerned. The key question then is: have the Colonels indeed provided this stability?

The Greek armed forces today are far less effective than they were prior to the coup. They are mainly an internal security force in which the Junta-controlled elements watch not only potential civilian opponents but also the very real latent opposition in the armed forces themselves. To this effect the continuing purges of the Greek military establishment two whole years after the April 21, 1967 coup are a key indicator.

The Junta has systematically removed from the armed forces an alarming number of the officers they consider unreliable. These hundreds of officers were trained at enormous American expense in the U.S., other NATO countries and Greece, since the Truman Doctrine of 1947. The officers purged were not and could not possibly be communist, considering the nature of the recruiting process and the close ties between the Greek Armed Forces and the U.S. military and intelligence communities. Indeed many of these officers fought against the communists in the Greek guerilla war. In fact, the officers purged by the Junta were generally considered by Washington, the NATO authorities and the Joint U.S. Military Aid Group to Greece to represent the elite of the Greek officer corps. Their only sin was to have opposed the illegal seizure of power by a relatively small group of officers. It is interesting to note that "the hatchet fell with particular alacrity," according to the May 1969 issue of *Le Monde Diplomatique*, "on those officers who, during the German occupation . . . chose the path of resistance, either inside Greece or outside, especially those who served in the 'Sacred Battalion' which distinguished itself in all Mediterranean campaigns alongside the British forces. . . . For any man who was capable of choosing to fight against an oppression (the Nazis) is perfectly capable of fighting a new oppression. . . ."

The usurpers, the officers who seized power two years ago, are reliably reported to number no more than 300, with a good percentage of them having intelligence and security training and background.<sup>1</sup>

The purging of the cream of the Greek officer corps and a preoccupation with the internal security duties make the combat effectiveness of the Greek armed forces in time of full mobilization of the reserves an agonizingly open question mark for NATO planners. Thus the illegal seizure of power by the Junta and its subsequent actions have not only seriously weakened the combat capabilities of the Greek armed forces; they have also undermined Greece's political and moral ability to fulfill its NATO commitments. For any crisis which required full mobilization would in all probability lead to the speedy overthrow of the Junta. This really explains why the Junta thought it wise to "defuse" the Cyprus crisis in November 1967. The armed forces have become mostly a police force which, under the new constitution, are also charged with preserving the "existing Social Order." The same reasoning applies to the U.S., NATO bases and other American listening posts and propaganda machinery operating on Greek territory. These bases are important. Yet in view of the climate in which they exist today it is a real question how much long-range strategy in the area can be built around them.

The Soviet naval build-up in the Mediterranean, the Middle East crisis, the events in Czechoslovakia and the outflanking of Greece and Turkey by the Soviet Union's rapid strategic deployment along North Africa's coastline and the Middle East, were used by the Johnson Administration as reasons for supporting the Junta. This is indeed tragic, since the Junta's actions have weakened the military capabilities and stability of the Greek armed forces and consequently NATO's strength in the area.

Let us now turn to the key question of political stability which many supporters of the 1967 coup—including the Junta itself—cite as one of the prime benefits of the current Greek dictatorship. Measuring political stability is not easy when there is martial law and press censorship, when no opposition is permitted, and when violence, although on the increase, is still sporadic. The Junta alleges that they stepped in to save the country from the danger of communism—yet even Greek Conservative leaders emphasize the fact that the danger of communism was nonexistent in Greece. They overthrew a conservative government.

Those who place too great an emphasis on the confused political situation in Greece as a justification for the Colonels' coup must remember that Greece fought a hard and dirty war against a foreign dominated and supported communist aggression at the peak of the "Cold War" in Europe. The victory, although assisted greatly by U.S. material help and advice, was finally wrested with Greek, and only Greek, blood. If Greece were

<sup>1</sup>Mr. John S. Rountzounis, an American writer and journalist, has repeatedly charged that the Junta's leader, George Papadopoulos, was "a recruiter of Gestapo informants" during the Nazi occupation (*Washington Post*, November 8, 1968; *Baltimore Sun*, November 18, 1968). More recently in the aforementioned May, 1969 issue of the influential and well-informed *Le Monde Diplomatique*, it is stated that: "The president of the Government, Papadopoulos, during the occupation served under Major Koukoulacos (rewarded after the coup with the governorship of Greece's Agricultural Bank), commander of a battalion armed and equipped by the Germans—like all the other so-called Security Battalions (Tagmata Asphalias)—which conscientiously played its role as a security unit . . . against the 'Communist' resistance fighters!"



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able to win this victory under a parliamentary government with basic democratic institutions functioning it is inconceivable that the current military dictatorship is necessary to correct alleged political instability.

There are some who argue that there was no political stability prior to the Junta and that the present arrangement is at least an improvement. This argument is superficial. Its evaluation needs a detailed recording of the events and the over-all background that preceded the coup.

The fact is that political stability was damaged in the 1965-67 period by the intervention of the Greek Monarchy and its military establishment in the political process, thus perverting the institution of parliament and the mechanism of achieving political stability which had worked well until then. This was done by repeatedly denying the use of the best safety valve available to real democracies—free elections.

In 1963 and early 1964, the eight years of conservative (ERE) rule under Prime Minister C. Caramanlis, ended at the polls with the largest majority in modern times for the Center Union Party led by the late George Papandreu. The peaceful transfer of power was accomplished in the middle of the Cyprus crisis involving the threat of a shooting war with Turkey, following years of impressive aggregate growth and financial stability. It was, to be sure, a growth in which many did not share; few reforms in education had been accomplished and not enough employment opportunities had been opened up, as indicated by the thousands who had to seek work abroad.

As Richard Westebbe of the World Bank, formerly senior foreign economic adviser to the Greek government, said in 1963 in a penetrating report, "Greece's long-run structural problems concern deficiencies in the structure of production, in public administration, in education, in financial institutions, and in the distribution of income."

The victors (the Center Union) promised a better distribution of income, a more rapid modernization of Greece to enable it to enter the Common Market, and a reform of Greece's institutions which, among other things, implied the paying of fair taxes by certain privileged classes and a reduced role of the Crown in controlling the Armed Forces and the political processes. In short, a return to the intent of the constitution which would have the King "reign, not rule." In foreign policy, Greece was to become a fully equal member of the NATO Alliance, with a real voice in determining its own destiny. In pursuing these goals there is no question that the Papandreu Government committed a number of mistakes and lost many opportunities.

The Center Union Party was soon faced with the violent and growing opposition of the Crown, the Armed Forces leadership, and the economic oligarchy—an opposition which was enjoying the support of a large part of the official American establishment in Athens. The story can be picked up with the elections of 1961 in which the Army, through the so-called "Pericles Plan," unnecessarily rigged the result to ensure an ERE (National Radical Union) victory, when the real unadulterated result undoubtedly would have given Caramanlis a narrower victory or, at the very worst, would have forced him into a coalition with the Center. The election-rigging gave the liberal forces their cause and they exploited it until their ultimate victory at the next elections. When it was decided to bring down the Papandreu Government, a "treason plot" called "Aspida" was concocted and ascribed to the Prime Minister's son. The charge has never been proven and even the Junta, four years later, has been unable to produce any evidence.

The Papandreu Government retaliated by resurrecting the Pericles charges and conducting a formal investigation. The Generals

panicked and persuaded the King of an imminent plot to seize power by unnamed leftist groups tolerated or led by Prime Minister Papandreu. The result was the overthrow of the elected government and a series of almost comic-opera attempts to make parliamentary rump-governments from mid-1965 through Christmas 1966. The agreement of the Conservative and Center Union Parties to hold elections in 1967 in order to restore real parliamentary government, and thus political stability, led directly to the Colonels' coup, only a few weeks before the elections were to be held under the conservative government of Mr. P. Canellopoulos—who, by the way, has spent a good part of the last two years under strict house arrest.

The Athens Colonels have since persecuted the leaders of all of Greece's major political groupings, i.e., the conservatives, the royalists, the Center Union—among whom were several of America's best friends—as well as the left and the extreme left. They have resorted to systematic torture of opponents, as was shown at the recent Strasbourg hearings of the European Human Rights Commission and as has been publicly condemned by leaders of the British, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Dutch and Italian governments, among others.<sup>2</sup>

On March 27, 1969, Secretary of State William P. Rogers, in his first major presentation to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said he shared the "concern" of Senator Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.), "not only for the torture phase" of Greece's new military regime, "but for other civil liberty" infringements. The Nixon Administration has made an encouraging start on the explosive issue of Greece's military dictatorship, through this statement of Secretary Rogers, who went well beyond any comments of his predecessor.

Senator Pell, speaking in the Senate on October 3, 1968, and January 31, 1969, said: "Over the past months I have become increasingly concerned with one of the more heinous characteristics of the Greek dictatorship. I refer to the brutal behavior of this regime in the treatment of its own citizens." . . . "I said in a speech to this body in May 1967 that I deplored the illegal military seizure and that I deplored, moreover, the lack of any kind of strong public reaction or expression of disapproval from the United States." . . . "It seems to me that the inescapable conclusion can only be that the revitalization of democracy in Greece is as much in our own interest as it is in the interests of the people of Greece. We should, therefore, do everything we can to encourage its prompt evolution."

Many senior U.S. government officials, at the time of the Colonels' coup, argued that there was little the U.S. could have done because the coup took the U.S. by surprise and once it was successfully carried out the U.S. was faced with a *fait accompli*. This is untrue as the threat of dictatorship in Greece was spotted early and this threat greatly disturbed politically prominent Americans well before the actual coup took place:

As early as September 4, 1962, and again on October 13, 1963, Senator Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) in published interviews with this writer stated: "I am particularly concerned about the political developments in that country (Greece) and I do believe that careful investigation should be carried out on those accusations against our U.S. Embassy role in Athens in the last Greek elections." And in 1963 he said: "I am against the establishment of a dictator any place. That is why I strongly attacked the suggestion made that the establishment of a dictatorship in Greece would be an effective solution to Greece's problems. Oh, Lord, No. Greece is

<sup>2</sup> See article in *Look* Magazine, May 27, 1969, page 19: "Greece: Government by Torture," written by *Look* Senior Editor Christopher S. Wren.

the most sophisticated, civilized country in the world. Our democratic way of government came from Greece. It would be tragic if Greece, where democracy itself was first founded, were to go back to a dictatorship. I can't even imagine the Greeks thinking about it."

And in the summer of 1966 a galaxy of highly placed and influential U.S. personalities, covering the spectrum of American political life, condemned publicly, very strongly and in no uncertain terms, the possibility of a military dictatorship of any kind in Greece, under whatever pretext. They also urged the Johnson Administration to take all necessary steps to ensure that such a catastrophic development for American interests will not occur.

Their names are: The Speaker of the House of Representatives J. McCormack, Senators V. Hartke, S. Thurmond, E. McCarthy, J. Javits, W. Morse and E. Kennedy; the Chairman of the House Judiciary, Armed Services and Agriculture Committees, Congressmen E. Celler, M. Rivers and H. Cooley; the former Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral A. Burke and the former Supreme NATO Commander in Europe, General L. Norstad; and the then Governor of California, E. Brown.

They spelled out their views to me in question-answer format, taped, typed and in officially signed press interviews, which received wide coverage both in Europe and America.<sup>3</sup> In short, there were numerous, early and authoritative warnings given to Washington, but to no avail.<sup>4</sup>

Since 1947, America has played a decisive role in Greece, and, beginning in 1959 with Ambassador Ellis Briggs—now a strong advocate of the Athens Colonels—America has pursued disastrous, contradictory and vacillating policies—policies largely influenced by inter-service and personality rivalries. Should these policies be continued the communists will have an opportunity to organize and lead a liberation movement in Greece, for the first time since the late 1940's, with wide support and backing from non-communist elements in both Greece and Western Europe. Such a movement, even if led by communists, would ironically be formed under the banner of returning democracy to Greece. Thus, the tragic makings of a new Vietnam in Greece are all present.

<sup>3</sup> In Greece, these interviews were published by the newspapers *Ethnos* and *Athens Daily Post* during the month of August 1966.

<sup>4</sup> Elliot Janeway, the well-known syndicated columnist for the *Chicago Tribune*, reported from Athens on September 28, 1966:

"Warning from Greece. The first cold-war crisis erupted in Greece. A stop-over in Athens, en route from Switzerland to Britain, uncovered genuine concern that the smoldering constitutional crisis there may turn Greece into our next hot spot. The source of the exposure is not just Greece's vulnerability to a one-two-three punch in the form of a German slump, a dollar drought and a British devaluation. It is that Russia may decide that the time is ripe for her to reassert her primacy in the Communist world by taking advantage of our involvement in Vietnam to follow through on de Gaulle's withdrawal from NATO to open a second front in Europe. If so, Greece is her ripe and ready target. We urge a close and literal reading of Gromyko's warning that Europe may be closer to trouble than in many a year."

And again on October 11, 1966:

"The big question now is whether Russia will now take advantage of our involvement in Asia, and our distraction from Europe, to explode a bombshell against us on a second front. The mere suggestion is a blood-chiller. Nevertheless, we fear that this is now a clear and present danger, and that it will be the better part of prudence to prepare for the

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It is very important for Americans to understand that there is widespread belief in non-communist Europe that Washington was involved, either by commission or omission, in the April 21, 1967 coup and is responsible for keeping the Athens Colonels in power. While the substance of the more extreme forms of these theories has not been proven yet, the U.S. should realize that these beliefs have done much more than the criticism of the Vietnam War or the de Gaulle policies to undermine basic U.S. positions and interests in this vital area. This point, in many ways the most telling, is supported by such a personality as Mrs. Helen Vlachou-Loundras, well-known publisher of the most influential conservative Greek newspapers, who was forced into exile in London, when, after the Junta seized power, she bravely refused to publish under censorship. (Her husband—wartime hero conservative Navy Captain Costas Loundras—was sentenced to eighteen months imprisonment after he was kept by the Junta in solitary confinement for fifty days.) Mrs. Vlachou-Loundras spoke about the Greek regime in London on October 17, 1968:

"So the moment of truth is approaching, and the first brand new European dictatorship since the war is about to emerge, born of The Pentagon by the CIA, reared by NATO, surrounded by dotting businessmen. It is no use criticizing the Americans, divided as they are between those who would like to chase the junta but can not do it, and those who can and will not." In this connection, it is very significant that the Johnson Administration in December 1967 let down, in a shameful, unbelievable and humiliating way, even the ultra-conservative Greek monarchy which, since the Truman doctrine of 1947, has been a basic element of U.S. foreign policy towards Greece. This happened when King Constantine finally decided to overthrow the Junta in his armed but ill-fated attempt.

That is why I strongly believe that an over-all and thorough congressional investigation of the U.S. role vis-à-vis Greece would

scary possibility of a new Russian-American confrontation this side of Asia. . . .

*Watch Greece.* Whereas Berlin and Iran are potential danger-points at which a provocative Russian initiative would be needed to force a confrontation, the third of the three possible storm centers is one that no Russian initiative could keep quiescent. This is Greece. It is our best judgment that Greece is well on her way into a constitutional crisis which will precipitate a domestic confrontation, with inevitable and obvious implications, between Right and Left. If this does develop, the question then will be whether Russia could avoid being drawn into it even if she felt it to her interest to remain aloof. Not least among our reasons for assuming that she will find herself drawn into any internal Greek confrontation on the side of the Left is the fact that the U.S. is certain to be involved on the side of the Right. . . .

We do not now mean to be taken as flatly predicting an imminent U.S. confrontation with Russia against the background of recurrent guerrilla war in Greece. But we are anxious to focus attention on the danger, which is real. We do expect a Greek constitutional crisis to erupt. We do take literally the King's threat to suspend the constitution. We do not regard Greece as an isolated Balkan trouble spot. We do not know, nor do we know of anyone who trusts himself to know, whether Russia could stay out of such a free-for-all if it once got started. . . .

We suggest that the above be taken as the warning it is meant to be: of exposure to shock in Europe just when the next step-up in the Vietnam escalation is distracting us even further from Europe and, therefore, making it more difficult for us to plan our reactions to possible shock in Europe."

not only be completely justified but also urgently advisable if the blunders of the past are not to be repeated by the Nixon Administration and a new "Vietnam" is to be avoided.

The European reaction to the Greek coup can be gleaned in the following statements: West German Socialist Deputy, Klaus Schultz, said recently, "It was 36 years ago that Hitler took power in my country. And he did it under conditions far more democratic than those imposed by the Greek colonels." British Laborite Bob Edwards, during the debate whether to expel Greece from the Council of Europe for violating the 18-nation organization's statutes on human rights, said: "I am amazed at some of these speeches. We heard them between the wars—Franco was going to hold elections. Hitler was no dictator and Mussolini made the trains run on time."

In a futile attempt to improve their international image, to buy desperately needed time and to overcome the stubborn refusal of Greeks of prestige and ability to work for the regime, the Junta announced a referendum on a new constitution in September 1968. This document, which received the private blessing of some American officials, in fact makes the Armed Forces the sole final source of power, the guardian of the status quo and the dispenser of civil liberties in Greece. Thus the constitution in effect gives the wolves the responsibility for guarding the lamb by giving the Athens Junta full power to "protect" the liberties they had already seized from the Greek people.

The subsequent referendum on the Colonels' constitution, carried out under conditions of martial law, resulted in a Soviet-style vote of 92.2%. The really free sentiments of the Greeks became manifest a few weeks later when over 300,000 people in Athens spontaneously demonstrated against the regime and for democracy on the occasion of the funeral for George Papandreou, the last elected Prime Minister. On March 29, 1969, the influential London *Economist* wrote: "Mr. Papadopoulos (the head of the Junta) has clearly reconsidered his views about a regrouping of political forces, which would eventually produce a satisfactory alternative to the present regime. He now argues that the constitution cannot be brought fully into force, and normal parliamentary democracy allowed to function, until the Greeks have acquired the necessary political maturity."

"The slowness with which the authorities are completing some of the legal formalities needed to make the provisions of the constitution operative, suggests that Mr. Papadopoulos is trying to keep all his options open. About a quarter of the constitution is still not even theoretically in force, including the provision for the creation of a constitutional tribunal which the regime considers essential for the proper functioning of democracy. Nor has the prime minister yet fulfilled his pledge to introduce a law to allow the regime to ease or tighten martial law as it thinks fit, so that the Greeks can show how well they can behave under conditions of relative, or disciplined, freedom. All this deliberate slow motion is justified by the argument that the Greeks need time to acquire enough political maturity to decide who should govern them—although last September they were apparently sufficiently mature to decide in a plebiscite how they should be governed."

On the eve of the NATO Ministerial meeting in Washington, last April, the Junta feeling the weakness of its position—both domestically and internationally—announced a series of supposed "liberalization" measures, under the new constitution. These measures, however, would be applied only after appropriate legislation is drafted and promulgated. According to Mr. Papadopoulos, this will take at least six months. But he did

not explain how these two constitutional freedoms of assembly and of association could be reinstated under martial law, even if the legislation required to make them operative were to be enacted. Thus, the aim of his move is quite transparent: a typical gesture on his part to forestall several NATO countries' pressure for an early restoration of democracy in Greece.

Last June's outrageous dismissal by the Junta of Michael Stasinopoulos as head of Greece's highest court, after he defiantly refused to resign, in direct violation of their own "constitution," is perhaps the best evidence of the importance the Athens dictatorship attaches to this much publicized and used document of their own making.<sup>5</sup> This was followed by the mass resignations of the senior judges of the Council of State to protest this dismissal of their Chief Justice and the interference by the military regime with the independence of the Judiciary, and was followed by the pre-dawn arrests and banishment of one leading judge and the prominent lawyers who had successfully defended 21 leading judges purged in 1968.

Finally, let us turn to the alleged economic stability which the Junta pledged to bring to Greece. I believe that as a result of the coup, Greece is far more likely to be faced with a serious economic crisis, instead of stable growth.

The rate of growth of the Greek economy which averaged close to 8% a year in the period 1960-66 was reduced to about half this figure in 1967, when good crops and an illusory increase in services offset a sharp fall in industrial investment leading to stagnation in manufacturing output. In 1968 manufacturing recovered somewhat but low crops held the growth rate to about 4%. Admittedly, the building boom had already leveled off by April 1967. However, the collapse of confidence following the coup led to a sharp fall in business investment and consumer purchasing. Imports into Greece stopped rising, and people hoarded money. The reaction of the Government was to stimulate demand and buy popularity. A massive give-away took place when all farm debts amounting to some \$280 million to the U.S.-financed Agricultural Bank were written off. This not only penalized farmers who had paid their debts but probably convinced all farmers, who constitute some 45% of the total population, that there is no point in paying future loans. What is perhaps worse is that the immense resources distributed in this way have not been directed towards raising farm productivity and bringing about the long needed structural reform of Greek agriculture.

Bank credit and Government spending programs were greatly expanded. The money supply increased at an annual rate of 20% in 1967, and although the growth in money has decelerated since, it has not been matched by comparable increases in output. The recovery of consumer demand in 1968 has already led to a renewed import growth and some pressure on prices. Exports barely rose in 1968 and tourist earnings declined for the second year in a row, since the Junta took over. Another mainstay, emigrants' remittances, are stagnant. The result is a worsening balance of payments position. This has been partly shielded by drawings on the secret gold sovereign reserve and

<sup>5</sup> On this issue an editorial of *The New York Times* of July 4, 1969, under the heading "Justice in Greece. . ." had this to say: "It was predictable that Greece's ruling colonels would lash out, sooner or later, at any branch of the country's judiciary that refused to come to heel. The abrupt and clumsy attempt to purge the nation's highest administrative tribunal in flagrant violation of the junta's own Constitution of 1968 has, however, shocked even stout backers of Colonel Papadopoulos. . . ."

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partly by a number of short-term loans concluded with U.S. and European banks which are reliably reported to be secured by the nation's gold and hard currency reserves.

In the past, Greece's basic current trade imbalances were offset by rapidly growing tourist, emigrants' and shipping remittances. These were increasingly augmented by capital inflow, mainly on private account from abroad. The prospect of maintaining balance of payments equilibrium at the present exchange rate, and with free imports, lay in a hoped for rapid rise in industrial and agricultural productivity. Unfortunately, with low growth rates and a sharp fall in private investments the outlook is for controls and/or devaluation, including rescheduling of all recently contracted short-term foreign debt.

Further the mammoth spending programs have created a large inflationary potential which could lead to crisis conditions in a short time.

A confidential 12-page report prepared in March 1968 on Greece's Economic and Financial Developments by the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company of New York states that:

"The regime has, however, displayed an increasing number of signs that it intends pursuing a 1930-style authoritarian course. On the one hand, it has been intensely nationalistic, having called repeatedly for a regeneration of Greek life. On the other, it has taken a number of steps designed to appeal to the lowest socio-economic groups: freezing prices; raising some incomes; and providing working girls with dowries. All this has taken place against a background of increasingly restrictive measures. Nevertheless, the combination has thus far been successful. Some of the reforms introduced by the Papadopoulos government—especially those relating to the bureaucracy—have been to an extent necessary and desirable. The constitution, which the government was supposed to introduce in response to pressures from Western Europe, has yet to be made public. However, any constitution which the drafters might develop would be meaningless because the regime does not intend that there be any return to democracy.

"Since the coup, Greek economic activity has slowed down; GNP growth rate is officially estimated to have been 5% in 1967—and privately put nearer to 3%—compared with 7.4% in 1966. Much of this has been due to a slowdown in investment, especially of the private sector. However, in 1967 the trend toward more rapid growth of industrial than agricultural production was reversed—agricultural production grew faster than industrial, largely due to the rapid growth of the latter in 1966. Prices have been stable due to a price freeze. Wages, on the other hand, have been allowed to rise rather rapidly. The over-all government budget deficit for 1968 will again be large—mostly due to the rising government investment budget."

At the end of March 1969, in a series of speeches to merchants, industrialists and others, Mr. Papadopoulos tried to undo the damage caused to the economy by the crippling uncertainty over the regime's intentions. He was not particularly successful. He insisted that the regime had achieved the political stability needed to expand economic activity. But his claim that it was not a dictatorship, but only a "parenthesis . . ." that was necessary to put things straight, was contradicted by his further assertion that "whether you like it or not, the revolution is a reality and you cannot get rid of us."

The Government made numerous appeals to attract foreign capital. Its most publicized achievement for political, propaganda and lobbying reasons, was the signing of a lucrative contract with Litton Industries (a few weeks after coming to power) which guar-

antees the latter a handsome annual fee as well as a commission on all investments it induces to come to Crete and the Western Peloponnese. It is of interest to note that Litton withdrew its proposals prior to the coup, due to overwhelming parliamentary opposition. To date Litton has produced some studies and very small investments coming mainly from the Litton group companies. It would seem that even their corporate name has not been sufficient to overcome the doubts of those who might have put their money in Greece. That is why, according to reliable information, both the Junta and Litton, at this very moment, are mutually dissatisfied with each other's performance, and the contract is presently being renegotiated. In addition, Litton was unhappy when last year the U.S. Department of Justice disclosed that it had launched an inquiry to determine whether Litton has engaged in activities which require it to register as a foreign agent.

Although most foreign investors found pre-Junta Greece a favorable spot for private enterprise, a difficulty did arise in the case of the Esso-Pappas refining, petrochemical and steel complex. This contract was strongly criticized by the Center Union before it came to power and was renegotiated to Greece's advantage while they were in power. Oddly enough, Pappas has since then managed to avoid, with Junta approval, most of the less profitable investments he was supposed to undertake and he has emerged as one of the most influential and vocal backers of the Junta in the U.S.

Finally, much has been made of an agreement of the Junta with Onassis last November to establish a new refinery, aluminum plant and tourist investments totaling some \$400 million over fifteen years. Specific features, according to reports from Athens, include his right to supply crude oil, in this case Russian, shipped in his own tankers, as well as guaranteed employment for part of his tanker fleet. Further, the prospect of another aluminum plant is far from an un-mixed blessing. There is no cheap power left in Greece. Onassis proposed to produce high-cost power with his oil in his own thermal plants. He would charge himself an artificially low power rate in order to produce aluminum and would force all other Greek consumers of power to pay a much higher rate for the excess power he would produce. It is significant that the Onassis effort to build the alumina-aluminum plant in partnership with the U.S. Reynolds Metals Company has fallen through and on March 17, 1969, the latter announced that it has ended talks with Onassis.

Alfred Friendly writes in the *Washington Post* of April 5, 1969, from Athens:

"The battle of the Greek tycoons, the former brothers-in-law, Aristotle Onassis and Stavros Niarchos, over which one will operate the proposed new \$400 to \$500 million investment program for a new oil refinery, aluminum plants and several tourist projects raised for the first time the suspicion of corruption with the Junta.

"The government's off-again, on-again, handling of the intricate affair may have been merely clumsy or shabby, testifying only to its administrative incompetence. But on its face, the Niarchos proposal, which was ultimately rejected, seemed so much more advantageous to the country than that of Onassis as to suggest bad faith by the regime.

"One would have supposed that, once the suspicion arose, the government would have taken elaborate pains to demonstrate clean hands. After all, one of the Junta's most loudly proclaimed justifications for its coup two years ago was the promise that it would end the notorious corruption of previous governments. If it is subject to the same failing, it loses a principal excuse for its existence.

"Suspected of sticky fingers, the regime's

logical response would have been to lay out the proposals in detail, argue them and supply a complete explanation for its final choice. Instead, after a few weeks of pulling and hauling, the Junta clamped complete censorship over the whole matter. Nothing more may be printed about it in the Greek press. The consequence was obvious: what was once a smoldering rumor is now a wild-fire scandal."

It would appear in fact that the scandal of which Mr. Friendly writes reached such dimensions that even the Junta could not stick to its agreement with Onassis. As a result, on May 20, 1969, the Junta canceled its agreement with Onassis to build a large new oil refinery in Greece and decided to invite international bids for the rights.

In summary, instead of bringing about stable economic growth the Junta has presided over a tragic misuse and waste of national resources, in an attempt to buy acceptance and some semblance of legitimacy. The resulting "gold rush" to extract favorable concessions from the Athens Colonels in return for supporting their dictatorship has resulted in the sacrifice of important Greek economic resources and interests which no parliamentary government could have undertaken and remain in office.

The political anomaly of a new post-war dictatorship in present day non-communist Europe has led to a suspension of some \$55 million of European Investment Bank loans to Greece under the Treaty of Association with the Common Market. The long-run future of Greece's association with the Common Market, the first of its kind, is in fact in doubt. As Greece's chief Common Market negotiator John Pezmatzoglou, then Deputy Governor of the Central Bank, said in a 1966 Bank of Greece message, the economic union of Greece with the EEC was based on the mutually agreed, basic objective of an ultimate political union of Greece with its European partners.

Since then the Governor of the Central Bank, Professor X. Zolotas, an internationally respected central banker, and the equally prominent Professor J. Pezmatzoglou have resigned in protest over the Junta and its policies. In fact, the great bulk of Greece's trained professionals have refused to participate in the Government, a phenomenon which has seriously hindered efforts at rational economic policy formulation and implementation. Last year, during a Congressional investigation conducted by the House Subcommittee on International Finance, on the proposed first World Bank loan to Greece, its influential Chairman, Congressman Henry S. Reuss of Wisconsin, criticized strongly the World Bank and the Johnson Administration for the proposed loan. He even criticized some of the new so-called "non-corrupt" leadership of Greece's economy when he identified the new Deputy Governor of the Bank of Greece, a Mr. Constantine A. Thanos, as having plagiarized his doctoral dissertation and other works and whose proposed appointment to the faculty of the University of Athens, in 1963, was vetoed because of these affairs. Reuss also questioned whether Greece, governed by such people and under these conditions, could be considered creditworthy for international public lending.

I believe that it is imperative for the Nixon Administration, which is in the advantageous position of having no responsibility for the events and policies of the last few years, to conduct a basic and urgent review of U.S. policy towards Greece on the following grounds:

A. The assumption that the current military regime in Athens has or can bring stability is incorrect.

B. The Junta has greatly weakened Greece's military capability and political ability to fulfill its NATO commitments.



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C. The situation in Greece is potentially dangerous. If present policies are continued, a new Vietnam could result.

D. The widespread belief in Europe that the U.S. is responsible for the coup and for keeping the Colonels in power is seriously damaging to America's position in Europe.

E. The existence of a military dictatorship in Greece is morally and politically repugnant especially to the extent that it appears that the United States is supporting this regime.

In considering U.S. policy towards Greece I would like here to make several points directed primarily to American conservatives. It has been a tragedy that many American opinions and actions concerning Greece have been viewed as a political issue between conservatives and liberals. As a result of the opposition to the Greek Junta by many prominent American liberals, all too many American conservatives have not realized the true nature and intent of the current Greek regime. While Greek political liberals have suffered as a result of the coup, as many Greek conservatives with well-known anti-communist credentials have been suppressed, imprisoned, and driven into exile by the Junta. In fact, many of the most severe critics of the coup and the current regime could be described as conservatives.

In the light of the Athens Colonels' past and continued repression of anti-communist Greek conservatives and the often-forgotten fact that the Colonels seized power from a conservative government, I would ask some American conservatives who have either largely remained neutral or have supported the current Greek regime to reconsider their positions. For the situation in Greece cannot be described or understood along American political lines. In this case both American liberals and conservatives, perhaps for different but compatible reasons, should oppose the authoritarian dictatorship imposed on the people of Greece by a small group of colonels in Athens.

Thus, in reviewing U.S. policy towards Greece I would suggest that the following specific changes in the policies inherited by the Nixon Administration would be both in the interest of the United States and the Greek people:

1. A clear-cut public condemnation of the Greek Junta by the new administration and real efforts of disassociation from the Johnson Administration policies, attitudes and methods used in dealing with Greece.

2. Delay the appointment or appoint, but do not dispatch, to Athens a new U.S. Ambassador and make clear to the Junta and the NATO Allies the real reasons for such a delay.

3. Terminate immediately and completely all U.S. military aid to the Athens regime and reverse the disastrous decision taken on October 21, 1968, during the last days of the previous Administration, to resume delivery of major U.S. military equipment to the Athens Colonels. Such a decision, under those circumstances, gave in effect official public U.S. government approval to the Athens military dictatorship.

<sup>a</sup>In this connection three very interesting articles from Athens, by the well-informed and nationally syndicated columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, were published in the *Washington Post* of June 19, 1969 ("Greece Facing Grim Alternatives: Salazar-Type Rule or Bloody Revolt"), of June 23, 1969 ("U.S. Action Against Greek Junta Is Prevented by Military Needs"), and of June 26, 1969 ("Nature of Greek Junta Underscored by Arrest of Distinguished General"—this article details the ordeal of two Greek officers with anti-communist credentials, General George Koumanakos and Admiral Athanasios Spanides).

With the U.S. presidential elections only two weeks away, the Congress adjourned, and three weeks after a rigged "referendum," conducted by the Greek Junta under martial law, the Johnson Administration felt that it was safe and advisable to go ahead with a decision that was strongly debated and shelved repeatedly by the same Administration in the past.

4. Take the initiative for joint NATO action against the Junta by exercising maximum diplomatic, economic and military aid pressure, on a well-coordinated basis, in behalf of the Atlantic Alliance. Such an American initiative will take options away from Moscow policy-makers and will build up U.S. influence in NATO and among the European liberals, intellectuals and youth. Such a U.S. initiative would have worldwide favorable repercussions and Washington will be in a better position to exploit existing turmoil among Moscow's Eastern European communist satellites, non-satellites and the communist parties in non-communist Europe.

5. Give full U.S. support to the efforts of the Common Market and the Council of Europe to isolate morally, politically and economically the Athens Colonels.

6. Find other appropriate ways and means to support actively and effectively all anti-Junta, anti-communist elements who represent the vast majority of the Greek people.

7. Strong efforts should be made to dispel the belief of U.S. involvement and support of the Greek Junta in Greece and the rest of Europe, including the use of the Voice of America. Such efforts are essential to forestall violent anti-American backlash in Greece, which otherwise is a virtual certainty.

8. As a last resort, taking up a line already gaining ground in NATO, particularly in Denmark, Norway, The Netherlands and Italy, and moving to expel Greece from the Alliance.

In evaluating the merits of the above eight basic recommendations it is important to understand the following points:

A. All the above peaceful measures are sufficient if used effectively, in my opinion, to overthrow the Greek dictatorship without bloodshed, and without risking American lives, as you do in Vietnam today, or you did in Korea, Lebanon and in the Dominican Republic. The Nixon Administration must have learned some very valuable lessons recently with the events in Pakistan, the crisis in Peru and the negotiations over the Spanish bases. These events proved the grave risks inherent in dealing with anti-communist military dictatorships and should help dispel the myth that such regimes serve effectively the U.S. interests.

B. If the Junta is overthrown by these peaceful measures proposed to the Nixon Administration, Washington will be in a much better position to deal also with the Middle East crisis, having the full support and cooperation of the liberated (with American support) Greek people, and the U.S. and NATO bases presently in Greece will not any longer be surrounded, as is the case today, by an increasingly hostile population, which makes their value presently, in the case of emergency, at least doubtful.

C. More than 100,000 hard-core Greek communists live in various parts of the Eastern European communist world, including the thousands of young children abducted by the retreating Greek communist guerrilla forces in 1949. These children are now completely trained militarily and indoctrinated. Greece has very extended and rugged mountain frontiers with her northern communist neighbors. These facts may represent, at a given moment, an ace in the hands of Moscow and Peking.

D. Greece's unique geographical position places her athwart the crossroads of Europe, Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. The Mid-

dle East and Africa are two areas where the Greeks for centuries have maintained the closest ties and interests. On the northern borders of Greece is a kaleidoscope of three different kinds of communism: the Peking style in Albania (where more than 2,000 Chinese advisors are stationed in this first Chinese beachhead in Europe), the Moscow style in Bulgaria, and the Tito style in Yugoslavia. This fact itself makes Greece a very good western "window," an ideal listening and influence post for the Southeastern European area. But it also makes Greece far more exposed to external communist and Slavic-chauvinistic pressures now greatly complicated by the current Sino-Soviet confrontation.

E. The U.S. record over the last decade clearly shows a very benign attitude toward right-wing military coups while registering great alarm over left-wing ones. The so-called Schwartz doctrine (former State Department policy planner and, at present, top Pentagon authority on international security affairs) makes clear the U.S. will not interfere with extra-constitutional, totalitarian rule by anti-communist governments. This double standard justified accusations all over the world and, naturally, Greece.

We were all dismayed at the ruthless crushing with Soviet military power of the modest liberal reforms which were taking place in Czechoslovakia. No satellite could be allowed to sway that far from orthodoxy and control in the minds of Warsaw Pact hard liners. Moscow paid a heavy price in terms of world condemnation and the discrediting of hard-core Czech communists. To many, the parallel of the U.S. position in Greece is disquieting. And Moscow's diplomats and propagandists are counterattacking criticism aimed at their Czechoslovakian action by pointing to the U.S. role in Greece since April 1967. For the coup against the prospect of a liberal but pro-NATO government was carried out by people closely connected with the U.S. military, intelligence and financial complex, with U.S. weapons and using a top-secret emergency NATO plan. All in the name of anti-communism, the preservation of the orthodoxy of Greece in the Western Alliance and protecting the Monarchy—which the Junta forced into exile eight months later. Moscow intervened with Soviet troops to crush what she considered dangerous Czechoslovak liberalization tendencies.

While I do not believe that the use of U.S. troops to protect the freedom of the Greek people was, or is, necessary, it is a tragedy that the Johnson Administration played the role of Pontius Pilatus while U.S.-supplied tanks were used to crush Greek democracy even though ample warnings about the impending coup existed. That the Johnson Administration, on many occasions, has given the impression of supporting the dictatorship of the Athens Colonels, is doubly disquieting, considering that the freedom of the Greek people was guaranteed by NATO which Greece freely joined as a free nation in 1952.

In the process the U.S.'s best friends were systematically destroyed. In the end the Greeks will force their oppressors out of power. The process could be bloody and might well involve the U.S. in another Vietnam-type situation. It is, therefore, legitimate to ask why long-term U.S. interests are being sacrificed in Greece for the sake of an ephemeral appearance of security and stability and whether it is wise to continue along this road to disaster much longer.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Apr. 21, 1969]

A GREEK IN EXILE LOOKS AT THE COLONELS

(By Elias P. Demetracopoulos)

U.S. foreign policy in Greece has been based on the hypothesis that the present

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dictatorial regime provides sufficient stability—military, political and economic—to satisfy America's strategic interests in the area. In my opinion the premise that the junta has brought stability to Greece is false.

The Greek armed forces today are far less effective than they were before the coup. They are mainly an internal security force in which the junta-controlled elements watch not only potential civilian opponents but also the very real latent opposition in the armed forces themselves. To this effect the continuing purges of the best officers is a very interesting indicator.

The junta has systematically removed from the armed forces an alarming number of the officers they consider unreliable. These hundreds of officers are trained at enormous U.S. expense. That is why the combat effectiveness of the Greek armed forces in time of full mobilization of the reserves should be an agonizingly open question—mark for the NATO planners. In fact, such mobilization would lead to the speedy overthrow of the junta. This also explains why really the junta thought it wise to "defuse" the Cyprus crisis in November 1967.

## A QUESTION OF STABILITY

The U.S. and NATO bases plus the American listening posts and propaganda machinery operating on Greek territory are important. Yet in view of the climate in which they exist today it is a real question how much long-range strategy in the area can be built around them. Measuring political stability is not easy when there is martial law and press censorship, when no opposition is permitted, and when violence, although on the increase, is still sporadic. The junta alleges that it stepped in to save the country from the danger of communism—yet even Greek conservative leaders emphasize the fact that the danger of communism was non-existent in Greece. The junta overthrew a conservative government.

In this connection, it must always be remembered that Greece fought successfully a Communist aggression at the peak of the "Cold War" under a parliamentary government. The junta has persecuted the leaders of Greece's major political groupings, i.e., the conservatives, the royalists, the Center Union, the left and the extreme left. It has resorted to systematic torture of opponents and has been publicly condemned by leaders of the British, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Dutch and Italian Governments, among others.

Since 1947, America has played a decisive role in Greece. In this respect, it is significant to remember that in non-Communist Europe the widespread belief that Washington was involved, either by commission or omission, in the April 21, 1967, coup and that she is responsible for keeping the Athens colonels in power two years later, has done much to undermine basic U.S. positions and interests in this vital area. This point is supported by the publisher of the most influential conservative Greek newspapers (until the junta seized power and she bravely refused to publish them under censorship), Mrs. Helen Vlachou-Loundras, now in exile in London.

Last Oct. 17 she said of the Greek regime: "So the moment of truth is approaching, and the first brand-new European dictatorship since the war is about to emerge, born of the Pentagon by the CIA, reared by NATO, surrounded by dotting businessmen. It is no use criticizing the Americans, divided as they are between those who would like to chase the junta but cannot do it, and those who can, and will not."

## RIGGED REFERENDUM

In a futile attempt to improve its international image, to buy desperately needed time and to overcome the stubborn refusal of Greeks of prestige and ability to work for the regime, the junta carried out a referendum on a new constitution in September 1968,

which makes the armed forces the guardian of the status quo in Greece. The referendum gave a Soviet-style vote of 92.2% and was carried out under conditions of martial law. The really free sentiments of the Greeks became manifest a few weeks later when more than 300,000 people in Athens spontaneously demonstrated against the regime and for democracy on the occasion of the funeral for George Papandreou, the last elected prime minister.

On the eve of the NATO ministerial meeting in Washington earlier this month the junta, feeling the weakness of its domestic and international position, announced a series of "liberalization" measures under the new constitution. These measures, however, would be applied only after appropriate legislation is drafted and promulgated. The aims of such a move are quite transparent: To forestall several NATO countries' pressure for an early restoration of democracy in Greece.

Political stability can be said to exist as long as we recognize that it is achieved at the point of U.S.-supplied guns and in the face of the passive and growing opposition of the vast majority of the Greeks. Nevertheless, it is argued that the regime has been good for business and that on the economic front Greece can now move forward.

A privately circulated 12-page report prepared a year ago by a New York bank states:

"Since the coup, Greek economic activity has slowed down; GNP growth rate is officially estimated to have been 5% in 1967—and privately put nearer to 3%—compared with 7.4% in 1966. Much of this has been due to a slowdown in investment, especially of the private sector. However, in 1967 the trend toward more rapid growth of industrial than agricultural production was reversed—agricultural production grew faster than industrial, largely due to the rapid growth of the latter in 1966. Prices have been stable due to a price freeze. Wages, on the other hand, have been allowed to rise rather rapidly. The overall government budget deficit for 1968 will again be large—mostly due to the rising government investment budget."

At the end of last month, the junta tried in a series of speeches to undo the damage caused to the economy by crippling uncertainty over the regime's intentions. The government made numerous appeals to attract foreign capital.

The junta's most publicized achievement for political, propaganda and lobbying reasons was the signing of a lucrative contract with Litton Industries, a few weeks after coming to power. To date Litton has produced some studies and very small-sized investments coming exclusively from the Litton group companies. That's why both the junta and Litton, at this very moment, are mutually dissatisfied with each other's performance.

The political anomaly of a banana republic dictatorship in present day non-Communist Europe has led to a suspension of some \$55 million of European Bank loans to Greece under the Treaty of Association with the Common Market. The long run future of Greece's association with the Common Market is in doubt. The governor and deputy governor of the Greek central bank have resigned in protest over the junta's policies.

## REVIEW THE U.S. POSITION?

My belief is that there are serious grounds for being disturbed by U.S. policy toward Greece—grounds that make mandatory a basic and urgent review of the U.S. position by the Nixon Administration, which is in the advantageous position of having no responsibility for the events and policies of the last few years. Time is running out on the Greek issue faster than most officials in Washington seem to realize.

In the present Greek process the U.S.'s best friends are systematically destroyed. The Johnson Administration, on many occasions, gave rise to the belief it was supporting the

junta. In the end the Greeks will force their oppressors out of power. The process could be bloody and might well involve the U.S. in another Vietnam-type situation. It is, therefore, legitimate to ask why long-term U.S. interests are being sacrificed in Greece for the sake of an ephemeral security and stability and whether it is wise to continue along this road much longer.

## SENATOR COTTON'S REASONS FOR SUPPORTING THE ABM

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, recently I released for publication a report to the people of New Hampshire stating my position on the ABM and my reasons. My newsletters are limited to 1½ pages. Brevity results in some oversimplification. Rather than take the time of the Senate, after a long and repetitious debate, to amplify my views, I ask unanimous consent that my report be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Prolonged debate over the antiballistic missile (ABM) has kept the Senate at a standstill. Now that every detail of this subject has been discussed and rediscussed and we are about to vote, I can review it with you.

My reasons for supporting ABM can be simply stated:

Already we have expended over three billion in research to develop this defense against nuclear attack. We can't know whether the ABM will work until we actually assemble it. At least two are required to permit the interplay of radar and other devices. It will take five-years to install them, and it's time we started.

There may be no way to destroy every nuclear missile in a massive attack. However, I refuse to believe that a nation that can put two men on the moon can't devise some system capable of saving many lives and, by preserving our capacity to strike back, make the enemy think twice before he launches a nuclear offensive. Perhaps ABM won't work, but the Soviets think it will and have installed sixty, improving them as they go along. It's time we put ours to the test. A batch of blueprints is no defense.

Now for some of the doubts that are agitating so many people.

Will the ABM provoke the Soviets and dim the prospects for an arms agreement? This seems to worry everyone except the Soviets. Kossygin at his London press conference explicitly rejected the idea that the deployment of a defensive missile system heats up the arms race. The ABM is as purely defensive as a bomb shelter. It is not pointed at, nor can it hurt any other nation.

Are we launching a program that will sink billions in a system that may not work or may not be needed? It is proposed to devote two billion over the next five years to research and development. So far as I know, not a single Senator opposes this. The only question is whether we spend another two billion over the same period to install two ABMs. This means less than two dollars apiece a year for each inhabitant of the U.S.—a low price for insurance. And even this amount can be stopped at any point if ABM proves ineffective or if a nuclear arms agreement makes it unnecessary. This bill does not commit us to spend one additional cent toward the twelve ABMs contemplated for a complete Safeguard System.

Should the Senate adopt a compromise? The answer to that is that the President's proposal is emphatically a compromise. He refrains from starting a Fractional Orbital Bombardment System (FOBS), though the

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Soviets have one. He refrains from adding new missiles, though the Soviets are producing the devastating 25-megaton SS-9. He refrains from increasing our Polaris-Poseidon submarine fleet, though the Soviets are adding to theirs and may have already passed us. He says, "I am recommending a minimum program essential for security."

Personally, I vote for this minimal protection because I do not want, at this time, to raise any roadblock against the President's cherished hope for arms limitation. I do so with misgivings. It is doubtful that the Soviets will limit their armaments while threatened by a huge and hostile China. We want no race in missiles and megatons, but I would build and deploy more Poseidon submarines to make a first-strike knockout more difficult.

After all, if a nuclear conflict is to be averted, it will be because both sides have all the horrible weapons in their arsenal so that neither dares resort to them. Even Hitler did not resort to gas or germ warfare because the Allies were equipped to respond. But we needn't look at Hitler or the Soviets or the Chinese to see why the hope of the world lies in a checkmate. We dropped the atom bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki killing 100,000 people, including women and children. Though it shortened the war, I believe most Americans now regret it. But have you ever stopped to think whether we would have dropped those bombs if the Japanese could have retaliated? I think not!

To sum up, I am voting for the ABM because I agree with Dr. McMillan, UCLA Professor of Chemistry, who said to the Senate Committee:

"I believe that the great majority of the American people with their down-to-earth common sense are having as great a difficulty as I am in swallowing the sophisticated arguments that conclude it is somehow bad to defend ourselves."

#### EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, I have today received a letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, Elmer Staats, in which he responds to an inquiry I posed last month relative to the legality of the so-called revised Philadelphia plan affecting Government contractors.

Under the revised plan, contractors in order to qualify as bidders would have had to agree in advance to hire a certain specified "range" of minority employees.

Mr. President, I seriously questioned the legality of this under the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Section 703(j) specifically prohibits the setting up of any kind of preferential treatment because of race, color, national origin, and so forth. I have said all along that I am for equal employment opportunity, but equal treatment must be that—equal. Some may not be treated "more equally" than others under the law.

I am happy to see that the Comptroller General has ruled in favor of all workers' rights in holding the plan illegal. He has said, in his decision which I shall have placed in the Record, that in the absence of specific court rulings to the contrary, or additional statutes that the 1964 Civil Rights Act is in conflict with the OFCC regulations and the Philadelphia plan revised.

Undoubtedly there will be those who misinterpret this matter—just as some of my colleagues have said the law, the

1964 Civil Rights Act, does not apply—to them I must issue the reminder that if this is to be a nation of laws and not of men, we must abide by the law and this law was supposedly passed to protect the rights of every man, not just those of one color.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the letter from the Comptroller General, along with the full text of his decision, be printed in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

COMPTROLLER GENERAL  
OF THE UNITED STATES,  
Washington, D.C., August 5, 1969.

HON. PAUL FANNIN,  
U.S. Senate.

DEAR SENATOR FANNIN: With reference to your letter of July 1, 1969, concerning an order issued June 27, 1969, to the heads of all agencies by the Assistant Secretary for Wage and Labor Standards, Department of Labor, announcing a Revised Philadelphia Plan to implement the provisions of Executive Order 11246, there is enclosed a copy of our decision of today, B-163026, to the Secretary of Labor.

In the event the attached decision is not considered dispositive of your interest in the matter, we will be pleased to respond to any further questions you may have concerning the subject.

Sincerely yours,

ELMER B. STAATS,  
Comptroller General of the United States.

COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE  
UNITED STATES,  
Washington, D.C., August 5, 1969.

THE HONORABLE THE SECRETARY OF LABOR.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: We refer to an order issued June 27, 1969, to the heads of all agencies by the Assistant Secretary for Wage and Labor Standards, Department of Labor. The order announced a revised Philadelphia Plan (effective July 18, 1969) to implement the provisions of Executive Order 11246 and the rules and regulations issued pursuant thereto which require a program of equal employment opportunity by contractors and subcontractors on both Federal and federally assisted construction projects.

Questions have been submitted to our Office by members of Congress, both as to the propriety of the revised Philadelphia Plan and the legal validity of Executive Order 11246 and of various implementing regulations issued thereunder both by your Department and by other agencies. In view of possible conflicts between the requirements of the Plan and the provisions of Titles VI and VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Pub. L. 88-352, discussions have been held between representatives of our Office, your Department, and the Department of Justice, and your Solicitor has furnished to us a legal memorandum in support of the authority for issuance of the Executive Order as well as the revised Philadelphia Plan promulgated thereunder.

The memorandum presents the following points in support of the legal propriety of the Plan:

I. The Executive has the authority and the duty to require employers who do business with the Government to provide equal employment opportunity.

II. The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 did not deprive the President of the authority to regulate, pursuant to Executive Orders, the employment practices of Government contractors.

III. The revised Philadelphia Plan is lawful under the Federal Government's procurement policies, is authorized under Executive

Order 11246 and the implementing regulations, and is lawful under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Without conceding the validity of all of the arguments advanced under points I and II, we accept the authority of the President to issue Executive Order 11246, and the contention that the Congress in enacting the Civil Rights Act did not intend to deprive the President of all authority to regulate employment practices of Government contractors.

The essential questions presented to this Office by the revised Philadelphia Plan, however, are (1) whether the Plan is compatible with fundamentals of the competitive bidding process as it applies to the awarding of Federal and federally assisted construction contracts, and (2) whether imposition of the specific requirements set out therein can be regarded as a legally proper implementation of the public policy to prevent discrimination in employment, which is declared in the Civil Rights Act and is inherent in the Constitution, or whether those requirements so far transcend the policy of nondiscrimination, by making race or national origin a determinative factor in employment, as to conflict with the limitations expressly imposed by the act or with the basic constitutional concept of equality.

Our interest and authority in the matter exists by virtue of the duty imposed upon our Office by the Congress to audit all expenditures of appropriated funds, which necessarily involves the determination of the legality of such expenditures, including the legality of contracts obligating the Government to payment of such funds. Authority has been specifically conferred on this Office to render decisions to the heads of departments and agencies of the Government, prior to the incurring of any obligations, with respect to the legality of any action contemplated by them involving expenditures of appropriated funds, and this authority has been exercised continuously by our Office since its creation whenever any question as to the legality of a proposed action has been raised, whether by submission by an agency head, or by complaint of an interested party, or by information coming to our attention in the course of our other operations.

The incorporation into the terms of solicitations for Government contracts of conditions or requirements concerning wages and other employment conditions or practices has been a frequent subject of decisions by this Office, many of which will be found enumerated in our decision at 42 Comp. Gen. 1. The rule invariably applied in such cases has been that any contract conditions or stipulations which tend to restrict the full and free competition required by the procurement laws and regulations are unauthorized, unless they are reasonably requisite to the accomplishment of the legislative purposes of the appropriation involved or other law. Furthermore, where the Congress in enacting a statute covering the subject matter of such conditions has specifically prohibited certain actions, no administrative authority can lawfully impose any requirements the effect of which would be to contravene such prohibitions. It is within the framework of these principles that we consider the order promulgating the revised Philadelphia Plan.

The Assistant Secretary's order states the policy of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC) that no contracts or subcontracts shall be awarded for Federal and federally assisted construction in the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, area (including the counties of Bucks, Chester, Delaware, Montgomery, and Philadelphia) on projects whose cost exceeds \$500,000 unless the bidder submits an acceptable affirmative action program which shall include specific goals of minority manpower utilization, meeting the standards



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which manifests itself in the significances and values without which there is no reality—nothing but emptiness that has to be filled with drink, sex, eating, background music, and . . . the papers and the telly."

Mr. Leavis, not the most optimistic of dons on any occasion, believes that something might be done to revive "the creative human response that maintains cultural continuity" and that gives human life a meaning. I, with fewer qualifications to speak, would go much further. I would say that a conscious and determined effort to conceive a new humanism which would do for our darkness what that earlier humanism did for the darkness of the Middle Ages is not only a present dream but a present possibility, and that it is a present possibility not despite the generation of the young—the generation of the Sixties—but because of it.

That generation is not perhaps as sophisticated politically as it—or its activist spokesmen—would have us think. Its moral superiority to earlier generations may not, in every instance, be as great as it apparently believes. But one virtue it does possess to a degree not equaled by any generation in this century: It believes in man.

It is an angry generation, yes, but its resentment is not the disgust of the generation for which Beckett speaks. Its resentment is not a resentment of our human life but a resentment *on behalf* of human life; not an indignation that we exist on the Earth but that we *permit* ourselves to exist in a selfishness and wretchedness and squalor which we have the means to abolish. Resentment of this kind is founded, can only be founded, on belief in man. And belief in man—a return to a belief in man—is the reality on which a new age can be built.

Thus far, that new belief has been used by the young largely as a weapon—as a justification of an indictment of earlier generations for their exploitation and debasement of human life and earth. When it is allowed to become itself—when the belief in man becomes an affirmative effort to re-create the life of man—the crisis in the university may well become the triumph of the university.

For it is only the university in this technological age which can save us from ourselves. And the university, as we now know, can only function effectively when it functions as a common labor of all its generations dedicated to the highest purpose of them all.

ME

# TIMID GREEK JUDGE SUFFERS FOR UPHOLDING PRINCIPLES

HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Extensions of Remarks an article entitled "Timid Greek Judge Suffers for Upholding Principles," written by Mr. Alfred Friendly, and published in the Washington Post for Friday, July 25, 1969.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

## TIMID GREEK JUDGE SUFFERS FOR UPHOLDING PRINCIPLES

(By Alfred Friendly)

ATHENS.—Harassment of Greece's highest judge, who recently ruled against the government and refused its demands to resign, has reached the point where his physician was apparently pressured to declare him able to face an inquisition when, in fact, he had just suffered a heart attack.

The judge is Michael Stasinopoulos, president of the Greek Council of State. His illness is thought to be the result of the ordeal he was subjected to after he ordered the reinstatement of 11 Supreme Court judges fired by the junta. His physician is dependant on the government's favor for keeping his job in the state medical care system.

The 67-year-old jurist, subjected to attempted intimidation by a police officer who accused him of faking illness, has so far avoided the command to appear before the junta's No. 2 personage, the deputy prime minister. Another doctor, engaged only in private practice and accordingly not subject to official intimidation, was called in by Stasinopoulos and has declared that he is indeed seriously ill.

The history of the continuing ordeal of the judge was disclosed in circumstantial detail by a thoroughly informed source. The story that emerges is of a timid, conservative, ultra-cautious man forced to become a hero in spite of himself, when there was no escape from putting his legal principles on the line.

The chronicle begins more than a year ago when the government purged some 60 judges, getting around the provision that they had permanent status by suspending the constitution, by official decree, for three days.

### MORAL CALIBER

Among those ousted were 11 judges of the Supreme Court, the highest appeals tribunal for all cases in which the state itself is not a party. The principal grounds were that the incumbent either had been identified with a political party in a way that rendered him unfit to serve, or was not of the requisite "moral caliber." Those purged were also disbarred.

The jurists appealed to the Council of State, the highest appeals court for matters in which the state is directly involved. They won their case on rescinding the disbarment, only to have the government overrule it by decree the next day. Thus they remain forbidden to practice.

In a different case, based on provisions of the new constitution that the junta itself prepared and had confirmed in a national referendum last September, the judges appealed their ouster on the grounds that the constitution provided them lifetime tenure.

Stasinopoulos realized the dilemma the case would present him and his 22-judge court. A small, fragile man, chosen for the presidency of the council by the colonels themselves, he had no stomach for a fight. A deep-dyed conservative, he is distinguished, if at all, as the author of rather mediocre poetry and as someone who has tried throughout his tenure to keep his court from coming into conflict with the regime.

His thesis has been that the Council of State, an institution created in 1930, does not have the Marbury v. Madison tradition of determining the constitutionality of government acts and will only get into trouble—especially with the present dictatorship—if it tries.

### CASE STALLED

For a year, Stasinopoulos tried to duck the case, stalling it, urging the appellants to withdraw, arguing that whatever the outcome, both they and the court would lose. He did not need the warnings, which he got anyway, from his first cousin, Gen. Hadjipetros, head of the Greek equivalent of the FBI, to "be careful."

But in the end, the case was not to be avoided. In June Stasinopoulos summoned a public session of the full court. The case had been thoroughly debated and the president may or may not have known how the vote would go. He made a short speech, bidding his colleagues to take into account the position of the state but also to reflect on the requirements of their honor as judges.

Under the usual procedure, an open vote was taken, with each member, beginning with the most junior, announcing his vote and the reasons for it. By the time the tally reached the president, it was 10 to 10 (there was one absentee). Stasinopoulos voted to sustain the appeal.

He chose the narrowest possible of the six grounds on which the appeal was based: due process. He ruled that the judges could not be dismissed without first having been formally presented with reasons and charges, and having the opportunity to answer them, and being given a proper legal finding.

For the first time since it took power more than two years ago, the hitherto cool regime publicly lost its composure. It has been proceeding ever since from one flagrant action to another.

### JUDGE SUMMONED

Premier Georges Papadopoulos immediately summoned Stasinopoulos to his office and, in a rage, demanded his resignation.

At 9 the next morning, the judge presented a letter to the Ministry of Interior refusing, on grounds of the self-respect of the judiciary, to resign merely because the Premier told him to. An hour later, the official gazette published a governmental decree "accepting the resignation of the President of the Council of State" and naming his successor.

Whereupon, the 10 members of the council who had voted with Stasinopoulos submitted their resignations, also as a matter of self-respect. The chief judge's successor, meanwhile, showed himself to be a good lawyer too. He pointed out that he was not the legal President of the council until the incumbent had formally resigned, and that until then a litigant could impeach any decision on grounds that the court was illegally constituted.

The pressure on Stasinopoulos to submit a pre-dated resignation was now immense. He was chivvied and argued with. His phone was cut off and police were placed in front of his dwelling to challenge all visitors and examine their papers.

The heart attack ensued. Shortly thereafter, about three weeks ago, Stylianos Patakos, the deputy prime minister phoned the judge—it turned out that the phone could be put back into operation when it suited the regime's convenience—and ordered him to present himself at Patakos's office. He replied that he was in no condition to leave his bed.

Next day, Stasinopoulos' physician made his morning call and without examining his patient told him he looked fine. The sick man protested that he felt terrible. At this point, the commandant of the regional police station pushed his way into the sick room and engaged in muttered conversation with the doctor. It was clear that some collusion was afoot. In a few moments, the doctor turned back to the judge and declared loudly: "You are now in good health."

### FAKE ILLNESS

"So," said the police officer to the judge, "you've been faking illness. The doctor says you are well and therefore at 9 next Monday morning"—two days hence—"you will be in Gen. Patakos' office."

The judge's wife called in a physician in private practice. He has succeeded so far in forestalling Patakos's demand for Stasinopoulos' appearance.

Frustrated and all thumbs, the regime went Andrew Jackson one better, declaring that the court's ruling was not only unenforceable but unfounded because the subject matter was "excluded from its jurisdiction."

Also, it immediately disbarred and ordered one year banishment to a small island and to two remote hamlets for the three lawyers who had argued the Supreme Court justices' case.

George Christopoulos, Greece's ambassador to Paris, a former undersecretary of state and the Junta's nominee, reported the na-

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ture of European reaction. According to those who have seen it, the gist of his message was that Greece could not expect to remain in the Council of Europe, which is considering ousting it, unless it chooses to abide by the conventional legal and moral standards of other member governments, otherwise, it should resign from the council before it is kicked out.

The regime's response was to fire Christopoulos and replace him in Paris with a general.

KEE FIELD—A RECOGNITION OF  
PUBLIC SERVICE

HON. JOHN M. SLACK

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. SLACK. Mr. Speaker, last Sunday, July 27, it was my privilege to be in attendance at the dedication of a new airfield near Pineville, W. Va., which will offer a new service to the residents of nearby coal mining communities.

A great crowd was present, far exceeding expectations for a very warm July day, and the new facility was appropriately named "Kee Field" in honor of a family which has maintained a record of continuous service in the House of Representatives since 1932.

From that year until his death in 1951 the late John Kee served with distinction and capped his career with the chairmanship of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. During the following six Congresses, his widow, Mrs. Elizabeth Kee, served the same Fifth West Virginia District with notable skill. Upon her retirement in 1964, their son Jim was elected, and has been with us as a valued colleague and friend, identified always with well-founded proposals aimed at improving the prospects for the people of southern West Virginia.

Unswerving dedication to the service of the Fifth District's people has been a Kee family tradition for almost four decades. That tradition is not only recognized, it has long been considered by the people to be as rockbound and unchangeable as the mountains of the Fifth District itself. A reflection of the firm belief in that Kee tradition is found in the following commentary by J. E. Faulconer in the July 28, Hinton, W. Va., Daily News:

## DEDICATION OF KEE FIELD

"Senator" Earl Hayes and the writer were among several thousand grateful West Virginians who gathered at the new airfield near Pineville that was named in honor of the Kee family who have served the Fifth Congressional District so well for the last 37 years . . . The late John Kee served the district from 1932 until his death in 1951, and his wife Elizabeth served until her retirement in 1964, and was followed by son Jim who was elected for his first term in 1964 . . . Regardless of what you may think of Jim Kee it is doubtful if any congressman in the entire United States has accomplished more for his district, and this is especially true for Summers County . . . It would be impossible for us to mention all the many things Jim has done for this county and individuals, but to mention some of the r-e-a-l-l-y big things put down magnificent Pipestem Park . . . It belongs to the state, but it would never have happened without his hard work on the Fed-

eral level, and don't you forget it . . . Then there is the new hospital here, new post office, National Guard Armory, fire station, street improvements, and he even had a hand in the People's Plant at Pence Springs.

Yours truly really received a fine reception at the airport dedication that was marred some by the traffic congestion that delayed motorists from leaving for nearly two hours, never-the-less it was a great affair and the people of Wyoming are deserving of much credit for completing the \$610,000 facility . . . The first person we met was former Secretary of State Bob Bailey who took us to Jim and his wife . . . Then Senator Jennings Randolph arrived by plane with officials from Washington that included Rep. Ken Hechler, William Whittle, District Airport Engineer for the FAA, and others . . . Rep. John Slack was nearly two hours late, and had to walk over a mile after his car was blocked by the heavy traffic on the narrow access road to the airport . . . Three students from West Virginia U put on a great show as they parachuted to earth amid the big airport crowd . . .

Louie Kaman was there with his Mullens High School band, and most of you will remember that he was Hinton's first band director . . . Following the dedication there was a big luncheon at the well appointed Cow Shed . . . Former Governor Hulett Smith was the Master of Ceremonies and did his usual excellent job, and Mr. Kee's hard working Administrative Assistant was also on the scene . . . The beautiful bronze plaque that was unveiled read:

"Kee Field, Dedicated to West Virginia's Kee Family; John Kee, Mrs. Elizabeth Kee; James Kee; Who served West Virginia and The United States of America With Distinction, Dedication and zeal As members of Congress from the Fifth W. Va. Congressional District."

## X HANDLE JOURNALISM

HON. PAUL J. FANNIN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 31, 1969

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, it has been called to my attention that one of the magazines which regularly espouse a liberally "left" line has elected itself to "take apart" a speech by the Secretary of the Air Force Dr. Robert C. Seamans, Jr.

This exercise, of course, is a prerogative of the free press in our Nation. However, it should continually be borne in mind that freedom bears responsibilities and the freedom to disagree with a point of view is not responsible when it is taken as a license to misrepresent and distort. All too often, in the current debate over our national defense strategy, members of the editorial fraternity become rather too emotionally involved with the issues and lose their perspective. This generally renders their comment invalid, irrelevant, or just plain silly.

Mr. John F. Loosbrock, editor of Air Force/Space Digest magazine, has undertaken to call attention to the objective shortcomings of one of his fellow editors, and by all accounts he has done a good job of it. His editorial, entitled "Truth Knows No Deadlines," in the August issue, should be read by those who are interested in a fair assessment of some of the editorial comment which has attended our debate. I ask unani-

mous consent that the editorial be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

## TRUTH KNOWS NO DEADLINES

(By John F. Loosbrock)

On June 17 the Secretary of the Air Force made a dignified and thoughtful address in Denver, Colo. The occasion was the Honors Night banquet of the joint national meeting of the American Astronautical Society and the Operations Research Society of America. As one might logically expect the Secretary of the Air Force to do, Dr. Seamans chose to talk on a subject having to do with his duties and responsibilities. He called his talk "Planning for Strategic Deterrence in the '70s."

In the July 12 issue of *The Saturday Review*, the magazine's editor, Mr. Norman Cousins, took public umbrage at the Secretary's remarks. Or at least he purported to do so. A close reading of both the speech and the editorial reveals an almost flawless lack of resemblance between what Dr. Seamans actually said and what Mr. Cousins said he said. There are several ways to account for this singular lack of verisimilitude.

Perhaps Mr. Cousins did not read the speech, in which case his credentials for commenting upon it could be questioned. Perhaps he was merely told about the speech, in which case he was victimized by his source. Perhaps Mr. Cousins can't read, in which case it is difficult to account for his acknowledged success in publishing, a business in which few editors have become millionaires, as has Mr. Cousins.

Or perhaps he deliberately chose to deceive his readers in an effort to prove that the Secretary of the Air Force and the Department he heads represent a threat to the forthcoming arms-control talks and to world peace and stability generally.

In any case, Mr. Cousins chose to phrase his editorial in what is, literally, reverse English. He described the Secretary's speech as if it were one delivered by the Soviet Minister of Military Aviation before a Moscow audience of scientists at which two American physicists were present. (It turns out there were two Russian physicists present at the Denver meeting.) Only at the end does Mr. Cousins reveal he actually is referring to the Secretary of the US Air Force. Bearing this device in mind, let's see what Mr. Cousins said Dr. Seamans said.

Mr. Cousins said Dr. Seamans "called for a full program of antiballistic missile development."

The Secretary actually said: "The ABM program proposed by the President provides an orderly, step-by-step plan that can be halted at an early level of deployment if further expansion is not required for our security."

Mr. Cousins said Dr. Seamans said the USSR "was well advanced with a maximum ABM missile program."

We can't find a statement in the Seamans' speech that even comes close.

Mr. Cousins said Dr. Seamans said that US planners "were going to seize and maintain superiority over the USSR—not just in antiballistic missiles but in the use of space stations and devices that could deliver a succession of nuclear bombs on a string of Soviet targets."

The closest we can find is a Seamans' statement which says, "We are now working on a satellite early-warning system that would detect missiles as they are launched from land or sea."

Mr. Cousins went on to assert that the Secretary "ignored the forthcoming arms-control talks between the USA and the USSR."

Let's quote a bit more at length from Dr. Seamans: "Arms-control agreements are not

July 29, 1969

NEW JERSEY—LIST OF CASUALTIES INCURRED BY U.S. MILITARY PERSONNEL IN CONNECTION WITH THE CONFLICT IN VIETNAM, JAN. 1—MAY 31, 1969—Continued

Name and grade	Date of casualty	Home of record	Name and grade	Date of casualty	Home of record
DEATHS RESULTING FROM OTHER CAUSES—Continued			DEATHS RESULTING FROM OTHER CAUSES—Continued		
ARMY—Continued			MARINE CORPS		
Lang, James L., Sgt.	Nov. 17, 1968	Neptune.	Cancelliere, Frank Anthony, Cpl.	Mar. 15, 1969	Belleville.
Melendez, Rafael, Pfc.	Feb. 6, 1969	Hammonton.	Leary, John Dennis, LCpl.	Apr. 27, 1969	Collingswood.
Newman, Thomas McKnett, 1LT	Mar. 21, 1969	Saddle River.	Snyder, Thomas Wayne, Pfc.	Apr. 16, 1969	Millville.
Pierson, Robert Emmett, Pfc.	do.	Chatham.	Nichols, Daniel Clement, 1LT	May 13, 1969	Westfield.
Russell, Wayne Howard, Sp4	Mar. 31, 1969	Rutherford.	NAVY		
Tipton, John Edward, Sp4	Mar. 1, 1969	Pennsauken.	Franke, William Thomas, E03	Feb. 2, 1969	Williamstown.
Zicchino, Darrow Frederick, Sp4	Jan. 28, 1969	Carlstadt.			
Haver, Dale Harry, 1LT	Apr. 11, 1969	Whitehouse.			
Wemple, Earl Scott, SMaj.	Apr. 21, 1969	Netcong.			
Wilson, Elroy, SP4	Apr. 12, 1969	Jersey City.			

## ME

### FIFTY CONGRESSMEN SIGN BIPARTISAN STATEMENT CRITICAL OF GREEK JUNTA

#### HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, 50 Members of the U.S. Congress have joined in writing Secretary of State William Rogers a bipartisan letter expressing their deep concern over the situation in Greece.

These Members of Congress, including three U.S. Senators and 47 Members of the House of Representatives, have joined in calling for a "clearer sign of U.S. moral and political disapproval of the dictatorship—in Greece—be given and sustained."

Mr. Speaker, I will include the letter in the RECORD.

In addition the situation in Greece has been detailed in a series of newspaper articles published in recent days. These articles describe the concern of my fellow Members of Congress and I, including the rape of the Greek judiciary and the destruction of the educational system. I will also include them in the RECORD.

The material follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D.C., July 30, 1969.

The Honorable WILLIAM P. ROGERS,  
Secretary of State,  
Department of State,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: We are writing to you because of our deep concern over the situation in Greece, the only European nation in the Western Alliance in the post World War II period to fall to a military coup.

Authoritative reports indicate that in junta-led Greece the economy is in decline, fundamental civil liberties are suppressed, and people continue to be arrested and jailed without charge. What's more, anti-Americanism is reportedly on the increase because our long-time friends believe the United States is the principal support of a military dictatorship which has no popular base.

Our policy of occasional, tepid expressions of "hope" that the junta will return to democracy stands in rather hollow contrast to the repeated instances of high-ranking American military figures being pictured and quoted in the controlled Athens press lavishing generous comments on the junta.

Thus we find ourselves in a situation where at a time of moral and political crisis in Greece, our traditional friends of liberal, centrist, and conservative persuasion believe with bitterness that the United States sup-

ports the dictatorship and the dictatorship, on the other hand, boasts about it. In the short term, and in the long term, we are in danger of reaping the whirlwind of anti-Americanism, especially when the junta falls, as it inevitably must.

America's attitude is critical to the survivability of the junta. The sooner the junta falls, the greater the prospect that a responsible, democratic, western-oriented successor government will emerge to bind the economic and political wounds. The longer the junta lasts, the grimmer the prospect of political polarization, turmoil, bloodshed, and unpredictable consequences to Greece and our own political, moral, and military interests.

Accordingly, we respectfully urge your consideration of the following action:

1. Since the post of U.S. Ambassador to Greece, presently vacant, has taken on a growing symbolic and practical value, that it be filled by an experienced, civilian-oriented diplomat of superior credentials and not be treated as a political reward or routine promotion.
2. That a clearer sign of U.S. moral and political disapproval of the dictatorship be given and sustained.
3. That U.S. military aid to Greece should not be increased, and indeed, should be curtailed.

Sincerely,

Hon. Joseph P. Addabbo, Hon. Glenn M. Anderson, Hon. Jonathan B. Bingham, Hon. John Brademas, Hon. George E. Brown, Jr., Hon. Phillip Burton, Hon. Daniel E. Button, Hon. Shirley Chisholm, Hon. Jeffery Cohelan, Hon. John Conyers, Jr., Hon. James C. Corman, Hon. R. Lawrence Coughlin, Hon. Charles C. Diggs, Jr., Hon. Don Edwards, Hon. Joshua Eilberg, Hon. Donald M. Fraser, Hon. Jacob H. Gilbert, Hon. Seymour Halpern, Hon. Augustus F. Hawkins, Hon. Henry Helstoski, Hon. Floyd V. Hicks, Hon. Daniel K. Inouye, Hon. Charles S. Joelson, Hon. Robert W. Kastenmeier, Hon. Edward I. Koch, Hon. Robert L. Leggett, Hon. Allard K. Lowenstein, Hon. Abner J. Mikva, Hon. Patsy T. Mink, Hon. William S. Moorhead, Hon. John E. Moss, Hon. Lucien N. Nedzi, Hon. Gaylord Nelson, Hon. Robert N. C. Nix, Hon. Richard L. Ottinger, Hon. Bertram L. Podell, Hon. Adam C. Powell, Hon. Thomas M. Rees, Hon. Ogden R. Reid, Hon. Henry S. Reuss, Hon. Peter W. Rodino, Jr., Hon. Benjamin S. Rosenthal, Hon. Edward R. Roybal, Hon. William F. Ryan, Hon. William L. St. Onge, Hon. James H. Scheuer, Hon. Louis Stokes, Hon. Frank Thompson, Jr., Hon. Jerome R. Waldie, and Hon. Stephen M. Young.

WHY CLING TO THE ATHENS JUNTA?

(By Clayton Fritchey)

The Council of Europe, which includes most of the NATO countries, has warned the Greek military dictatorship to restore basic human rights by December or face

expulsion from the 18-nation body. But the junta is not impressed.

There is only one nation (the U.S.) which has decisive influence with the colonels; and as long as the U.S. does not show any signs of reacting like the Europeans, the junta can afford to snub the council's threat.

Instead of organizing or even going along with outside pressure on the colonels to reinstate democratic government in Greece, the U.S. has resumed much of the military aid it has been pouring into Greece for over 20 years. Our tanks were supposed to be used by the Greek army to contain communism, but mostly they have been used to contain the Greek people.

Many European military observers have doubts as to how much help the Greek army would be in a showdown between the NATO and Warsaw pact forces, for the junta has been purging the armed forces of some of its best officers, many trained at enormous U.S. expense. The test of an officer is no longer ability, but political reliability.

As a putative ally, Greece has also been weakened by the obvious incompetence of the colonels in managing the economy. Since the military coup two years ago, the gross national product has been slipping steadily. Theoretically, Greece is NATO's southern anchor, but in practice it is more like a soft underbelly.

If the free democratic countries of Europe can afford to cast off the junta, why does the U.S. need to cling to this tyrannical government? The old anti-Communist justification no longer has any validity. After all, the junta overthrew not a leftist, but a conservative government.

It is a tragic conclusion of the brave effort launched in 1947 by President Truman to save democratic government in the cradle of democracy. After being a virtual satellite of the U.S. for two decades, the country succumbed to military dictatorship without a struggle. It was hardly a tribute to the spirit of democracy that the U.S. was supposedly fostering in Greece all those years.

Even the situation in nearby Czechoslovakia is better than that. About the time the U.S. moved into Greece, the Russians moved into Czechoslovakia, but after 20 years of Soviet domination the passion for freedom was still so ardent that the Czechs openly defied their masters. Not even the return of Russian troops has altogether quelled it.

Leaders of the Greek resistance feel their cause is hopeless as long as the U.S. cooperates with the junta. Washington's response is confined to vacuous assertions of interest in the "full restoration of civil liberties" and the "achievement of representative government in Greece."

These pious statements do not trouble the leaders of the junta. The Deputy Premier, Stylianos Patakos, recently met with President Nixon while on a visit to Washington. Upon returning to Athens he said no American officials had raised with him any questions about Greece's internal affairs.

More importantly, Patakos, since his Washington trip has openly dashed any hopes for



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a return to constitutional government. The junta had been encouraging hopes that the dictatorship would be lifted in the near future, but now Patakos says he and his fellow officers are going to stay in power indefinitely.

"There are serious grounds for being disturbed by U.S. policy toward Greece," says Elias Demetracopoulos, the exiled editor of a conservative Athens newspaper now closed down. He thinks the grounds require "a basic and urgent review of the U.S. position by the Nixon administration, which is in the advantageous position of having no responsibility for the events and policies of the last few years."

## TIMID GREEK JUDGE SUFFERS FOR UPHOLDING PRINCIPLES

(By Alfred Friendly)

ATHENS, July 24.—Harassment of Greece's highest judge, who recently ruled against the government and refused its demands to resign, has reached the point where his physician was apparently pressured to declare him able to face an inquisition when, in fact, he had just suffered a heart attack.

The judge is Michael Stasinopoulos, president of the Greek Council of State. His illness is thought to be the result of the ordeal he was subjected to after he ordered the reinstatement of 11 Supreme Court judges fired by the junta. His physician is dependant on the government's favor for keeping his job in the state medical care system.

The 67-year-old jurist, subjected to attempted intimidation by a police officer who accused him of faking illness, has, so far avoided the command to appear before the junta's No. 2 personage, the deputy prime minister. Another doctor, engaged only in private practice and accordingly not subject to official intimidation, was called in by Stasinopoulos and has declared that he is indeed seriously ill.

The history of the continuing ordeal of the judge was disclosed in circumstantial detail by a thoroughly informed source. The story that emerges is of a timid, conservative, ultra-cautious man forced to become a hero in spite of himself, when there was no escape from putting his legal principles on the line.

The chronicle begins more than a year ago when the government purged some 60 judges, getting around the provision that they had permanent status by suspending the constitution, by official decree, for three days.

## MORAL CALIBER

Among those ousted were 11 judges of the Supreme Court, the highest appeals tribunal for all cases in which the state itself is not a party. The principal grounds were that the incumbent either had been identified with a political party in a way that rendered him unfit to serve, or was not of the requisite "moral caliber." Those purged were also disbarred.

The jurists appealed to the Council of State, the highest appeals court for matters in which the state is directly involved. They won their case on rescinding the disbarment, only to have the government overrule it by decree the next day. Thus they remain forbidden to practice.

In a different case, based on provisions of the new constitution that the junta itself prepared and had confirmed in a national referendum last September, the judges appealed their ouster on grounds that the constitution provided them lifetime tenure.

Stasinopoulos realized the dilemma the case would present him and his 22-judge court. A small, fragile man, chosen for the presidency of the council by the colonels themselves, he had no stomach for a fight. A deep-dyed conservative, he is distinguished, if at all, as the author of rather mediocre poetry and as someone who has tried throughout his tenure to keep his court from coming into conflict with the regime.

His thesis has been that the Council of State, an institution created in 1930, does not have the Marbury v. Madison tradition of determining the constitutionality of government acts and will only get into trouble—especially with the present dictatorship—if it tries.

## CASE STALLED

For a year, Stasinopoulos tried to duck the case, stalling it, urging the appellants to withdraw, arguing that whatever the outcome, both they and the court would lose. He did not need the warnings, which he got anyway, from his first cousin, Gen. Hadjipetros, head of the Greek equivalent of the FBI, to "be careful."

But in the end, the case was not to be avoided. In June Stasinopoulos summoned a public session of the full court. The case had been thoroughly debated and the president may or may not have known how the vote would go. He made a short speech, bidding his colleagues to take into account the position of the state but also to reflect on the requirements of their honor as judges.

Under the usual procedure, an open vote was taken, with each member, beginning with the most junior, announcing his vote and the reasons for it. By the time the tally reached the president, it was 10 to 10 (there was one absentee). Stasinopoulos voted to sustain the appeal.

He chose the narrowest possible of the six grounds on which the appeal was based, due process. He ruled that the judges could not be dismissed without first having been formally presented with reasons and charges, and having the opportunity to answer them, and being given a proper legal finding.

For the first time since it took power more than two years ago, the hitherto cool regime publicly lost its composure. It has been proceeding ever since from one flagrant action to another.

## JUDGE SUMMONED

Premier Georges Papadopoulos immediately summoned Stasinopoulos to his office and, in a rage, demanded his resignation.

At 9 the next morning, the judge presented a letter to the Ministry of Interior refusing, on grounds of the self-respect of the judiciary, to resign merely because the Premier told him to. An hour later, the official gazette published a governmental decree "accepting the resignation of the President of the Council of State" and naming his successor.

Whereupon, the 10 members of the council who had voted with Stasinopoulos submitted their resignations, also as a matter of self-respect. The chief judge's successor, meanwhile, showed himself to be a good lawyer too. He pointed out that he was not the legal President of the council until the incumbent had formally resigned, and that until then a litigant could impeach any decision on grounds that the court was illegally constituted.

The pressure on Stasinopoulos to submit a predated resignation was now immense. He was chivvied and argued with. His phone was cut off and police were placed in front of his dwelling to challenge all visitors and examine their papers.

The heart attack ensued. Shortly thereafter, about three weeks ago, Stylianos Patakos, the deputy prime minister phoned the judge—it turned out that the phone could be put back into operation when it suited the regime's convenience—and ordered him to present himself at Patakos's office. He replied that he was in no condition to leave his bed.

Next day, Stasinopoulos' physician made his morning call and without examining his patient told him he looked fine. The sick man protested that he felt terrible. At this point, the commandant of the regional police station pushed his way into the sick room and engaged in muttered conversation with the doctor. It was clear that some collusion was afoot. In a few moments, the doctor

turned back to the judge and declared loudly: "You are now in good health."

## FAKE ILLNESS

"So," said the police officer to the judge, "you've been faking illness. The doctor says you are well and therefore at 9 next Monday morning"—two days hence—"you will be in Gen. Patakos' office."

The judge's wife called in a physician in private practice. He has succeeded so far in forestalling Patakos's demand for Stasinopoulos' appearance.

Frustrated and all thumbs, the regime went Andrew Jackson one better, declaring that the court's ruling was not only unenforceable but unfounded because the subject matter was "excluded from its jurisdiction."

Also, it immediately disbarred and ordered one year banishment to a small island and to two remote hamlets for the three lawyers who had argued the Supreme Court justices' case.

George Christopoulos, Greece's ambassador to Paris, a former undersecretary of state and the Junta's nominee, reported the nature of European reaction. According to those who have seen it, the gist of his message was that Greece could not expect to remain in the Council of Europe, which is considering ousting it, unless it chooses to abide by the conventional legal and moral standards of other member governments, otherwise, it should resign from the council before it is kicked out.

The regime's response was to fire Christopoulos and replace him in Paris with a general.

## GREEK COLONELS NURTURE UNREST BY CRUSHING SCHOOL FREEDOM

(By Alfred Friendly)

ATHENS.—The young professor at the University of Athens teaching penal law was a runaway favorite. After all, he wasn't 70 years old and he spoke to the students on their own terms, lecturing as if he cared about his subject and his listeners.

But he was the cousin of, and had the same name as, the Athens lawyer George Mangakis, who had defended many targets of the regime and who is now disbarred and banished for his pains. The young professor also doubtless indulged in some extracurricular political activity himself.

So in due course it was last March he was dismissed. He chose to make something a little special of his last class and spoke, therefore, on his own conception of the role of justice and the role of law in today's world. And he disclosed, of course, that he had been sacked by a process and for reasons that mocked those principles.

When he finished, a student leaped to his feet and called for getting up a petition urging the government to rescind the dismissal. Another student—a boy from the island of Crete, whose inhabitants, the novelists tell us, wear their passions on their sleeves—upped the ante, proposing that the students take to the streets in a demonstration.

At that moment, three members of the class got to their feet simultaneously, lunged at the speaker, pinioned him, and, after a scuffle, dragged him off to arrest, along with the first student, the petition-urder. They obviously had authority for their act.

"That's what bothers most of the students: not knowing who is sitting next to you, a student like yourself or a government informer," said the young man, himself a fourth-year law student, who told me the story. "It's that, probably more than the other interventions the government has made into the—how shall I say—intellectual life of the university."

Those other "interventions" have been, principally:

The wholesale sacking of professors who were known to look without favor on the dictatorship that took power in Greece in April, 1967.

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"It's worst in the political science and economics faculties," the young student explained. "You begin a semester thinking you'll have three good professors in the course, and you find only one left."

The recent installation in every institution of higher learning of a military officer, a governor or commissioner—commisar would be the right word—from the regime. He sits in on faculty meetings, reviews every act, and presumably has veto power over the officials of each school. He determines what lectures shall be given, what courses shall be taught and what the contents should be.

But the class stoolies—the knowledge of their existence but not of their identity (except, as in the story above, when they blow their covers)—makes the sour taste in the students' mouths, a taste that grows steadily more rancid. (In Greek Universities, it should be explained, middle-aged bona fide students are commonplace, so that the appearance of an older person in a class is not an automatic revelation of an interloper.)

There is an ironic aspect to the regime's corrosion of its own educational institutions. One of the colonels' announced aims was "to create a new generation of Greeks"—by implication a generation that would be properly contemptuous of degenerate institutions like democracy, free choice and open criticism.

But what the commissar in the classroom seems to be doing is injecting a political fire into the students and awareness and loathing of Big Brother at a considerably earlier age than in the past.

Most students in Greek universities and other institutions of higher education are from the villages, from middle-class or even peasant families. (The upper crust, with money and a background of educational and especially linguistic attainments, send their children to Europe for their education.) To these young people of relatively humble origins, the university degree is the passport for escape from the primitiveness and poverty that was their parents' lot. In Greece, one's whole future depends on the university degree. Accordingly, not since Byron's day have the students been the young firebrands by whom revolutions are made, and they still are not.

Nevertheless, Greek undergraduates are not born devoid of a sense of outrage, and a recognition of it when they see it. They are not utterly quarantined from the viruses—and the vitamins—affecting students elsewhere. The guess here is that in a year or two the Greek students will begin to organize in earnest for political action. The embryos of future groupings are beginning to be seen and, as might be expected, the most developed is one with heavy Communist influence.

The moment, the Communist Party is so badly battered, with a thousand or two of its activists in the junta's prison camps, that it lies low. But extremes breed extremes. If the Greek students are, like their parents, denied democratic organizations in which to operate openly and effectively, and if they remain subjected to the academic repression the junta has now decreed, it is not hard to visualize what kind of a "new generation of Greeks" will be created.

tional Lakeshore, and the amendment I introduced to H.R. 12781, the 1970 appropriations for the Department of the Interior and related agencies. I make these comments in order to clarify a number of false statements and implications which have been raised regarding my intention in introducing such an amendment.

The amendment I introduced would have prohibited funds to be "used to enter into contracts to extend boundaries of the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore beyond the boundaries set forth in H.R. 11084 of the 91st Congress." This bill which I introduced on May 8, 1969 (H.R. 11084) specifically defines, in legal terms, the boundaries of this national park in northwest Indiana. The boundaries of this park, a park created by an act of Congress in 1966, were only vaguely outlined on a map drawn by the National Park Service. The act creating the park never defined the specific boundaries. It only gave the Secretary of the Interior the authority to buy land within a general outlined area. This area included more than 6,000 acres of land. Within its borders lie more than 500 private homes and businesses, bus and railroad lines, highways, and public utility lines and services.

The Park Service has been engaged in buying land since 1966. As of this date they have spent \$12½ million and bought 1,038 acres of land, in addition to 383 acres presently under condemnation. Because the boundaries of this park are indefinite, and more importantly, because so many private homes and businesses will be destroyed and residents forced to move to other areas. I introduced this bill to specifically define the boundaries of this Federal park and to exclude the highly developed areas of the region from acquisition by the Park Service. The effect of my bill is to reduce the size of the approximate acreage which the Park Service has been authorized to purchase. However, the areas encompassed in my bill approximate 3 square miles, including almost 2 miles of Lake Michigan shoreline.

In this regard, the comments of my colleague from Indiana, Mr. BRADEMAS, bear some revision and correction in a number of instances. He states on page H6155 that—

The bill would have affected, some persons advised me, up to 90% of the land authorized for this park.

On the next page he states—

This legislation would not define the boundaries of this national park, but would properly reduce the size of the lakeshore by over three-fourths (or 75%) of its presently authorized size.

As anyone can see, his own statements are in conflict and neither is factual. The bill I have introduced, if the gentleman would care to read it, does, in fact, define in legal terms the boundaries of the national lakeshore. Its effect is, as I have said, to reduce the size of the original authorization by a little more than 60 percent. As I have explained, I have taken this action in response to urgent requests of the residents of this area and I believe it to be necessary and imperative in order to protect the many homes and businesses from destruction

and confiscation. In this action I have been supported by hundreds of residents in this area, by resolutions from the town boards of Ogden Dunes and Dune Acres and by the full support of all the county commissioners of Porter County, in which the national lakeshore lies.

Second, there are a number of acres of land which have already been purchased by the Park Service which lie outside the boundaries defined in my bill. Mr. BRADEMAS says rightly that—

Never in the history of the National Park Service have lands authorized for a national park and purchased under such authorization been subsequently removed from any park.

But I do not believe that we need to be intimidated by such past policy. I believe the situation is important enough to warrant the action I have taken and, therefore, if the Congress approves the bill I have proposed, then we will provide the National Park Service with the appropriate authorization to resell the land at the purchase price. Mr. BRADEMAS asserts in his statement that under the present law the land would have to be sold by the General Services Administration. This, in fact, is not the case, as the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act does not permit the disposal of park land by the GSA. I, therefore, intend to make provision for the disposal of this land by an amendment to my original bill.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to conclude by saying that I completely support the idea of the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore and of the need and value of conservation as well as providing areas of recreation and esthetic enjoyment. But I believe that the present plans of the Park Service to condemn and purchase land which is highly developed and in one of the fastest growing communities in our Nation is an unwarranted and excessive intrusion of the Federal Government into the private lives of the residents of this area, particularly when many homes and businesses will be destroyed for the sake of recreation. I can only support conservation and recreation when it does not involve the destruction and disruption of vast areas and people.

I realize full well, as I am sure my colleague does, the need for a recreational area in this section of our Nation, a rapidly growing area of people and economic activity. I need not remind my colleague of the existing 2,100-acre Dunes State Park in this area. My proposal for the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore doubles the present area available for recreation; but I cannot support the plans of the Federal Government to destroy homes and businesses in order to replace them with a Federal park. The idea is outrageous and unreasonable and the costs are excessive.

This is the explanation of my position and the reasons that prompted my action, not only in introducing the amendment to the appropriation bill, but also in introducing the original bill, H.R. 11084, defining the boundaries. I urge my colleague from Indiana and all Members of the House to give this matter their closest attention and support.

## INDIANA DUNES

HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. LANDGREBE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to direct my remarks toward the statements in the RECORD of July 22, by the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. BRADEMAS) on the subject of the Indiana Dunes Na-

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KENTUCKY'S LONG-LOST COM-  
POSER OF A WORLD-FAMOUS  
MELODY

## HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 29, 1969

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, the mysteries concerning the life of a noteworthy native son of Kentucky have been the subject of the research of a distinguished Ohio jurist, who has written a very fascinating account of his findings.

Judge Earl R. Hoover, former judge of the court of common pleas in Cleveland, Ohio, and an authority on early American music, went to great lengths to unfold the unknown details of the life of the author of some of our best loved native music.

Jonathan E. Spilman, born in Maysville, Ky., and the composer of the melody we know so well in association with the words to "Flow Gently Sweet Afton" and "Away in a Manger," was the subject of this interesting study by Judge Hoover.

As a contribution to the history of American music, and as an attribute to this talented son of Kentucky, I will place in the RECORD this article by Judge Hoover which appeared in the Register, a leading historical quarterly in my State:

J. E. SPILMAN, KENTUCKY'S LONG-LOST COM-  
POSER OF A WORLD-FAMOUS MELODY REDIS-  
COVERED

(By Earl R. Hoover)

Accidentally I found a lost world celebrity—a native Kentucky song writer—J. E. Spilman. I did not set out to find him. I did not even know he was lost. When suddenly I awakened to that fact, it took me years to prove that the Spilman I discovered was the real Spilman for whom the authorities were searching. The life I turned up turned out unbelievably fantastic.

I first bumped into Spilman about a half century after he was dead. It was around 1943 in an antique shop in Harrodsburg, Kentucky. Ohio's Civil War song writer Benjamin R. Hanby, who wrote the history-making song, "Darling Nelly Gray" (about "the old Kentucky shore"), and the child's Christmas song, "Up On the House Top," had long enslaved me as a hobby, and I really was trying to find something pertaining to him—old song books containing his songs. I had never heard of Spilman.

The antique shop's proprietor was James P. Spilman. When he learned that I was interested in song writer Hanby, he had to drag out his own song writer. He did not realize he was handing me double trouble (a hobby is just that) by volunteering that his great-uncle had been a song writer, too—Rev. J. E. Spilman—who had composed the music to the old favorite, "Flow Gently Sweet Afton."

That fact alone would not have aroused me. It was the story he told me that did. He said that Spilman had married a niece of President Zachary Taylor; that he was a Presbyterian minister at Maysville, Kentucky; that his personage overlooked the Ohio River; that his wife was drowned when she was a passenger on an Ohio River steamer, the *Magnolia*, and its boiler blew up and it was destroyed as it sailed past personage right in front of her family's eyes; and that shortly thereafter, in grief, the Reverend composed the music to "Flow Gently Sweet Afton."

The great-nephew was not able to cite anything ever written about his great-uncle. He did not know any dates. As research later proved, he knew very little about the song writer, and much of it was inaccurate. Nevertheless it bore the earmarks of a story so exciting that there was incentive to give it chase.

Back home in our great Cleveland Public Library, I thought I could immediately verify the whole story that I heard in Harrodsburg, but for years stone walls stopped me—encyclopedias, musical and biographical dictionaries, treatises, histories, magazines. If the Empire State Building were to disappear it would be no less baffling.

The great-nephew's erroneous designation of the steamer as the *Magnolia* helped to deflect me from the scent because I did find a steamer *Magnolia* whose boilers exploded near Cincinnati on March 18, 1868, killing about eighty people, but no Mrs. Spilman was listed among the dead.

I was to learn that the identity of J. E. Spilman had been puzzling, even fooling leading music historians. Putting a few facts together this seemed impossible. In song books I did find the name "J. E. Spilman" printed over the music to "Flow Gently Sweet Afton." This tied Spilman up with a world immortal because the words to that song were written by Scotland's Robert Burns. Too, it is obvious that this same melody of Spilman's is also one of the most popular ones set to another famous song, "Away In A Manger." The authorship of the words to the Christmas carol, though disputed, has been frequently attributed to another world immortal, Martin Luther, and has often been called "Luther's Cradle Hymn." How can you lose a man tied up with Robert Burns and Martin Luther!

J. E. Spilman married President Zachary Taylor's niece, Eliza Taylor, daughter of Hancock Taylor. That means that Spilman's wife was a cousin to Zachary Taylor's daughter, Sarah, who married Jefferson Davis. That made Spilman's lost identity even more baffling. How could a man just drop out of sight who was tied up with four such famous people—a great poet—a great theologian—a president of the United States—and the president of the Confederacy? A man who, more than a century before, had written a melody still known the world over, even to children? A man who created something immortal—a tune sung to two world famous lyrics? A man whose name appeared over his melody in millions of old favorite song books, a copy of which was in almost every home? A man, as shall later be revealed, who was tied up with other well known figures?

On checking, I found that the late John Tasker Howard, then head of the American Music Division of the New York Public Library, said nothing about Spilman in his monumental, 841-page *Our American Music*. Other treatise writers were also helpless in penetrating the mystery.

In his equally monumental, 720-page *A History of Popular Music in America*, the late Sigmund Spaeth lavished just two sentences on Spilman, and used up two words to call him "a Philadelphian" which later proved to be entirely erroneous. I wrote the authoritative Mr. Spaeth asking for his authority for this. He replied, "I am not sure that I can give you the exact source of my information... but I know that this has been printed several times in the past and is generally accepted as the truth."

I wrote to the late Elliott Shapiro, of the music publishing firm, Shapiro, Bernstein & Co., Inc., of New York City, who was co-author of the book *Early American Sheet Music*. He suggested that I write to Richard S. Hill, Music Division, Library of Congress, saying "Spilman seems to be a fairly unknown proposition."

I wrote the late Richard Hill, thinking that surely in his great library, of thirty-six acres

of floor space and hundreds of miles of book shelves, he had an instant, conclusive Spilman clue. He replied, "I am delighted that you have chosen J. E. Spilman as your next hobby. He is so complete an enigma that I would not be surprised if you could make him into your life work." "Besides," he added, "were I to hand you all the answers on a silver salver, it would completely ruin your fun."

Hill had already been on the Spilman hunt; and that "Philadelphia" red herring had harassed him too, for he wrote me, "I had a brief fling at trying to find a few answers to questions about him (Spilman). . . . The only intriguing lead is that family of Spilman's in Philadelphia. The name is spelled so many different ways in the different entries that you can almost hear the accent—I would guess that the name is really Spielman—that the family arrived in this country from Germany not long before their first appearance in the Philadelphia directories in 1837, and that some of the children were born abroad. This must have been true of 'J. E.' if my guesses are correct, since 'Flow Gently' was first published in 1838. A good deal of hard digging, however, is going to be needed to establish even this much about the family—particularly since I am by no means certain that 'J. E.' was one of the barber's sons or relatives."

In my hunt, two irksome things were those initials "J. E." For what did they stand? In the original sheet music and in most song books they were just "J. E." To add to the annoyance, I found one song book giving it "James E." and another giving it "Jonathan E." The forces that lost Spilman seemed purposely to be throwing up confusion to keep him lost. I met another "err-itation"—Spilman spelled with two l's. In my bewilderment I had good company. Richard Hill wrote me, "I have a hunch that you will find that 'Jonathan' and 'James' are nothing better than surmises. I would be hard put to say why, but it would not surprise me in the least if it turned out that J. E. stood for Jane Eliza. At any rate, I am quite certain that it would be thoroughly unwise to shut out one's mind to the possibility that J. E. was a lady."

When I wrote Hill that I believed Spilman was a preacher, he cautioned me, "If you look over these titles (meaning Spilman's seven songs in the Library of Congress) . . . you will agree that the editor who added 'Rev.' to his name was making a . . . wild guess. . . . None of the songs refer to him as a 'Reverend.'"

With such noted music historians stumped, I may have been up a tree if the Harrodsburg antique dealer had not placed in my hands some leads that the historians apparently did not have. He had said that the song writer was a Presbyterian minister at Maysville, Kentucky. Surely the Commonwealth of Kentucky and Presbyterianism had the answer.

I wrote to the Kentucky Historical Society whose headquarters in the Old State House at Frankfort. It replied, "We find very little information about Spilman," but it did identify him as "a Philadelphian." I wrote back and asked for its authority for this statement. It replied, "A *History of Popular Music in America* by Sigmund Spaeth." Apparently it had borrowed the mistake that Sigmund Spaeth had borrowed from Richard Hill.

This was the most baffling of all. One can imagine some states that might lose such a son, but not history-conscious Kentucky, because as we shall see, Spilman was born in Kentucky and lived there about fifty years. Yet I found no leading Kentucky history that credited him with his world-resounding achievement. At Bardstown, the Commonwealth of Kentucky has gone all out to honor a native Pennsylvania song writer, Stephen Foster, but it has done little, if anything, to



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"Yes," most lawyers will persuade the juvenile to acknowledge the offense and submit to the jurisdiction of the juvenile court. If any of the answers is negative, the attorney should not "throw the juvenile upon the mercy of the court." To protect his client's interest, he should contest the court's jurisdiction.

Immediately there comes to mind the juvenile who, in the eyes of the attorney and any impartial observer, did commit the offense but refuses to admit it. (This is much more characteristic than the case of the juvenile who admits his fault but whose attorney insists upon a trial.) In my opinion, the provision of due process of law for such a recalcitrant juvenile is most therapeutic.

He should (and will, if the police cooperate) be proven guilty of the crime despite his protestations of innocence. He will have had his day in court and have learned that law enforcement can and does arrive at the truth by fair, effective procedures. He will believe, be several steps further down the road to rehabilitation than if he had—for the administrative convenience of the judiciary—been persuaded against his wishes to admit the offense and forgo his day in court.

To sum up in one sentence: I am firmly convinced that the extension of due process of law to juveniles—however burdensome or inconvenient it may be to police, social workers, judges and juvenile court personnel—is an unmitigated benefit to the juveniles concerned.

ME

# A GUIDE TO CONTEMPORARY GREECE

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, on March 11, 1969 I placed in the RECORD an article by George Anastaplo entitled, "Greece Today and the Limits of American Power." On April 2, 1969 I placed in the RECORD an article by George Anastaplo entitled, "The Passions of Greece Today," and "Retreat From Politics: Greece, 1967." The former article dealt with the contemporary political situation in Greece and the dilemma we Americans find ourselves in—the dilemma of supporting and fostering the current undemocratic regime. The latter two articles presented a cogent analysis of how Greece appeared to a knowledgeable American observer who viewed its first-hand throughout 1967.

Today I would like to place in the RECORD selected portions of an article entitled "A Guide to Contemporary Greece, Especially for Greek-Americans." I think the excerpts of this article will be of special interest to anyone interested in current political developments as well as to Greek Americans.

The article referred to follows:

A GUIDE TO CONTEMPORARY GREECE, ESPECIALLY FOR GREEK-AMERICANS<sup>1</sup>

(By George Anastaplo)

JOHN ANASTAPLO. Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. We have as our guest this eve-

ning my brother Professor George Anastaplo, Lecturer in the Liberal Arts at the University of Chicago and Chairman of the Political Science Department at Rosary College in River Forest, Illinois. He also holds an appointment as Professor of Politics and Literature at the University of Dallas. Our guest is knowledgeable in contemporary Greek affairs and has published several articles on that subject. This is what he is here to discuss with those listeners in our radio audience who telephone us this evening.

We have on the news wires this weekend the following report from Salonika, Greece: "A Greek military tribunal has handed out sentences ranging from 13 months to life for 37 members of a Communist-led terrorist band.

"Three of the defendants were ordered deported. Two persons out of the 39 on trial were acquitted of charges of various conspiracies.

"The group was charged with plotting to assassinate former premier Constantine Kollas and with conspiracy to blow up the American consulate in Salonika and the NATO bases in the north of the country."

That is the report from Salonika. Perhaps some of you listeners heard the report earlier this week of the arrest of fifteen retired Army generals in Greece. Rumors circulated at that time that an attempt to oust the army-backed regime and to restore self-exiled King Constantine to power in Greece had been crushed before it actually got under way. All those arrested were known backers of King Constantine who fled to Rome, you will remember, after his unsuccessful attempt to oust the junta in December 1967. The "colonels", as they are called, have been in power now a little over two years. They seized power in April 1967.

Let's ask my brother George what he feels is going on in Greece these days.

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. I think, John, that the most significant development in Greece today, and the one we Americans should be most concerned about, is that American installations—the American consulate in the news report you just read, for instance as well as American automobiles, the property of American personnel stationed in Greece—are now beginning to be subject to attack. This indicates that resentment is beginning to be expressed violently at the role of the United States in Greece. And it is that role—the role of the United States in Greece today—that I am most concerned about. I am, of course, concerned also about the state of affairs in their country for the Greeks themselves—for, to put it simply, Greece today is living under a tyranny. It is a tyranny that is worse than some tyrannies in the world today and milder than some others, but I think it does no good to overlook the fact that it is a tyranny with all the consequences that that will have both for us as an ally of that tyranny and for the Greeks as the victims of it.

JOHN ANASTAPLO. You were in Greece last fall when the election was held.

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. That is right, in September, when the constitutional referendum was held.

JOHN ANASTAPLO. Could every one vote in referendum who wanted to vote and could they vote for whatever they wanted to vote?

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. One could vote "Yes" or "No" on a constitution presented by the government. One could vote "No," but in many places outside the large cities the vote of "Yes" was the only vote that seemed safe.

JOHN ANASTAPLO. Is there much resentment in Greece toward the military junta? Is there much outspoken resentment and dislike? You don't see much of it in evidence.

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. One has to distinguish between two groups in the Greek population

(or, for that matter, in any population). There are those who are somewhat independently informed and there are those who have their opinions formed by propaganda. The latter group will easily take their lead from the government in power, no matter what that government is, especially if there is no opposition permitted. This group can be the majority of a country. The former group—which includes in Greece the leading military officers, the intellectuals of the country, the university people, the former politicians and many of the most prominent businessmen—is most skeptical about this government. Many of these people are even bitter about it. But what can they do about it? The difficulty is that the informed Greeks recognize themselves to be prisoners of a ruthless military minority. They are not even prisoners of the Army, but of a small number of officers within the Army, a handful of officers who took power by deception one night, who are holding it by the use of whatever means they can employ, and who claim they have the support of the United States. It is difficult and dangerous in such circumstances to express openly one's resentment, but resentment and disaffection are there.

JOHN ANASTAPLO. Why is there so much support for the colonels' regime among Greeks living in this country?

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. For many Greek-Americans, the military stands for that force which after the Second World War saved Greece from Communism. So it is natural for Greek-Americans to say, "We don't want Greece to go Communist. We don't want it to go behind the Iron Curtain. The military saved Greece during the bitter civil war of 1945-1949. The military made great sacrifices to save Greece at that time. Now they are doing it again." What the Greek-American doesn't realize is that it is not the military that is ruling Greece today. All one has to do to realize this is to consider the widespread purges that have taken place in the Army at the hands of this particular clique of officers. The colonels are retiring from active duty virtually all officers senior to them in order to be able to continue to hold their power. This is not the military that is ruling Greece: this is a minority of junior officers who have broken their oaths to their king and their country, who have seized power with a well-executed conspiracy and who mean to hold it indefinitely.

JOHN ANASTAPLO. I support the most open display of disaffection toward the present government was at the funeral last November of George Papandreu.

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. There have been two significant displays of disaffection. That was the second one. The first great display was in December 1967 when King Constantine made his attempt to overthrow the colonels' regime. His attempt was poorly executed: certain forces which he had counted on were not available. What the people who are now ruling Greece are good at is conspiracy, and hence counterconspiracy. They were able to stop the King's effort before it could really get rolling. But the King, in the course of his attempt, visited the city of Kavalla, which had been for years anti-royalist. When the people of Kavalla heard the King was making an attempt to overthrow this government and that he was in their city—and this I have personally heard from people who were there that day—they filled the streets, picked up the King and carried him through the city in a spontaneous demonstration. Thousands upon thousands of people thus expressed themselves in a way that the colonels' government never has been able to arrange—whereas the Kavalla demonstration was anything but prearranged. In fact, the current premier of Greece dares not permit himself to be exposed in a crowd in this way: his security precautions are, I believe, unprecedented for a Greek premier. The other great demonstration against the colonels was, as you indicated, in Athens, in No-

<sup>1</sup> This article is a transcript of an unhearsd interview, set out in its entirety, conducted by John Anastaplo on his nightly radio program, "The American Scene," WJOB (East Chicago-Hammond, Indiana), Saturday, May 31, 1969 (between 7:30 and 10:00 p.m.).

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F. O'Leary, Director of the U.S. Bureau of Mines, said:

We are beginning to discern already the outlines of a major shortage of natural gas.

In response to questioning in the hearing, he estimated that by next winter natural gas distributors will be unable to provide service to new customers because of supply shortage.

Speaking from a more personal point of view, Mr. Speaker, practically every single State in the Union, and a very large percentage of the congressional districts, would be adversely affected economically if we were to alter these long-proven, time-honored tax principles on the same 100 extractive industries. In my own State of New Mexico, we have substantial production in only seven of these industries—copper, manganese ore, molybdenum, perlite, petroleum, potash, and uranium—but alteration of the percentage depletion allowances would severely cripple our tax base from which we derive the income for the construction of our roads, the financing of our schools and educational programs, and other important services.

New Mexico is the sixth largest petroleum-producing State with production almost equal to that of Brazil, Chile, and West Germany combined. More than 13,000 New Mexicans are employed in some phase of the petroleum industry. Their payrolls amount to almost \$73 million annually, or \$73 for every man, woman, and child in the State. The petroleum industry spends almost \$274 million annually for production supplies and equipment in New Mexico. Last year, oil and gas operations paid \$60,130,000 in direct revenues to the State—not counting local taxes or approximately one-fourth of all New Mexico State tax revenues.

A careful examination of our past experiences indicates that certainly we must at least maintain these proven incentives and tax principles, not reduce them, if our Nation is to have sufficient, reasonably priced, reliable supplies of petroleum essential to its future security and economic strength.

JUVENILE COURT PROCEDURE—EXCERPTS FROM ADDRESS BY ASSOCIATE JUVENILE COURT JUDGE ORMAN W. KETCHAM

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.  
OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES  
Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, the adjustments in Juvenile Court procedure necessitated by the Gault decision of the Supreme Court have been the subject of some controversy. In a recent speech to the National Institute on Crime and Delinquency, in Boston, Associate Judge Orman W. Ketcham, of the Juvenile Court of the District of Columbia, made worthwhile observations on the value of those changes.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the excerpts from the speech, published in the Washington Post of

July 20, 1969, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DUE PROCESS FOR JUVENILES BEATS FOLKSY "JUSTICE"

(By Orman W. Ketcham)

Many cries of havoc have emanated from judges, administrators and social workers in juvenile courts concerning the new and time-consuming burdens that the provision of due process of law for juveniles has occasioned. But the substance of our law should not be dependent upon the administrative convenience of our court system. In most urban courts today, the time devoted to a juvenile's case has become notoriously short. New procedures required by the Gault decision will now assure the juvenile a larger segment of his "day in court."

Those who expound the "parens patriae" philosophy believe that the introduction of due process of law will diminish the informality which has been the juvenile court's hallmark and circumscribe the discretion of the juvenile court judge. True. But those features have been tried and found wanting.

The first result of the advent of due process is to assure the juvenile a judicial hearing the outcome of which is not foreordained. It used to be the boast of the most jingoistic members of the "father knows best" philosophy that less than one-tenth of 1 per cent of all juveniles charged ever denied their offenses. Such a sudden candor and contrition from antisocial and alienated youth are so unbelievable that I submit that juveniles accused of offenses in such courts were never given any opportunity to deny the charges. The presumption of their guilt was well-nigh irrefutable.

A THERAPEUTIC PROCESS

In our American system we take pride in operating a government of laws, not of men. To set an example of this principle, due process of law should afford the juvenile the opportunity to dispute the factual assertions of policemen, school teachers, social workers and even his parents. This is granted not because all such adults are untrustworthy, but because some are.

After a fair and impartial judicial hearing, if the allegations are not accurate, the juvenile has been vindicated through a system of justice which rates high in his esteem. If the facts of the charge are correct, their careful establishment by legal rules will usually convince the juvenile that truth and justice are immutable, rather than dependent upon his cooperation or lack of it.

Either way, I believe that providing a juvenile with his proper day in court is a very therapeutic process which builds respect for law and justice.

The lawyer who represents a juvenile is in an unparalleled position to foster his client's greater understanding of the legal system which is the cement of our society. A boy charged with delinquency for the first time feels very much alone. Whether justifiably or not, he sees police, school authorities, court officials and even sympathetic social workers as demanding, judgmental and often hostile. In many instances, even his parents appear to be critical and antagonistic.

But his attorney, if he properly follows his ethical responsibilities, will be an adult firmly pledged to understand and present the best interests of the juvenile as the boy sees them. Court appointment of a lawyer can create a strong, new impression that the juvenile court law serves the boy, too, and is not just an agent of adult authority.

Providing a juvenile with tangible forms of due process of law, such as an effective way of expressing sincere concern for a youth in trouble than offering him a cigarette on his trip to the detention home.

A juvenile who is given effective assistance by his attorney will have the entire legal process explained and interpreted to him: the preadjudication process, the trial, the judge's decision and the dispositional decree. This should, and usually does, enhance the understanding of the youth and his parents of our judicial system and the law of the land.

LESS FOLKSY BUT FAIRER

Before the advent of due process of law in the juvenile court, the only limit which the law placed upon the "parens patriae" power of the judge was the requirement that he act in "the best interests of the juvenile"—a highly subjective and almost unchallengeable maxim. Due process of law now substitutes established legal procedures for unbridled judicial discretion.

Informality and the "arm-round-the-shoulder" approach to juvenile justice are being replaced by an arm's-length due process system of justice. Even adversary proceedings are available upon demand. The results should be less folksy, but lots fairer.

The post-Gault system sharply diminishes the paternalistic attitude of juvenile courts, which has been so hated by a majority of youth. Instead of a juvenile receiving justice (or leniency) as a matter of grace or adult "noblesse oblige," he is now entitled to the equal protection of the law just as an adult would be. An alienated juvenile will be treated as a first-class citizen with a full measure of individual rights.

Instead of the dominant father and the dependent child prototypes, the new philosophical approach stresses both equal opportunity and equal responsibility for each juvenile. Since the stated goal of our socialization and maturation process is the creation of mutual respect between individuals, this new principle of equality may well lay the groundwork for good citizenship which will last long after the relationship between probation officer and juvenile offender is forgotten.

Finally, the guarantee that a juvenile will be counseled by a lawyer (which I believe should be mandatory and unwaivable) is an assurance of due process of law in itself. A good lawyer protects the interests of his juvenile client at every stage of the proceeding, even unto the treatment stage. For example, if the juvenile offender has an addiction to heroin, his lawyer can insist upon his "right to treatment" rather than settling for incapacitation or incarceration.

The advent of lawyers into the juvenile court also means that more of the organized bar will be indoctrinated in both the techniques and the problems of the court. There is no more powerful advocate of a budgetary cause before a legislature than a convinced lawyer. Hence, a lawyer may not only demand treatment for his client; there is hope that he will also obtain the funds necessary for the long-lacking facilities to rehabilitate youthful offenders and keep the promise of the juvenile court compact.

One of the canards most frequently stated about the introduction of due process of law into juvenile courts is that the juvenile is prevented from receiving the rehabilitative treatment he needs to save him from a criminal career. This begs several questions. An attorney for such juvenile must ask himself three vital subsidiary questions before answering the ultimate one:

1. Has the juvenile actually done the offense which is supposed to demonstrate his need for rehabilitation?
2. If he has done the offense, is there a recognized behavioral science procedure or treatment that will correct his fault and save him from a criminal career?
3. If he has done the offense and there is a recognized behavioral science procedure or treatment that will correct his fault and save him from a criminal career?

If the answer to those three questions is

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vember 1968, at the funeral of George Papandreou. Evidently, the central part of Athens was packed that day with people who expressed in this way their opinion of the colonels' regime. American reporters spoke of hundreds of thousands as having been involved in that demonstration—many more, evidently, than had voted against the constitutional referendum in that area six weeks earlier. They were thus expressing themselves in what they considered a genuine referendum.

JOHN ANASTAPLO. Why has American aid to Greece been restored? It was cut off for awhile after the colonels took power in April 1967, but I understand it has been restored. What is the justification for this?

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. Aid was cut down in early 1967—it was never cut off completely—in the hope that the cut might publicly indicate that Americans are somewhat reluctant to ally themselves with this regime, perhaps even in the hope that it might help move this regime back toward constitutional government. After the constitutional referendum of September 1968 which we have referred to, the American government restored its military aid, perhaps under the assumption, "Well, they have had a referendum; now, the country is somehow back under a constitution." The first American mistake was not to cut aid off completely; then, it was a mistake to take that constitutional referendum as being anything other than a fixed election. Thus, I think it was a mistake to restore our aid; I think it is a mistake now to continue it. In fact, I believe that the American government is partly responsible for the continuation of the colonels' regime and that it will be held to be largely responsible by the Greek people in due time. The sooner we disassociate ourselves from that crowd now in Athens, the better off we will be in the long run. It is not difficult to work out a program of what the United States should do now—and this I have done and have presented to people in the State Department on several occasions. The interesting question for me tonight relates to something somewhat different, and that is the role of the Greek-American community in all this. Inside Greece the colonels' principal sources of support are the arms they have and the dread in the Greek people of another civil war: the colonels can use those arms against the Greeks and they know the Greek people will not resist as quickly as they might otherwise resist if they had not had so terrible a civil war only a generation ago. Outside Greece there are two principal sources of support for the colonels: first, the United States, because of its acquiescence in and its lukewarm support of the regime, and second, the attitude of the Greek community abroad, particularly the Greek-American community. It is very unseemly that Greek-Americans, living in a free country (most of them—the ones I am thinking—having been born in Greece, for it is primarily the older generation, I am referring to), should allow themselves to become the spokesmen and the supporters of a tyranny that is as bad for Greece as, say, the Russian tyranny is for the Czechs and the Slovaks.

JOHN ANASTAPLO. I noticed Bill Mauldin's cartoon in the Chicago Sun-Times last Wednesday, showing the prisoner's ball-and-chain on both the Greeks and the Czechs, with "Imported Tyranny" written on the Czech ball and "Domestic Tyranny" on the Greek ball.

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. Yes, that does sum it up neatly. The curious thing about the Greek-American support of the colonels is that the alternative to this regime—the most plausible, immediate alternative to this regime—is a government under a conservative, experienced Greek. I am referring, of course, to Constantine Karamanlis, who is now living in Paris. In fact, it is hard to find a more

prominent politician in Greece who would not be an improvement over the tyranny of the colonels. But Constantine Karamanlis is the most plausible alternative. Why the leaders of the Greek-American community, instead of throwing their support to a government formed by Mr. Karamanlis—which is what most Greeks today would support and which is what the State Department would probably be relieved to go along with—why, instead of throwing their support to him, as an alternative to the colonels, that community and its leaders continue to support the band of usurpers which is ruining the country of Greece is very difficult for me to understand.

LISTENER No. 1. In the event of a civil war in Greece, do you feel the United States would step in immediately?

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. That would be a serious decision. If we allow the situation to deteriorate to such a condition that the decent, informed and energetic people in that country begin to take up arms against their present tyrants, what should then be our position? It is hard to know what we would do. The people who will eventually put up armed resistance will have with them Greeks of the Left, including Communists, as well as Greeks of the Right and Center. The United States might then argue, especially when it detects in that armed resistance people who are labelled "Communists," "Well, the colonels we know. The other people we don't know. Therefore, we will support the colonels." We will thus have made a bad situation even worse. That is why I have been arguing that now is the time to get rid of the colonels and to allow the Greeks to replace them with a conservative experienced leader such as Mr. Karamanlis.

It is, as I said, very hard to lay down a requirement for other people to follow, especially when it means risking their lives. But that is not our problem. Our immediate problem is, What can we do, what should we do—

LISTENER No. 2. As Americans—

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. As Americans, in a situation where conditions are deteriorating and civil war is facing our ally? If we were confronting a situation where we had no responsibility at all for what is there or where we could do nothing at all once conditions have deteriorated, then we could justly say, "That is a Greek internal affair. Let the Greeks settle their own affairs." We could properly stay out of it. If that were really the situation, such a course of action on our part would be defensible, perhaps even necessary: we could sit back and watch. But that is not what is going to happen. We are going to be involved—we are involved, we have been involved—and I am wondering whether it would not be more intelligent to move now when we can help the Greeks replace the colonels by a friend of ours who is popular in Greece, who is experienced and reliable, and thus help the Greeks avoid a civil war which can lead to the destruction of all that we value in that country. That is the risk we are running by going along as we are with the colonels.

LISTENER No. 2. It is not too late for Greece?

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. It is not too late for Greece. In Czechoslovakia we simply don't have the influence we have in Greece. In Greece, we have great influence—and not only the United States government, but the Greek-American community as well. The Greek-American community has allowed itself to be deluded about what is going on in Greece today and about what is good for the country of their relatives. The Czechs and Slovaks in this country, on the other hand, are not deluded about how things are in their country. Neither are the Hungarians.

Americans. I cannot think of any people who are as deluded about what is going on in their homeland as are Greek Americans, and especially Greek-American leaders, at this time.

LISTENER No. 3. Does all this mean there are no elections there?

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. No elections. In fact, the government has systematically removed from office, high and low alike, the officials the Greeks had elected over the years. It has replaced them by appointing, or reappointing, men considered loyal to the present government. The Greeks have had no elections for any office whatsoever since the colonels took over. Nor are they about to have any elections that mean anything. If they have any elections under this government, they will be like a Russian election. They had a referendum on a constitution last September, Russian-style. You know how that is: you vote for the government slate or you vote for nothing. There was no question about the outcome last September. Any parliamentary elections the colonels conduct will be roughly the same: any election conducted by them will be a fraud. Only the uninformed or the cynical will approve of them. One has only to consider how the extensively documented charges of deliberate torture in Greece are being handled by the Greek-American press and by the Greek government. It is time to be blunt with such people, for Greece's good.

LISTENER No. 4. Do you believe the Greeks will have to go to war to regain their freedom?

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. I think it would be better if it didn't come to that, because if there is recourse to war, one cannot predict how it will turn out. One cannot predict how things will go. After all, we have our experience in Viet Nam, of which the Greeks are quite aware: things don't always work out the way one expects. The Greeks are no better equipped to set a limit to war than we have been.

GA—GEORGE ANASTAPLO

LISTENER No. 6. Historically, it seems to me, we have been backing military juntas all over the world since the Second World War. I don't see why this should be any different.

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. We haven't been backing only military regimes. It's too bad, and even harmful, that our government has given our citizens generally the impression you have. In Europe, for instance, we have been backing for the most part constitutional governments, genuinely constitutional governments. Greece, we should remember, is part of our NATO alliance in Europe. Virtually every other country in the NATO alliance is a free government, that is, a government freely chosen by the citizens of its country. This means that Greece has become for us a sad exception in Europe. Furthermore, we are backing in Greece a minority of officers who are going to get us into serious trouble, militarily, politically and economically. That is to say, we are going to end up picking up the bill for the mess the colonels are making of the Greek economy; we are going to have trouble militarily, because if civil war does begin, we are going to have the problem of deciding whom we are going to back; and we are going to have trouble politically, because no matter how it all comes out, if we don't hurry up and do something decisively public about it, Greeks will for many years to come look back and say, "America was responsible for the years of tyranny we suffered." Whether that will be true or not, that is certainly what they are going to be saying. The sad part about it all, I want to repeat, is that the alternative, and the alternative that all parties are generally willing to accept, is a man who is a conservative,



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who is a friend of the United States, who is very experienced, who is very well regarded, who was for eight years prime minister, who is available and who would have very little trouble coming to power if American support for him should develop. That, of course, is Mr. Karamanlis, who is the most plausible alternative at this moment to the colonels. It is hard, I want also to repeat, to think of any prominent politician who would not be an improvement over the tyrants who now control Greece. Mr. Karamanlis is not indispensable. But he is, for several reasons, most convenient as an immediate alternative to the colonels.

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LISTENER No. 7. I am not Greek, but I am interested. What are the other NATO countries doing about the situation in Greece? Is there not a way for them to put on pressure, without the emphasis being just on America?

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. Several of them have spoken out very strongly. For instance, the Scandinavian countries (some who are in NATO, some not) have been quite strong against the regime. Great Britain has spoken out as well. The Prime Minister of Greece denounced on the floor of the House of Commons what he called the "bestialities" of the Greek regime, referring to the tortures. That was last year, long before such things as the recent May 27th issue of *Look* magazine came out with its detailed account of what is going on in Greece. Public opinion is far clearer in Europe about what the nature of that regime is than ours here. The same can be said about the Greek communities in Europe, outside of Greece, as well as about the Greek-Canadian community.

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LISTENER No. 7. Are Greek-Americans afraid to take sides because they are getting two different points of view?

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. The ones I am thinking of are not afraid of taking sides. If they would refuse to take sides, that would be far better than what they are doing now. They are taking sides. I am talking about the older Greek-Americans, the "opinion leaders," the ones who have influence in Washington, the ones who have money, the ones who own the Greek-American press. The Greek-American newspapers, for instance, have been terrible. This is most recently evident in the way they have responded to the *Look* revelations about Greek tortures, tortures that informed and responsible men all over Europe have known about for at least a year now. If one follows Greek-American newspapers, one sees week after week that most of the articles on Greek affairs come from the Greek government. This seems to be true of many if not all of the Greek-American newspapers in this country: they are simply taking the stuff and printing it as it comes from Greek government sources. This one can notice just by looking through several of them, especially if one knows the sources. One often sees, for instance, material that is handed out by the Greek Embassy in Washington published as news by the Greek-American press.

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LISTENER No. 7. How is the press coverage about Greece in this country?

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. If you read the *New York Times* or the *Christian Science Monitor* or any of the European papers, you find that this regime is a failure. If you read the Greek-American press, you find it is a great success. Whom should you believe and why? Let me suggest something to you. You have Greek-American friends?

LISTENER No. 7. Yes.  
GEORGE ANASTAPLO. Let me suggest some simple questions to ask them. Don't ask them what their peasant relatives say when they visit Greece, because peasants can't know what they are talking about on certain issues. It often takes a long time to get

down to the peasants what is happening to their country. Ask them, if they have been following Greek affairs for years, "Of the man you once thought was the best man in Greece—whoever he was, whether you thought it was a man of the Left or of the Center or of the Right, whether you thought it was a general or the King—of the one or two or three men you thought highly of before 1967, what does that man, or what do those men, think of this regime now?" Now, that is a very safe question for me to suggest that you ask. I don't have to know who it was they admired, who they looked up to. But if they were following Greek affairs before 1967, they had somebody, some public figure, whom they respected, somebody in Greek politics or somebody in the Greek military or somebody in the social or cultural life of Greece. Who was he and what does that man say now? In almost every case, everybody who was once anybody is now against this regime. You can then challenge your Greek-American friend: "Look, you once admired a certain man—X or Y or Z, whether he was of the liberal party or of the conservative party, whether he was a royalist or an anti-royalist—you once admired him. Why is he also against the colonels? In fact, why is anybody against them? Why is virtually everybody who ever knew anything about Greek politics and the Greek government against these people?" Is it just a coincidence that this is so?

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LISTENER No. 10. Is there any Communist faction in the country at all?

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. This government is said to be anti-Communist. There are people who are resisting this government who are Communists. There are others who are resisting it who are non-Communists. This is evident in the two news dispatches my brother referred to at the beginning of this program. My impression is that, so far, more non-Communists than Communists resisting the government have been tried and imprisoned in Greece for opposing the present government.

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LISTENER No. 10. Do you feel we are now giving help to the dictators?

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. Certainly, we are helping the dictators of Greece. The American government admits that we are supplying arms to them. We are also supplying indirect aid of certain kinds. I think we should stop it completely. I also think that if we indicated very strongly what our position was—if we made it clear that we believe the colonels to be bad for Greece—the Greek army would rise up and throw these people out.

LISTENER No. 10. Would there be leadership of any kind for such an uprising?

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. Yes, the best officers are still against this regime.

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JOHN ANASTAPLO. Wouldn't you say that leadership for a successful attempt to oust the colonels would have to come from this shore, from Greek-Americans, and that that leadership has been slow in coming?

GEORGE ANASTAPLO. That, it seems to me, would be the safest way for both the United States and Greece. It is only if the Greek-American community and the United States take a public position different from that which it is well known in Greece they have been taking up to now—only if that happens may bloodshed be avoided. I have been deliberately directing my arguments on this subject to those whom I can hope to reach, my fellow-citizens in this country. I leave it to others to tell the Greeks what they should do or to tell Europeans what they should do. It is important to emphasize at this time what we Americans can do. If we don't do what we should do, then the Greeks will be forced to do what they don't want to do, and that is to fight. These now seem to be the likely alternatives.

## MICHIGAN LEADER HEADS KIWANISANS

### HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 28, 1969

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, recently Robert F. Weber of Detroit was elected president of Kiwanis International at the organization's 54th annual meeting in Miami Beach, Fla.

As a Kiwanian in the Senate who represents Michigan, I am pleased and proud that a distinguished Detroitite has been chosen to head this outstanding international service organization.

In a recent letter to me, Mr. Weber pointed out that Kiwanis International is launching a major emphasis program called "Operation Drug Alert." Under the program, each of the 5,000 local Kiwanis Clubs will tackle the growing problem of drug abuse as a major concern in 1969-70.

Mr. President, I can attest to the fact that Kiwanis has many other fine goals as well. I ask unanimous consent that resolutions adopted by the recent convention, indicating the scope of the organization undertakings, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE 54TH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF KIWANIS INTERNATIONAL IN MIAMI-MIAMI BEACH, FLA., JULY 2, 1969

#### 1. WE BUILD WITH GOD

Whereas our first Object charges Kiwanians "To give primacy to the human and spiritual, rather than to the material values of life," and

Whereas our nations were founded, are presently sustained, and anticipate the future through the providence of God, and

Whereas His strength supports us in proportion to our faith in Him,

Therefore be it resolved by the delegates to the 54th Convention of Kiwanis International that in response to our stewardship of God's many gifts, we Kiwanians pledge to place spiritual values first in all matters of judgment, and

Be it further resolved that as we build with God, we renew our determination to remain at all times humble and subservient to His will.

#### 2. DRUG ABUSE

Whereas enlightened leadership throughout the world decries the illicit drug traffic which exists at the expense of millions of people and leads to their ruination, and

Whereas Kiwanis International has recognized the evils of drug abuse and its increasing prevalence in our communities, sapping our moral fibre and destroying the human being, and

Whereas drug addiction and dependence in their inception and continuance have spread from the areas of undesirable association with a criminal environment to a growing segment of our society at all economic levels, and

Whereas the lack of knowledge of the effects of drugs has combined with the permissiveness of our affluent society to stimulate an increasing trend toward drug abuse among our youth

Therefore be it resolved that Kiwanis International, through its member clubs, commit itself, and through the adoption of a major emphasis program wherein Kiwanis

million people in over 25 countries behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains who are daily being denied their basic freedoms.

Captive Nations Week was designed to show those oppressed peoples the continuing support of the citizens of the United States for any effort to regain independence from Communist-dominated and dictatorial rule. It also acts as a reminder to the Communist aggressors of our intention to combat any encroachments upon the free world.

The "captive nations" are the Achilles heel of the Red Empire. They comprise an insecure bloc to the Communists, one which, in time of crisis, could throw the balance against totalitarianism. Realizing this, the Communist leaders have traditionally made alarmed responses to any advance news of the annual Captive Nations Week. It is this response which gives final proof of the worth of this commemoration as a reminder of our responsibility as representatives of this great Nation in extending hope to freedom loving people everywhere.

I urge that Americans take time this week to remember those behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains who have lost their freedoms, and to pledge support and action in the continuing struggle to regain peace and freedom in the world.

CONGRESSMAN HORTON URGES PROTECTION OF COYOTE, LYNX, BOBCAT AND OTHER PREDATORY MAMMALS

**HON. FRANK HORTON**

OF NEW YORK  
 IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
 Tuesday, July 15, 1969

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, many of my colleagues have read about an incident in Florida where ranchers tried to trap coyote parents by driving coyote pups into a burrow, and caging them for over 24 hours in 90-degree heat without food or water.

This senseless torture did not trap the parents. I know that it is often necessary to kill these predatory animals to protect livestock. I have no quarrel with this. But I advocate responsible, selective, and humane methods, not barbaric torture.

Unwarranted killing of predators is leading to the extinction of some species. In some cases, valuable animals, such as the mountain lion, are being hunted professionally for bounty where they cause no threat to livestock. Unnecessary elimination of predators often causes serious rodent problems, and in some cases the deer population gets out of control, and widespread starvation occurs in winter.

I have introduced a bill to encourage positive conservation policies toward these animals. I am advocating the disuse of poisons, and the lifting of bounties in various States for predatory mammals.

This bill would establish that the wolf, coyote, mountain lion, lynx, bobcat and several species of bear and other large, wild carnivores are among the wildlife resources of the United States and of special value.

My bill also authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to control predatory mammals when it is necessary to preserve livestock. It establishes a predatory mammal control agency to instruct farmers and ranchers in preventing plundering by predatory mammals, but it forbids the agency to use, demonstrate or advocate poisons as a control agent.

I feel this legislation is necessary to preserve our natural resources of wildlife and I urge full support from my colleagues.

GOVERNMENT CAN'T DO IT ALL

**HON. LESTER L. WOLFF**

OF NEW YORK  
 IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
 Tuesday, July 15, 1969

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, regardless of one's particular political bent, each one of us is aware, I think, of the crisis in values which has been growing throughout the decade. The Government has exerted efforts to bridge some of the gaps, ameliorate some of the existing tensions and provide for essential expansions and changes which are always necessary after an ideological flux. Yet, in many instances the Government has been unsuccessful in its efforts.

Urbanologist Daniel P. Moynihan, speaking at the University of Notre Dame commencement, offered a sensitive summation of the situation. Since he presented a side of the problem which we tend to overlook, I include excerpts of his speech in the RECORD:

GOVERNMENT CAN'T DO IT ALL

I would offer \* \* \* the thought that the principal issues of the moment are not political. They are seen as such: that is the essential clue to their nature. But the crisis of the time is not political, it is in essence religious. It is a religious crisis of large numbers of intensely moral, even Godly, people who no longer hope for God. Hence, the quest for divinity assumes a secular form, but with an intensity of conviction that is genuinely new to our politics \* \* \*

Having through all my adult life worked to make the American national government larger, stronger, more active, I nonetheless plead that there are limits to what it may be asked to do. In the last weeks of his life, President Kennedy journeyed to Amherst to dedicate a library to Robert Frost and to speak to this point. "The powers of the Presidency," he remarked, "are often described. Its limitations should occasionally be remembered."

The matter comes to this. The stability of a democracy depends very much on the people making a careful distinction between what government can do and what it cannot do. To demand what can be done is altogether in order: some may wish such things accomplished, some may not, and the majority may decide. But to seek that which cannot be provided, especially to do so with the passionate but misinformed conviction that it can be, is to create the conditions of frustration and ruin.

What is it government cannot provide? It cannot provide values to persons who have none, or who have lost those they had. It cannot provide a meaning to life. It cannot provide inner peace. It can provide outlets for moral energies, but it cannot create those energies. In particular, government cannot cope with the crisis in values which is sweeping the western world. It cannot re-

spond to the fact that so many of our young people do not believe what those before them have believed, do not accept the authority of institutions and customs whose authority has heretofore been accepted, do not embrace or even very much like the culture that they inherit.

The 20th Century is strewn with the wreckage of societies that did not understand or accept this fact of the human condition. Ours is not the first culture to encounter such a crisis in values. Others have done so, have given in to the seeming sensible solution of politicizing the crisis, have created the total state, and have destroyed themselves in the process.

I surely do not argue for a quietistic government acquiescing in whatever the tides of fortune or increments of miscalculation bring about; and in our time they have brought about hideous things. I do not prescribe for social scientists or government officials a future of contented apoplexy as they observe the mounting disaffection of the young. I certainly do not argue for iron resistance, as other societies have successfully resisted somewhat similar movements in the past.

I simply plead for the religious and ethical sensibility in the culture to see more clearly what is at issue, and to do its work.

Sympathy is not enough. *Tout pardonner, c'est tout comprendre* is not a maxim that would pass muster . . . with any who have helped us through the recent or distant past. If politics in America is not to become the art of the impossible, the limits of politics must be perceived, and the province of moral philosophy greatly expanded.

DR. ANASTAPLO ON GREECE

**HON. PATSY T. MINK**

OF HAWAII  
 IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
 Tuesday, July 15, 1969

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, most of us are familiar with the current military government in Greece. Yet, it has been more than 2 years since this Government came to power, and it is easy to forget the anomaly of such a situation in a country that was the birthplace of the democratic concept.

Dr. George Anastaplo, a lecturer in the liberal arts at the University of Chicago and chairman of the political science department at Rosary College in River Forest, Ill., has commented extensively on the political situation in Greece. Among his statements were three televised interviews on contemporary Greek affairs.

Because of the interest of my colleagues in the Greek situation, under unanimous consent I submit these interviews for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, together with an introduction by Dr. Anastaplo.

The material follows:

GREECE AND AMERICA: TOWARD THE PRECIPICE TOGETHER?  
 (By George Anastaplo)

My concern is that Greek affairs not be permitted to drift beyond our ability as Americans to predict and to some extent influence them. The longer the present regime continues in Greece, the more radical and even desperate will become the dedicated men and women who dare oppose the government established in Athens on April 21, 1967 by a handful of junior Army officers exploiting American training and equipment.

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — Extensions of Remarks

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have such decisions made by the likes of Pitchfork Ben rather than the likes of Wheelbarrow John. Any effort to freeze the 200 leading American corporations into their present shape, any effort to freeze the community structure of the U.S., can only result in a most un-Jeffersonian society where the police power of the central government becomes the concentrated site of economic and social decision making. We have here a conflict between two Jeffersons, the one who believed in a free society not shaped by government and the squire of Monticello who believed in small-scale economic units and who hated cities. Mitchell is backing the wrong Jefferson.—M. W.

THE 2-PERCENT ALLOWABLE HEW ACTION SHOULD BE RESCINDED

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 15, 1969

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced a resolution directing the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to rescind the action which he recently took to eliminate the 2-percent allowance in lieu of specific recognition of other costs under the program of Federal health insurance for the aged. The resolution also directs the Secretary to rescind any steps which have been taken to implement his action and further states that he should take no further action to alter or modify such allowance until he has consulted fully with the members or representatives of the hospital industry and other interested persons and reviewed with them the program's reimbursement formula so that any action which might be taken on the matter will afford reimbursement to providers under the program which reasonably reflects the amount of costs it is intended to cover.

During the past 45 days, I have received at least 50 letters from hospital administrations in and around the city of Philadelphia and throughout the State of Pennsylvania protesting the action of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare in eliminating this reimbursement allowance as an economy move. When the medicare program was to become effective the principal area of dispute between the prospective hospital participants and the Social Security Administration of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare was over the method of apportioning cost to medicare program beneficiaries. Hospital representatives advocated average per diem—allowance costs divided by total patient-days—as the basis for determining medicare patient costs. The Social Security Administration, on the other hand, argued that the elderly were not like other patients because of a much longer length of stay for the elderly which resulted in a much lower usage of ancillary facilities. The SSA argued for the ratio of costs to charges as applied to costs as the method for determining medicare program costs.

In its discussions with the hospital industry representatives, the Social Security Administration was able to demon-

strate that average charges per day decreased as the length of stay of the patient increased. Hospital representatives, on the other hand, were able to cite several local studies which indicated that the cost of routine care is much higher for the elderly. The effect of the two factors of lower use of ancillary facilities versus higher costs of routine care were compromised through the acceptance of the SSA's apportionment formula coupled with a 2-percent allowance for nonprofit hospitals—1½ percent for profit hospitals—particularly as a recognition of the higher nursing costs for the elderly. The legality of this compromise has been evaluated by the Comptroller General of the United States, and the General Counsel of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

An agreement was reached between then Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare John Gardner and representatives of the hospital industry that they would be consulted and brought actively into any discussions which were conducted about plans to change the reimbursement formula with respect to the 2-percent allowance. I believe that the incoming administration should have honored this pledge and not acted in the precipitous manner it did in discontinuing the 2-percent reimbursement allowance. The apparent rationale for this action was solely for economy reasons. There was no consideration of the effect of such a reduction in the reimbursement on the provision of institutional health care and it was announced without any evaluation or discussions by either the hospitals involved or others connected with the action.

I believe that the Federal Government was clearly committed to discussions with representatives of the hospital industry with regard to any changes which might be considered in the reimbursement allowance. I believe that many hospitals will drop the medicare program because of this lack of candor on the part of the administration. Certainly any hospitals which are not now in the program will think twice about participating in a program in which one day they are receiving a reimbursement and the next are not without any prior notice. One thing is quite apparent and that is that the 2-percent factor was a major consideration in hospitals entering into contracts to participate in the medicare program. Even though the dollar amount that is involved in discontinuance of the reimbursement is relatively small in terms of Government finance, it is most important that the administration realize that the 2-percent factor represents a very substantial amount of the resources essential to hospital operations.

I do not believe that the Social Security Administration of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare could possibly have had sufficient data available to determine the cost of caring for elderly hospital patients. One hospital administrator made the following comment to me in a letter on the matter:

Secretary Finch has indicated that after 3 years of experience, they should know the cost of caring for medicare patients. This is not possible since the hospitals still do not

know or have audited data on the final settlements for the first 6 months of the medicare program.

Under the circumstances, I believe that this decision should not have been made until the hospitals had been given the privilege of submitting additional data on their costs.

Mr. Speaker, what I object to most is the manner in which the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare announced their decision. They announced it without consulting with the most affected persons, the hospitals of the Nation. This is a flagrant disregard of an agreement which the hospital industry had with the previous administration. I believe in open covenants openly arrived at. I believe that the Federal Government cannot act in a vacuum. Its decisions affect people and when these decisions affect the health of the Nation and the ability of the Nation's hospitals to provide that care when I think it is in the national interest that decisions be reached through deliberation and consultation with all affected parties before the fact not after it. The text of the resolution I have introduced today is as follows:

H. CON. RES. 302

Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress with respect to the recent elimination of the 2 per centum allowance in lieu of certain provider costs under the medicare program

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring). That it is the sense of the Congress that the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare should rescind the recent action taken by the Commissioner of Social Security (and approved by the Secretary) in amending subpart D of Social Security Administration Regulations No. 5 (20 CFR 405.428) to eliminate the 2 per centum allowance in lieu of specific recognition of other costs under the program of Federal Health Insurance for the Aged as well as any steps which may have been taken to implement such action, effective July 1, 1969, and should take no further action to alter or modify such allowance until he has consulted fully with members or representatives of the hospital industry and other interested persons and reviewed with them the reimbursement formula under such program in order to insure that any action taken in connection with such allowance will afford reimbursement to providers under such program reasonably reflecting the amount of the costs it is intended to cover.

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 15, 1969

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join those who today, in the Halls of this national legislative Chamber, pause in commemoration of Captive Nations Week, 10 years after the passage of the resolution by Congress in 1959, and the subsequent signing of the bill into law by President Eisenhower. This observance, designated under the provisions of the act as the third week in July, serves as a solemn reminder of the more than 100

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The greatest but not yet likely danger for Greece is that of civil war, which (if it should begin and somehow continue more than a few months) could even see one camp being supplied by a reluctant America, the other camp having the massive aid it would require smuggled to it across one of the many frontiers of Greece. If civil war should be permitted to settle down on Greece, the Twentieth century would not see that country return again to that threshold to modernity at which (after great effort and considerable American aid) she finally found herself in the early 1960's. It will, in any event, take many years to repair the damage already done their country by the present governors of Greece—the damage done by the colonels' regime to respect for law, to the national economy and even to military efficiency.

The United States has had to be deeply involved in the affairs of Greece ever since the Second World War. It will continue to be deeply involved for several more decades. Even so, Greek experts in the State Department are, it seems to me, hopelessly divided about the best course for us to encourage the Greeks to follow at this time. Indeed, the State Department is now so divided on this subject that it cannot be said to have a policy at all—and so opportunities are being ignored which cannot be depended upon to return. Thus, the official American attitude reinforces the temperamental reluctance of Greek politicians to subordinate themselves to a common cause.

I do not believe it either moral or expedient for the United States to continue to treat the current Greek military dictatorship as an honorable ally. Rather, our considerable influence in Greece should be directed to helping the Greeks secure the immediate return of King Constantine to Athens and the replacement of the colonels by a coalition government under the leadership of the conservative former prime minister, Constantine Karamanlis.

The United States will not be able to escape either the responsibility for or the consequences of whatever happens in Greece. It is prudent, then, to do what we can to help Greece return to a truly stable government before the costs for us as well as for them becomes higher and the risks larger than they already are. What we do in the next few months may be decisive for determining what life will be like in that country for some years to come.

The foregoing paragraphs, which continue (unfortunately) to be relevant, are taken from two statements on current Greek affairs published by me towards the end of 1968. We have now begun to hear in this country ominous reports of the first outbreak of serious fighting in Greece since the colonels' usurpation of April 1967. I do hope that these reports are not true. I also hope that the Greeks will not be driven, by the oppression of their government and by the paralysis of ours, to violent measures in their gallant effort to restore their country to her rightful place among the civilized nations of the world.

A few weeks ago, Greece's Noble Laureate, the poet George Seferis, issued to foreign correspondents in Athens a statement which included sentiments it is our duty as old friends of Greece both to notice and to do something about:

"It is almost two years since a regime was imposed upon us utterly contrary to the ideals for which our world—and so magnificently our people—fought in the last World War. It is a state of enforced torpor in which all the intellectual values that we have succeeded, with toll and effort, in keeping alive are being submerged in a swamp, in stagnant waters. I can well imagine that for some people these losses do not matter.

Unfortunately this is not the only danger that threatens.

"We have all learned, we all know, that in dictatorial regimes the beginning may seem easy, yet tragedy waits at the end, inescapably. It is this tragic ending that consciously or unconsciously torments us, as in the ancient choruses of Aeschylus.

"The longer the abnormal situation lasts, the greater the evil.

"I am a man completely without political ties and I speak without fear and without passion. I see before us the precipice towards which the oppression that covers the land is leading us.

"This abnormality must come to an end. It is the nation's command."

The three televised interviews that follow are offered as an aid to Americans interested in advising our government as to what it should now do about "the abnormal situation" in Greece.

AN INTERVIEW BROADCAST BY WCUI-TV,  
CHICAGO, ILL., AUGUST 17, 1968

Q. Dr. George Anastaplo is a Lecturer in the Liberal Arts at the University of Chicago and a Professor of Political Science and of Philosophy at Rosary College, in River Forest, Illinois (where he is also chairman of the Political Science Department). Dr. Anastaplo has received both his Doctor of Jurisprudence and his Doctor of Philosophy degrees from the University of Chicago. He has travelled to Greece every summer since the year 1962 and has made an intensive study of that country's affairs. Last year, Dr. Anastaplo travelled as a foreign correspondent to Greece and had the opportunity to engage in conversations there with many people in different walks of life, including some officials of the present Greek government. He is preparing a book on Greece for publication.

Doctor, it is nice to have you with us on "Grecian Panorama." I know from your many visits to Greece that you have many things of interest you could tell us. But because we don't have much time, I suggest we should concentrate on just a few things tonight. I think that the most important subject currently may be the draft of the proposed constitution that is to be voted on by the Greek people next month. I think our viewers would find it interesting if you would review the events leading up to this draft of the proposed Constitution.

A. The most important event leading up to this draft constitution is, of course, the revolution executed by a group of Army officers in April of 1967, the revolution which came after two years of very excited political controversy in Greece and which was thought by some to be necessary to resolve that controversy. Now, anything anyone says about Greece is going to be controversial and anything anyone says in a short time is going to be superficial. But we must take a chance on this occasion.

The first thing that must be said in thinking about Greece, in thinking about the constitution that is to be voted on next month, is the fact that this is a unique situation as far as American foreign policy is concerned. That is to say, I believe this is the only place in the world where an unpopular and repressive government, which is somewhat dependent upon our support, has as its most likely popular alternative a government of the right. This, I think, cannot be found anywhere else in the world and makes somewhat strange the American position in Greece, a position which is not necessarily that of strong support but certainly of acquiescence in and sometimes mild support of the government.

I have said that it appears that the most likely present alternative to the current government is a government of the right. I am referring, of course, to a government that would be led by Constantine Karamanlis,

who was for eight years the Prime Minister of Greece and probably the most important Prime Minister in Greece since Venizelos. Mr. Karamanlis is a known conservative, a man of the right, a man of proven effectiveness, and a man for whom everyone of the right and of the left would settle if he could be put back into power.

Now, what does this mean as far as American policy is concerned? The risk is, of course, that something could happen to Mr. Karamanlis. If something should happen to him—he is, after all, a man in his sixties—if something should happen to him, the most plausible peaceful alternative to rule by the present military governors of Greece would disappear, the man who could have brought the country together. The other thing that could happen, of course, is that as time goes by, as people begin to despair of a political settlement, such as Mr. Karamanlis would be, there is greater likelihood of a settlement by arms.

Last Monday afternoon I gave a talk at the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, in which I indicated that time was running short—that the opportunity for a political settlement was disappearing—and that the time had come when one could expect to hear more and more of violent reactions to the regime. The following day—by chance, of course—we heard of an attempted assassination of the Prime Minister of Greece. What really happened in Athens on that occasion, I do not yet know; but certainly, if this was not really an attempt at assassination, it cannot be long before serious attempts will be made. Such are the things that can happen if the plausible alternative represented by Mr. Karamanlis is not encouraged and supported by the United States.

Q. You mentioned that you feel that Mr. Karamanlis could unite the nation. Is this opinion of yours shared by the Greek people, by the Greek politicians? On what do you base your statement?

A. My impression is, from my visit last summer—and I have heard nothing since then that would challenge this—that the people on the right are certainly comfortable with Mr. Karamanlis; even the people on the left, last summer, were anxious for his return: they looked back to his Administration—although at the time they had opposed him—they looked back upon that as a much better alternative, and they realized his return to power was a plausible alternative, especially since the colonels who now run the government could themselves recognize in Karamanlis a man whom they could trust to some extent. This is a political settlement I am talking about. This is a settlement that would permit all factions in the country to be sure that a civilized decent regime would follow and that there would be no bloodletting, no unnecessary punishment, no unpredictable repercussions from a return to political government.

Yet someone might say to the Greeks, "You don't need such a political settlement now; you are about to get a constitution, a constitution which is scheduled to be voted on the 29th of September." But there are some curious things about that situation. It is, first of all, a curiously written constitution in the sense that there was first a draft written by a group of jurists and then, thereafter, there was a draft proposed by the colonels, presumably upon considering the reactions, the responses, the opinions expressed about the jurists' draft. There are other difficulties with this constitution, one of which is the fact that it is being proposed by people who came to power unconstitutionally. That, of course, brings it in under a cloud.

An even more serious difficulty is that I do not see that it is going to make much difference to the political situation in Greece. That is to say, the people who are politically

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minded do not regard this constitution as something they have to take seriously. Practically every prominent Greek politician I know of—practically every one: there are only two or three exceptions—has come out against it, including Mr. Karamanlis in Paris.

It is very hard to think of the referendum as something that people will really believe to be a legitimate expression of the public will. What I think it will be, rather than a referendum on a constitution, is, in effect, an attempt, by something approaching a plebiscite, to have the colonels' regime legitimated. That is going to be the effect of the voting. It seems to me very unlikely that such a vote and such a constitution would mean much more than such votes and such constitutions did in Stalin's Russia or than they do in, say, Franco's Spain. It is not too difficult, when you control all the means of communication, when you control all major weapons and virtually all means of coercion and when you have available the resources of government—it does not seem to me at all unlikely that you can in such circumstances secure the kind of vote you want.

Q. Then you don't feel that the present regime is about to relinquish its power?

A. No, Miss Vasils, I don't think it is about to. I think that once the Constitution is ratified—as I think it is likely to be in the circumstances; I will be surprised if it is not—the present government will then decide under what conditions it will implement what parts of it. There is no announced schedule as to how this constitution is to be implemented.

Q. What provisions do you think are significant?

A. There are good and bad features in the proposed constitution. One of the distressing things about it is that there are a number of good features in it which, because of the fact that they will be hereafter associated with this regime—because they have been put forward and endorsed by this regime—will come to be regarded in the future as suspect. That is to say, somebody who, for bad reasons, should want to oppose one of these features in a future constitution, will (instead of having to rely on bad or selfish reasons) simply say, "This is the colonels' idea; you don't want that."

Q. That will be the natural reaction?

A. Yes, that would be a natural reaction with an unfortunate effect. Now, there are several good features in the proposed constitution. Let me just mention two of them. One of them is, of course, the proposed reduction in the size of the Parliament and the provision for a certain regularity in the way it is elected. I think that is probably an improvement. The reduction of the powers of the Parliament, however, I believe has gone too far.

In addition, I think most observers would say that the proposed reduction of the powers of the King is good not only for the country but also for the King himself. That is to say, the King's great powers and, even more important, the King's hitherto undefined powers have put him in a vulnerable situation. It is very difficult for a king—who may be a young man, or who may be old; it depends upon circumstances—to be able to contend successfully with men who have gotten to where they are because they are very good politicians. If he has to put his judgment and prestige on the line against such men, he is likely to be hurt. It is a favor to him, then, in a way—and certainly good for political stability—if his powers are somewhat reduced and defined. I think, however, that these, too, have been cut too severely, that his powers, as I read the Constitution, are even more restricted than those of the British monarchy. And that, I think, is going a little too far.

The provisions I have been talking about are good, except perhaps where they have gone too far. There are, on the other hand,

several questionable provisions in the proposed constitution. One is the creation of what is called the Constitutional Court, which would have—which could have—the effect not only of limiting the expression of political opinion but, even more important, of severely restricting the number and kind of political parties that are established in the country. This court will supervise such political activity. Even if the court does not act against any party, it will be known by anyone who brings forward a party for certification that parties can be acted against. When political parties realize that such a court can suppress them, they will conduct themselves accordingly: they will restrain themselves much more than they should and thereby reduce even more the likelihood that they will speak freely on public issues and advance policies opposed to those of the government.

Q. Doctor, I am going to have to interrupt you, because our time is running out. Would you like to summarize or say something briefly, as a concluding remark?

A. The question I think we should keep in mind is, What should be the role of the United States with respect to Greece? I think that, unless something different emerges during our Presidential campaign, we do know one thing: we do know, thus far, that Mr. Nixon's policy has been, so far as I understand it, friendly toward this Greek regime or, at least, acquiescent to it, while, so far as I understand it, Mr. McCarthy's policy, just as Mr. Kennedy's was and as I believe Mr. Humphrey's to be, is unfriendly toward this regime. This juxtaposition [of the Nixon policy and the McCarthy-Humphrey-Kennedy policy] is something that Americans can well take into account as they consider what their government should do.

Q. Thank you for your remarks, Dr. Anastaplo. You prefaced an article on Greece you wrote for the *Massachusetts Review* with words of Abraham Lincoln which I would like to quote for our viewers: "I am very little inclined on any occasion to say anything unless I hope to produce some good by it."

We thank you for your remarks and hope you will soon be back with us on "Grecian Panorama."

AN INTERVIEW BROADCAST BY WCIU-TV, CHICAGO, ILL., NOVEMBER 9, 1968

Q. Professor George Anastaplo has recently returned from a three-week tour of Greece which he conducted for the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations. Doctor, it is very nice to welcome you back for your second visit with us on "Grecian Panorama."

A. Thank you, Miss Vasils. It is good to be back.

Q. We heard today that the Greek government has announced that the constitution which was voted on September 29 [1968] is going to become effective next Friday, November 15. I think you will agree that the 92 per cent vote in favor of the Constitution has given the impression to many that the Greek people are in favor of their military government, that they believe it has saved the country from a threat of Communism and from a breakdown of law and order.

I know that our viewers would be interested in your opinion on these matters. I'd like to ask you about the implementation of the constitution as well as about the 92 per cent vote. Do you believe that this really indicates that now all is well in Greece?

A. No, I do believe it does indicate that all is under control in Greece, which is not the same as saying that all is well, although many Greeks who like to think of their country as one that is prone to disorder may believe it is better to have strict control than to run the risks that freedom brings.

No, I don't think all is well in Greece today, but all is predictable.

Q. I know you were in Delphi the day of the referendum and you did observe the voting there from dawn to dusk. Would you begin with an account of what happened that day and continue with your views on the situation.

A. The voting was in a school house there in Delphi, in a school room, where some 700 people voted. It was one of the places in Greece where the men and women both voted in the same place. In many other polling places, men and women voted separately, as is traditional. The voting I saw was very orderly, very quiet, and in some ways quite relaxed. Of the 684 ballots cast that day in Delphi, only seven were cast against the proposed constitution.

Q. Now, would you tell us the procedure.

A. The voter would come in. He would walk over to the table where the election officials were sitting. He would have his name marked off the voting list and his identity card punched to show he had voted (since voting has long been compulsory in Greece). Then he would take off the table an envelope (which was not transparent), take the ballot or ballots—the YES and NO ballots—take them, if he wanted to, into a curtained-off polling booth and there put the ballot he wanted into the envelope, discard the other ballot or put in his pocket, come back to the ballot box, place his sealed envelope into the ballot box and leave. That was the procedure. Or, rather, that is the procedure one could go through if one wanted to.

On this occasion, however, out of the 684 voters that day in Delphi, less than twenty of them (as I tallied them that day) took both ballots. That is to say, all but twenty—and I don't think there were even twenty—took only the YES ballot, took it from the piles of ballots in front of the election judge and his assistants and, in most cases, put it in the envelope right there on the spot for depositing in the ballot box.

Q. The voter picked up both ballots? They were not handed to him?

A. The voter picked up what he "wanted" to pick up. That is to say, he was "free" to pick up either ballot. On this occasion, most of the voters took on by the Yes ballot and put that, right on the spot, into the envelope and cast it. Very few voters in Delphi that day took both ballots. Very few of them went behind the curtain—there is not much point going behind the curtain if one takes only one ballot—with the result that only seven voted No. Some of those who took both ballots and voted yes were people who knew one is "supposed" to take both ballots. This is the way one votes if one is an educated man, if one is a man of some prestige. (This is the way people voted in Athens that day, I have been told.) Such people might still vote yes, but at least they would take both ballots and then vote yes.

It was so obvious shortly after the polls opened in Delphi that almost everyone was voting yes that I was soon able to send out a report on the voting to a foreign correspondent friend in Athens who relayed it to London. This report, I am told, permitted the B.B.C. to announce, long before the votes were tabulated that night, that the balloting in Greece that day would be at least 90 per cent in favor of the proposed constitution.

Now, the interesting question is. Why did the people of Delphi vote this way?

Q. Yes, I was about to ask that.

A. One reason they voted that way is that they were told they should vote that way. This was the impression they had gathered from government officials, from government propaganda, and from authorities in the town. Everyone was saying, "You should vote yes, and furthermore, you should do it openly." This was again and again said to people—or, at least, people told me they had been told this.

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Q. You mentioned government propaganda. What would this consist of?

A. Government propaganda about the voting was found all over. It was found in newspapers, of course, in signs, in big placards, on walls, in signs painted on buildings of all kinds. You no doubt heard of the very large sign on Mount Lycabettus in Athens the large neon sign which overlooked the city and could be seen from the most populated sections of the city all night—I am not sure all night. I don't know how long they kept it on—but it was visible every night. Then, there were the radio, the speeches, the campaigning.

It was a very intensive campaign on behalf of the proposed constitution. There was no one campaigning against the constitution, to speak of—a few stray voices here and there—but no organized campaign, no signs, no politicians permitted to go around the country speaking against the proposed constitution. Politicians were pretty much told to stay at home, which they did. It was a situation in which virtually all the public efforts being made were made to induce the people to vote and to vote YES.

It should also be noticed that this constitution was voted on under martial law. It was voted on, that is, where there was no effective freedom. I personally know people in Delphi who voted YES and openly—who walked in very calmly, took the YES ballot, voted it without even going into the booth, cheerfully, quite content evidently with the whole business—people who I knew from conversations on other occasions simply detest the regime. Something made them act the way the regime wanted them to act. It is not very hard to figure out why this happened, if one knows anything about how such votes are managed in Russia, how they were managed in Germany during the times of the Nazis. It does not take much imagination to recognize the forces that conspire to get the vote a government wants: propaganda, intimidation, bribery and hope, hope that "if we get a constitution, things may change."

Q. Do you feel, now that the Greek government has announced that the constitution will be implemented next week, that many people will say that the government is showing good faith and that they should cooperate?

A. People don't have much choice about cooperating. I think very few people will run the risk of opposing this government in any serious way. There are still thousands of people who are in island exile: a number of them are labeled Communists, and they may well be, for all I know; a number of them are non-Communists. Some of the island exiles are even senior Army officers, loyal to the King, who have thus been put out of the way. There is still tight control by the government of all means of publicity and of all systems of communications.

The Greeks don't know how much of the new constitution is going to be effective immediately. They have been told that some of the articles will not be immediately effective, such as the article assuring freedom of the press. They were told that before they voted. In other words, there are a number of articles that were suspended even before the constitution came into being. A number of other things would have to be known before one can decide what the implementation of the constitution will mean in practice. Is, for instance, martial law going to be continued?

Thus, the Greeks don't know what kind of a constitution they have gotten, and what is even more important, they don't know—they can't know—how various articles in it will be interpreted and how they will be implemented.

Q. It would seem from the 92 percent vote that the constitution was accepted passively. Yet some days later there was quite an ex-

pression of sentiment at the Papandreou funeral. What do you make of that?

A. In special circumstances, when there is a certain kind of anonymity or when passions are very high because of a funeral or for some other reason, one can get an idea of what's happening, of what people really think in Greece. That is to say, one does learn that there are a substantial number of people—we need not say how many there are—who are very much against this regime, and from whom nothing is heard ordinarily.

There have been two incidents, really, that have been very revealing. One of them is the incident of last December 13th [1967], in Kavalla. Kavalla is traditionally a left-wing, anti-royalist center. That was the occasion when the King made his effort to overthrow this regime. He landed in Kavalla; he was there suddenly, spontaneously. He was greeted in a way that he has never been greeted in any other place in Greece. He was carried through the streets. This was not organized; this was not a staged production. There was jubilation at the prospect that finally the colonels' regime was all over.

The second such manifestation was at the Papandreou funeral. When the old man, George Papandreou, died two weeks ago, there was obviously great emotion on the part of many who had been his followers over the years. So there was on November 3rd [1968], in Athens, a massive demonstration. I've seen estimates in American newspapers that speak in terms of hundreds of thousands of participants in that funeral demonstration. I just don't know and I am reluctant to say how many there were until I have had a chance to check with people I consider reliable. But what is certainly clear is that it was a very large demonstration. I would not be surprised to learn that the numbers involved in it were far more than the numbers in that area who voted NO in the constitutional referendum five weeks before. Now the problem is, Where were these people on referendum day? Why didn't they vote against the proposed constitution?

The thing that comes through, as one makes an effort to try to understand what is going on now in Greece, is that it is very difficult to learn what is going on because of the massive effort on the part of the government to present its position, and to present it in a way that has no regard for the truth. The Greek government will use any means, and say anything, in order to advance its position. That means that anyone studying this matter has great difficulty finding out from normal sources—the kind of sources one would use for an investigation in any other country in Europe this side of the Iron Curtain—very great difficulty finding out just what is happening.

One thing that is certain is that things are quite different in Greece from what the government says they are. I think it important for Americans interested in Greek affairs to keep that in mind. If we Americans are relying on the assumption that the present Greek government really has the support of its people, it is an assumption that is going to bring us to grief insofar as we are allies of the Greeks and want to remain allies of the Greeks in the years ahead.

Q. There are many people who say it is really none of our business as Americans to comment on what is happening in Greece.

A. That is sometimes said. But when Americans, and especially Greek-Americans, comment favorably on the regime, the Greek government plays it up, without restraint, no matter where they are, no matter who they are, no matter whom they are speaking to. Any comment that is favorable to the present regime will be played up in the Greek newspapers, which means that they think favorable comments are relevant. I should think, by parity of reasoning, that unfavorable comments are also relevant, especially when they are made by people who take the

trouble to find out what is really happening in Greece today.

AN INTERVIEW BROADCAST BY WCIU-TV, CHICAGO, ILL., NOVEMBER 23, 1968

Q. Professor Anastaplo, it is nice to have you back on "Grecian Panorama" tonight.

A. Thank you, Miss Vasils.

Q. It is well known, Dr. Anastaplo, that you are an advocate of the return to power in Greece of the former premier, Constantine Karamanlis, as the best solution to the Greek problem today. Some other opponents of the current Greek regime seem to think, however, that this would, in reality, be imposing another form of dictatorship on the Greek people. What are your comments on this?

A. I have heard the same kind of objection raised to the Karamanlis solution—which is not really my suggestion alone, but the suggestion of many people in Greece as well. I think it is an objection which does not properly take into account what the situation really is in Greece today.

Now, the very fact that we are discussing this sort of thing here, on the air in Chicago, shows that something special is happening in Greece. As you indicated in your instruction of me, I have been to Greece a number of times, including times when Mr. Karamanlis was in power and other times when Mr. Papandreou was in power—that is to say, when there was in power a government right of center as well as a government left of center. Those situations did not compel Americans to discuss Greek affairs as we have been doing in this country the past eighteen months.

Even so, my own position has not been one of trying to suggest what the Greeks should do. It is rather an attempt to suggest what we Americans should do, and particularly what our State Department and our government should do in a situation in which the United States either has some responsibility or at least will have some duties because of its special relation with Greece as an ally. It is from this perspective that I am speaking.

Q. How would you answer those Americans who feel that the United States should not get further involved with any other problems in the world? How much further can we extend ourselves? Some say we are so involved now in Viet Nam that we should not get involved in the Greek situation.

A. That is a perfectly sensible caution, that we should recognize the limits of American power. The "limits of American power" means that we should recognize beyond what mark American power does not extend. But it also means that we should appreciate, if we are to be realistic about what "limits" means, within what limits American power can be effective.

The fact is that Greece is an American ally. It has been an ally of ours for twenty years. It is very much dependent upon the United States for several things—for arms, for example. The United States, on the other hand, wants certain things from Greece. There has long been a connection between the two countries, partly because of the large number of Greeks in this country. There is a traditional friendship between the countries. There has been over the years an affinity of institutions. There have been a number of things that have brought us together. That is to say, this isn't an artificial, a temporary, alliance.

Besides, whatever damage is done in Greece by any government is damage the United States will have to help repair someday. It isn't as if we can walk away from Greece and forget about it. There are a number of factors that require us to be interested in Greece, aside from the question which some people would insist upon, the question of our responsibility for what has happened there. We need not say that the United States



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is responsible for what has happened in Greece in recent years in order to be able to say that the United States should be concerned about what is going to happen or about what is happening in that country.

I am not concerned simply to settle a historical question about who is responsible for what has happened in Greece. The principal problem for me today is, what is the best way of correcting the situation right now, a situation which is so burdensome for our friends there, so burdensome for the people of our forebears. Even if one is living in the United States, even if one has been born here (as have I), one cannot help but feel a concern for that people. One cannot, as an American, simply abandon one's friends and those to whom one is close in that country.

Q. Now, you are speaking of the interest we should have, the concern we should have, because of what has happened there since April 1967. You would not have this concern if Greece had an elected, a duly-elected, government. Is that correct?

A. If there was in Athens a government that had been installed by the Greek people, if it was a government which clearly had the support of the Greek people, which was not a dictatorship, as this one clearly is, and if it was not doing various things that this government is clearly doing, such as torture, such as intimidation (even of Greek-Americans), it would be a quite different matter. You can talk to Greek-Americans in this country who will tell you that they have been approached and threatened, through their relatives back in Greece, for criticizing the regime in Greece. After all, even so courageous a Greek as Helen Vlachou has had to close down her journal [*Hellenic Review*] in London. Why did she have to close down so useful and so successful a publication? Press reports published here speak of pressure put on her by threats to her family in Athens. This is not what she said, of course, but this is what press reports have said. When there is this kind of government in Greece, it is a serious question whether or not we Americans should sit by and accept it as an ally; it is a serious question whether we can sit by and, even if only passively or by acquiescence, help it do what it does. I am not concerned, primarily, to tell Greeks what they should do. I am concerned to say what the United States should and should not do. This I am obliged and entitled to do.

Now, let us consider the question of Constantine Karamanlis. Those who say that the best thing for Greece would be immediate free elections which would let the Greeks return whom they would return to power, have something to be said for them. There is, for instance, something to be said for Andreas Papandreou as an alternative to Mr. Karamanlis. Mr. Papandreou is a man who is well-intentioned. I have not yet met him. I have never talked to him, nor even corresponded with him. I know only what everybody knows about him. But from what I do know of him, I am prepared to believe that he means the best for Greece. He has considerable talent and, given the proper opportunity, he might some day do things for Greece. I have no doubt about that.

I have no doubt that there are many other Greeks as well as who can make important contributions to their country. But my concern is, What is the best way the United States can help Greece out of the present circumstances, which are in some ways very, very dangerous? Anything can happen when a people is compelled, as are the Greeks today, to do something it does not want to do. What may happen no one can predict. It is the unpredictable, in a way, that is threatening Greece and that is threatening the United States' role in Greece.

Mr. Karamanlis seems to me the best way out because it is a way that does appeal to

people to people of the left, right and center in Greece. I know this from my own interviews in Greece. This solution appeals to people in the American government. It appeals even to people who are supporting the colonels in Greece: they find Mr. Karamanlis least threatening of all the alternatives to their own rule.

Q. Least threatening in what way?

A. If Mr. Karamanlis should come to power, I believe he would be reasonable about what he would do in the way of calling the colonels to account.

Q. What do you think he should do if he came in?

A. I am in favor of amnesty, as much as possible. I am in favor of closing accounts, rather than settling them. I am not in favor of a fighting old battles over and over again. Greece has had too much of that. I am not in favor of shedding blood to settle something. I hope Mr. Karamanlis would take much the same position.

What would Mr. Karamanlis do if he returned to power? Would it be a dictatorship? There is no reason why it should be a dictatorship. I don't know what he would do; no one knows what he would do. But there is no reason why he should impose upon himself the extra burden of maintaining a dictatorship. A dictatorship is really a very inefficient form of government to maintain. It is very inefficient in many ways. For instance, information is very hard to get. Reliable information that people need to run their affairs intelligently is often hard to get in a dictatorship of this kind, whether it is in Russia or in Germany of the old days or in the Greece of the colonels today. There is no need for Mr. Karamanlis to impose such burdens upon himself. There is no reason for him to incur the enmity of people left of center. He already has the support of well over half of the Greeks. When a leader has such support, he does not have to impose upon his people the kind of restrictions the colonels are imposing. They impose the restrictions they are imposing, and thus run the risk of provoking a ruinous civil war, because they have no other way of maintaining themselves in power.

The Karamanlis solution is, I believe, the only prudent, political solution that can be depended upon. There are other solutions that might work. But this one is the most reliable for getting Greece past the colonels without a catastrophe. It would put in power a man who has some respect for the ordinary political processes of his country. One thing we should remember is that Mr. Karamanlis was actually voted out of office in the elections of 1963-1964. The colonels will never be voted out of office. That is to say, they will never be voted out of office in a situation where they are actually putting up candidates that they are supporting. They might some day use an election, if they feel themselves going, as a way of making a safe transition—but they will not be surprised by the result of any elections they conduct.

Mr. Karamanlis, authoritarian as he sometimes was, strong-minded as he sometimes was, was nevertheless enough of a constitutionalist, enough of a democrat, to allow himself to be defeated, to be defeated in an election which no doubt had all kinds of irregularities and even fraud on both sides. He was enough of a politician conforming to the rule of law and to normal democratic processes to be willing to submit himself to the electoral process and to be deprived of power after having served eight rather successful years in the highest office.

Q. Do you feel that something could be worked out whereby the colonels themselves could serve their country together with other leaders?

A. I think there are things the colonels could be given to do that would take care of them.

If I were a leader of the Left of Center—in Greek politics, I am nothing: I have no posi-

tion in Greek politics—but if I were someone left of center, if I were a member of the Center Union, I would be inclined to work out a coalition with Mr. Karamanlis, in which some of our people—if I were left of center—would take certain cabinet posts. If, however, the Center Union should insist on free elections, and if they could somehow get them, they would have nothing. It would be (in my opinion) a landslide for Mr. Karamanlis and his supporters, while the Center Union would be left with nothing at all. I think it is in the interest of the Center Union leaders, if they want to retain some control over the immediate political life of Greece, to join now some kind of coalition under Mr. Karamanlis's leadership.

It is in Mr. Karamanlis's interest, on the other hand, to bring into his government several leaders of the Center Union. After all, everyone knows that if the elections of 1967 had been carried out, the Center Union Party would probably have had a majority. The Center Union has been deprived of what it had, in a way, earned, and consequently, there is a danger of bitterness, a danger of recrimination, that comes from this kind of deprivation. It would surely be prudent for Mr. Karamanlis to head off such a development by recognizing what the Center Union can contribute to Greece.

A political decision is needed in Greece today, a recourse to what is possible in present circumstances. The objection that the return of Mr. Karamanlis to power is likely to lead to a dictatorship is not something one hears as much in Greece as out. In Greece, people do feel the present regime as a real dictatorship, and they realize that whatever they remember about Mr. Karamanlis's administration, whatever complaints they had about it, his administration was nothing like this, and they appreciate that.

I think that the most interesting thing about the objections one hears against imposing a dictatorship through Mr. Karamanlis is that they reveal something about the sometimes unrealistic character of Greek political opinion. That is to say, it seems to an outsider, such as I am, extremely unrealistic for Greeks abroad to object, "We don't want Mr. Karamanlis, we want free elections, et cetera", as if free elections would solve everything, as if they are likely to get free elections as an alternative to the colonels. One must, in political matters, consider the practical alternatives and make a judgment. The kind of objection we have been discussing tonight, which can stand in the way of forming an effective coalition in opposition to the colonels, should give Americans who are not familiar with Greek politics an idea of the idealistic shortsightedness that has sometimes characterized Greek politics and that has contributed to the present troubles in Greece.

Certain obvious compromises during the 1965-1967 crisis—certain compromises of a political character, certain prudential solutions—would have prevented the troubles the Greeks have now. I refer to the kind of compromise that an ordinary American politician would have easily been able to make. This the Greeks were unable to do—and this is partly why they have what they have. They certainly don't deserve what they have, but there is a reason why they have it.

#### ROCKEFELLER'S TRIPS A BLUNDER

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM  
OF NEW YORK  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Tuesday, July 15, 1969

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, while no one can blame Gov. Nelson Rockefeller

Foreign Relations Committee. Secretary Laird, seated at the console of the Pentagon's mighty organ, thumped out the regular notes of fear, but the ritual response was lacking. Vietnam, the *Pueblo*, the F-111, the Sentinel and urban chaos combined to create a new, questioning, mood.

No matter what the Senate vote on ABM, it must face up to the acronym's alter ego, MIRV. Mr. Laird's first-strike scare at least served to focus attention on nuclear policy and on the future of the arms race. It appears that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was better briefed on MIRV than Secretary of State Rogers, who knew the meaning of the letters but not the significance of the weapons system. After his casual treatment of MIRV in his June 4th press conference, Mr. Rogers—to quote John W. Finney's report in *The New York Times* (June 6th)—“was given a quick course by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee today on the intricacies of nuclear disarmament.” Emerging from Senator Fulbright's school of nuclear knowledge, the Secretary of State told reporters: “It might be that if MIRV tests are successful in the next few months, this will present new problems of inspection.”

Students of decision-making might suggest that the State Department needs some high-level bridge across the Potomac to expedite communication on the strategic implications of arms developments. However, the mechanism for such dialog has been in existence for years in the form of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. In fact, ACDA actually held a conference of experts on MIRV some years ago. Top men in the agency are fully aware of MIRV's meaning for arms control, but apparently they had not yet managed to conduct a teach-in at the State Department.

Meanwhile both nuclear giants proceed to lob multiple warheads at targets in the Pacific. It is as though the military on both sides want to perfect MIRV before their negotiators start talking. A little appreciated aspect of MIRV technology is that a first-strike system is more complex than a retaliatory system. In his analysis of a Soviet first-strike threat, John S. Foster, Jr., postulates a MIRV system capable of sensing if it directs a warhead off-course. In this case, the information is telemetered back to the launch sites and a back-up SS-9, with its 3 MIRV's targeted on silos left “uncovered” by MIRV malfunctions, is launched. This ultra-sophisticated MIRV system, self-sensing and automatically capable of rectifying its error, is one which the United States disavows. Neither the number of MIRV's aboard an SS-9 or a Minuteman or a Poseidon is ascertainable in silo or overseas—nor is the first-strike MIRV mechanism.

As in the case of underground nuclear tests, inspection proved to be an impenetrable barrier to agreement on a treaty, so it appears that the MIRV inspection problem is without technical solution. Nations of the world were able to agree on a limited or three-environment test ban, forbidding nuclear explosions in air, sea and space. A limited missile treaty does not appear to be very meaningful. Moreover, technology gives little hope of birthing a Hercules to slay the missile-Hydra. We are belatedly beginning to sense what Mr. McNamara had on his mind when he spoke of the “mad momentum intrinsic to the development of all new nuclear weaponry.”

### CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

**HON. THOMAS M. REES**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 10, 1969

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, I would like at this point in the Record to insert

three memos concerning Middle East problems and some suggestions as to future U.S. foreign policy there. These memos were developed by the Honorable Leonard Horwin, attorney, former mayor of Beverly Hills, and former U.S. diplomat.

It is my belief that Mr. Horwin's thoughts will be of interest to many of us concerned with the rising tensions in the Middle East.

The memos follow:

#### THE FACTS BEHIND THE MIDDLE EAST HATE PROPAGANDA

In the natural ardor of counsel to save the life of their client by establishing a political motive for assassination, the history of the Mideast is currently being rewritten to suit the purposes of a local courtroom.

Russia abetted by General de Gaulle has attempted the same re-write to condition the United States to accept Russia's “peace plan” for the Middle East. Basically this plan is to pressure Israel to return to the indefensible armistice borders of 1948–1967, without any prior negotiated agreement of political settlement between Israel and Russia's Arab clients.

The theme of the re-write is that Israel merits the hate of Russia's Arab clients. On this basis, acts of assassination or of murder and sabotage by Arab irregulars or of pressure by Russia to force Israel's return to indefensible borders, are justified as a means of appeasing the haters.

But is this Arab hate justified? Or is it instead ill founded, contrived and pressure tactics?

The principal charges of Russia and her Arab clients, and the facts, are as follows:

(1) Does Israel constitute a threat to these Arab states? No. Israel occupies about 8,000 square miles with 2,500,000 population contrasted with about 80,000,000 population and 1,200,000 square miles of territory including vastly richer area, available to Russia's Arab clients.

Israel offered and offers to cooperate with its Arab neighbors to their enormous mutual advantage including by the Eric Johnson plan for a unified Jordan waterway, the Eisenhower plan for joint development of water resources, the desalinated water program, free port project for Jordan at Haifa, and in numerous other ways. Thus far, Russia's Arab clients have rejected all overtures, preferring instead to destroy Israel.

(2) Did Israel poach on Arab preserves? No, about 70% of Israel was crown land of the Turkish sultanate and thereafter of the British mandatory government until 1948. Most of Palestine was wasteland until the Israelis reclaimed it from desert, swamp and barren slope. Most of those Arabs who claim present-day attachment to Palestine, came, or their parents came there, since World War I, attracted by the jobs, profits and opportunities created by Jewish reclamation.

(3) Has Israel displaced any existing Arab state? No. None of the Arab claimants to Israel territory including the frontiers as made by the cease fire of June 11, 1967, have any prior right. Israel has 3500 years of connection with its domain and letters patent written in holy writ which is the common heritage of much of the civilized, including Arab, world. On the other hand, Jordan was created by Britain, Syria by France, both after World War I, and Egypt has no entitlement whatever to any part of Palestine including the Gaza strip. No Arab state of Palestine or Israel ever existed.

(4) Has Israel driven Arabs from their homes in Israel? No. Those Arabs who left Israel in the war of 1948, did so at the call of fanatics, invited to return with the invading Jordanian and Egyptian troops to loot and kill the Israelis. That they thereby became refugees instead of victorious looters, does not entitle them to support in refugee camps largely at the expense of the United

States while they continue to spurn offers of negotiation for indemnification, resettlement, reemployment, and peace, and plot instead for war, regular and irregular.

Nor did Israel drive Arabs from their homes in Palestine in the war of June 5, 1967. Those who left, did so notwithstanding the offer of the Israel Government that they remain.

(5) Has Israel mistreated its Arab citizens and residents? No. Israeli Arabs vote, are elected and appointed to office including as teachers, lawyers, judges, administrators, mayors and lawmakers (members of the Israeli Parliament called Knesset). They have equal access to the courts and social services, enjoy civil liberties including religious freedom, may and do employ Arabic as an official language, exercise the right of public education, are members of the official union (Histadrut), and generally enjoy a far higher standing of living than Arabs in surrounding countries.

Contrast the foregoing with the position of the many hundreds of thousands of Jews in Arab countries who were forced to flee their homes mostly to Israel since 1948, leaving their confiscated possessions behind. The lot of the remaining remnant in Arab lands is exemplified by the recent hideous executions in Iraq. This tragedy of Jews in Arab countries, has been the subject of numerous useless protests to the United Nations.

#### CONCLUSION

When asked by Russia or General de Gaulle to acquiesce in Russian plans for the Mideast out of sympathy for the supposed Arab victims of Israel, Americans will do well to consider the source and the facts, and judge accordingly.

#### THE AMERICAN STAKE IN THE MIDEAST

The American stake in the Mideast is economic to assure access to the oil resources; strategic to assure openness of the land, sea and airways through this crossroads; political to deny control of the area to Russia.

The existence of a strong Israel in co-existence with her Arab neighbors is crucial to these objectives. Therefore, the United States has reason to be concerned over the security of Israel, for the sake of the United States, as well as that of Israel.

Russia was friendly to Israel, from Israel's war of independence in 1948 until Russia found out contrary to its expectations that despite Israel's labor sympathies, Israel is pro-American in any contest between Russian and American power in the Mideast. Thereupon, in 1955 Russia threw its lot in with the Arab League and cynically espoused their anti-Israel kick.

Russia sees correctly that the ignorance, fanaticism, and instability of the Arab peoples, economies and states, are suited to Russian propaganda, influence and eventual control, whereas Israel is knowledgeable, democratic, independent, stable—all characteristics unsuited to Russian exploitation.

A strong Israel in friendly co-existence with the Arab states would mean the eventual lifting of the aspirations, capacities, and viability of the Arab states, leading away from Russian control and to an independent Mideast.

Since the purposes of the United States in the Mideast coincide with such development and independence, a strong Israel in friendly co-existence with the Arab states is in the American interest.

Conversely, destruction of Israel would mean the triumph of ignorance, fanaticism and instability in the Mideast, lead to Russian control, the denial of oil resources to American exploitation, the threat of closure of the Mideast crossroads to American traffic, and the increasing dependence of Western Europe on Russian decisions.

The American purpose of a strong Israel in friendly co-existence with the Arab states,

any disparity in nuclear weapon power. Just before election Mr. Nixon rejected nuclear parity because—in his words, “this parity concept means superiority for potential enemies.” It’s true that in his first press conference President Nixon referred to “nuclear sufficiency” but this rhetoric seemed to have little influence on the thinking of his defense secretary whose views on superiority are too well known to require recitation.

When Mr. Nixon sat down at his White House desk and took a look at the Pentagon’s numbers on US vs. SU nuclear power he must have been struck by the fact that sometime before the deployment of Minuteman III and Poseidon multiplies the US striking power, the Soviets might equal or forge ahead of the United States in numbers of ICBM’s. Coming in 1970 during the mid-term elections, this lack of superiority could be annoying. But it would be positively dangerous for this inequity to persist until Mr. Nixon’s time of maximum political danger—1972. His detractors could argue that he had allowed the two decades of American nuclear superiority to slide away. His counter argument that US nuclear firepower would again top that of the Soviets in the future would be weak because it had been engineered by the Democrats while in power.

Sighting along this trajectory, it is easy to understand why Mr. Nixon opted for transforming Lyndon Johnson’s Sentinel ABM program into a deterrent-protecting Safeguard system. He could point to his initiative in assuring the nation’s security while self-righteously averring that he had not accelerated the arms race by being provocative. To be sure, Safeguard is a defensive system—so is the Soviet Galosh ring around Moscow, but this deployment of 67 missiles of questionable interceptory capability has certainly provoked the United States. In his June 3rd testimony before the Joint Economic Committee, former Budget Director Charles L. Schultze estimates the Minuteman III-Poseidon deployment as costing \$10- to \$11-billion. Incidentally, Schultze’s analysis of US weapons systems is the most penetrating that I have come across.

If the Soviets react to Safeguard the way we responded to Galosh, the arms race will run at full throttle. Conceivably they have already set in motion defense measures based on Mr. McNamara’s Sept. 18, 1967 announcement of the US decision to deploy a nationwide ABM system. This may account for the 1968 speedup in Soviet ICBM production—along the lines of Mr. McNamara’s “action-reaction” dictum. Mr. Laird might argue that Phase I of Safeguard is confined to Minuteman defense in Montana and North Dakota and that this limited deployment of missiles and radars should not provoke any massive Soviet response. However, Phase II of Safeguard probably appears to the Soviets like a carbon copy of the 1967 Sentinel System—and as the first step toward a thick shield, i.e. a Nike-X defense to ward off the lash of a Soviet second strike. Pentagon officials have now openly admitted that the original Sentinel allowed such an interpretation.

As a matter of fact even the “action-reaction” concept is not really valid because reaction by deploying a weapons systems is impossible unless it is ready to be produced. In other words, the research and development has to be accomplished if reaction is to be demonstrated. Mr. Foster, the defense R&D chief, revealed his philosophy in this regard while testifying before Senator Stennis’ Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee:

“Now most of the action the United States takes in the area of research and development have to do with one or two types of activities.

“Either we see from the field of science and technology some new possibilities which we think we ought to exploit, or we see threats on the horizon, possible threats, usu-

ally not something the enemy has done but something we have thought ourselves that he might do, we must therefore be prepared for. These are the two forces that tend to drive our research and development activities.”

Again we face a tyrannical ogre, a remorseless technology, a dictator compelling both us and the Soviets to bring forth whatever weapons systems can be made. Once a nation makes a multi-billion dollar investment in a weapons system, then as Senator Fulbright has expressed it—the system may “soon acquire its own powerful constituency.” In the case of the ABM, R&D costs mounted to \$4 billion—enough to buy quite a constituency.

Mr. Nixon cannot help but be aware of the ABM constituents, especially the aerospace contractors who will profit from the \$10-billion first installment of what may mushroom into a \$60-billion program stretching to the 1980’s. Make no mistake about it, the aerospace industry is the hard core of the military-industrial complex. It accounts for well over half of all prime military contract awards. The care and feeding of the aerospace industry has become a federal responsibility.

When President Eisenhower warned of the dangers of the “military-industrial complex,” aerospace sales amounted to \$47 billion per year, of which \$14 billion went to the customer, the US Government. John F. Kennedy campaigned for President on the basis of a “missile gap” at a time when General Dynamics inched toward the brink of bankruptcy. Kennedy’s Apollo moon program gave aerospace a \$5 billion annual sales boost and his arms policies sustained missile-aircraft production—and such firms as General Dynamics and Lockheed. Federal contracts were further boosted by the war in Vietnam so that as of last year aerospace sales totaled \$30 billion. Needless to say the federal sales accounted for a lion’s share.

Six companies—General Dynamics, Lockheed, North American-Rockwell, L-T-V, McDonnell Douglas and Boeing—racked up close to \$9 billion in space-defense sales. Each \$19,000 the government funds to this industry represents one worker-year and probably influences 4 or 5 votes. General Dynamics and Lockheed count on government orders for 85 percent of their business. Professor Galbraith has observed: “These firms are private only in the imagination.” The geographic concentration of aerospace plants produces a political leverage that disrupts the normal checks and balances of a democracy. The geopolitics of defense is a triangulated process in which military, political and industrial components are tightly interlocked. Plants are located in states and districts of powerful congressional leaders, usually chairmen of appropriations and policy committees. Defense orders flow to these favored states and districts. Political leaders promote defense policy and programs that unleash a flood of funds to these contractors. It is not a conspiracy but it is sinister.

The significance of the great debate over ABM and Safeguard is that democracy is making a valiant attempt to bring the military-industrial-political complex under effective control.

Consider, for example, the stake of the aerospace industries whose economic fortunes are tied to ABM, MIRV, AMSA and the other acronyms. Their \$30-billion sales last year were propped up by Vietnam and partly by Apollo. Slackening of military needs in Southeast Asia and a failure to fund a post-Apollo program will cause aerospace sales to dip. Aerospace companies are looking for \$100 billion in new business for the 1970-1980 period. And they are looking to the Pentagon and Capitol Hill for the means to sell these programs. AMSA, the advanced manned strategic aircraft, is promoted by Laird and his

associates as the essential follow-on to the B-52. The Pentagon attaches a bargain-basement price tag of \$9 billion to developing and producing 200 of these bombers. While Mr. Laird professes to be scared stiff about the vulnerability of 1,000 Minutemen encased in concrete underground silos, he seems little concerned about 200 AMSA’s each of which can be crumpled by a blast one-sixtieth that required to knock out a Minuteman.

The layman may well ask—can’t the aerospace industry abandon its limpet adherence to the federal government and seek business elsewhere? A number of aerospace firms have reduced their dependence on federal dollars; for example, Boeing derives only a third of its come from the government. But when General Dynamics, for instance, attempts to cut loose it has to compete with Boeing for aircraft sales. Such commercial sales are not big enough to go around in the aerospace industry. When it comes to having these specialized aircraft-missile builders invade the non-aerospace commercial market, the prospects are not very bright. General Dynamics won’t get very far making refrigerators in today’s marketplace. The pull-and-tug of the free enterprise system could thoroughly wreck the economic fortunes of single-customer companies like General Dynamics.

Aerospace companies aspire to being classed as a growth industry and they therefore strive to get more federal business each year. The Dallas-based L-T-V (Ling-Temco-Vought) firm is a case in point. When LBJ was Vice President the company ranked 61st on the Pentagon’s list of top contractors, having only \$47 million in orders. L-T-V jumped to 8th place last year with \$758 million in defense awards. Defense-based industry like L-T-V aspires to more of the defense dollar but when this short-changes its competitors, as a tightened Pentagon budget may dictate, the aerospace business will be in trouble.

A defeat on the ABM front would blight the fortunes of some of the Pentagon’s largest contractors. Cutbacks in the F-111 program, the setback on the Cheyenne helicopter, the criticism of Lockheed’s C-5A Galaxy super-cargo plane and an uncertain future for NASA are portentous. Accordingly, Wall Street has assigned record low price-to-earnings ratios for Lockheed and other aerospace stocks. The handwriting on the wall in this case happens to be quotations displayed on the board.

Defense industry, smarting, under accusations emanating from democracy’s delayed take on the “military-industrial complex,” has looked to its military-political patrons for help. Mr. Laird, the new man at the helm, appears to have thrown overboard not a life-preserver but an anchor. In the case of ABM, the Laird-Packard team could not leave well enough alone. Rather than doctor up the ailing Sentinel System, already funded under the previous Administration, they executed another swerve in policy on ballistic missile defense and invented Safeguard—a means of protecting the Minuteman silos. To backstop this new system, the Pentagon had to replace Mr. McNamara’s “greater-than-expected threat” projections with what one defense critic called “greater-than-believable” threats. Stroke by stroke Mr. Laird painted himself (and Mr. Packard and Mr. Foster) into a corner. To make a case for the vulnerability of Minuteman, the Pentagon has to resort to stacking “worst possible assumption” on top of “maximum feasible threat.”

The US Congress, which had obligingly appropriated over \$80 billion for strategic forces in the past decade, was suddenly confronted with the contention that these were suddenly vulnerable to a first strike. Cold War scholars, hard-line defense intellectuals and a chorus of ex-generals and admirals chanted their concurrences. But the incantations failed to mesmerize the defense skeptics on the Senate



is disserved by any political settlement in the Mideast, which forces Israel to retire to insecure borders and depend upon an outside guarantee whether of the United Nations or of four powers. For such an outside guarantee, legalizes a Russian right of veto in the Mideast, just as it now exists in the Security Council of the United Nations.

On the other hand, the American purpose is served by encouraging a political settlement directly between Israel and her Arab neighbors.

The reason that this has not occurred, is because thus far the Arab states have counted successfully on outside power to gain their goals such as weak frontiers for Israel, acquiescence in the Arab boycott of Israel, etc. These goals are not available in a direct settlement between the Arab states and Israel.

If the Arab states become convinced that the United States is on to the fact that Russia will not intervene as long as the United States does not, and that the United States will not pressure Israel into a political settlement but leave such settlement to the parties who are Israel and the Arabs, the way will be open to a political settlement directly between Israel and the Arabs.

The current hate propaganda generated by Russia and Arab capitals will not be able to prevent that settlement. For it will then be clear both to Russia and the Arabs that hate-Israel propaganda is unproductive.

With political settlement directly between Israel and the Arabs, will come peace, co-operation, prosperity and independence for the Mideast—all in the interest of the United States, Israel and the Arabs.

#### WHAT TO EXPECT FROM RUSSIA IN THE MIDEAST

Whatever the occasional mouthings of Arab leaders for strictly foreign consumption particularly from Egypt, their leaders are compelled by the forces of fanaticism which they have incited including among the Arab irregulars, to demand concessions from Israel which are way stations to Israel's destruction. Fundamentally, these concessions are withdrawals from territory which enable Israel to defend itself successfully.

The experience of the Vietnam negotiations, is that Russia is not likely to compel its clients to recede from demands for such concessions.

In the case of the Mideast, this means that the vital accommodations must come from those who are not Russia's clients, in this instance, Israel. This means that Israel will be pressed to give up territory vital to it in a likely resumption of hostilities, for words which Russia's clients can be pressed to concede such as "non-belligerence" or conceivably even "de jure" recognition of Israel, or words of promise of eventual access to waterways or eventual relief from boycott.

Since Israel may be expected to balk at such an exchange which may well endanger its existence, the question then arises, is Russia likely to intervene with actual force on behalf of its clients?

The key to the Mideast problem, is that neither Russia nor the United States is likely to intervene with actual force, unless the other does. For no vital interest of either Russia or the United States is threatened, unless the other intervenes in a shooting war on behalf of the actual parties, in this instance, Israel on the one hand, and Russia's Arab clients on the other.

Neither czarist nor communist Russia has ever undertaken a shooting war against a major power except where Russia's frontiers have been threatened. Russia's frontiers are not even remotely threatened either by the dispute or even a recurrence of shooting war between the actual parties to the dispute in the Mideast.

Russia can be expected to intervene in a shooting war in the Mideast if at all, only if the United States were to intervene. Con-

versely, Russia is unlikely to intervene as long as it is clear that her doing so, would require the United States to do so.

Since Russia's doing so would jeopardize vital supplies of oil for the United States and its European allies, Russia must continue to assume, that the United States cannot tolerate actual intervention by Russia.

It follows that the current rash of propaganda about the danger of Russian intervention is designed to condition the United States to put pressure on Israel to return to the vulnerable 1948 armistice lines which invited two prior Arab threats to her existence.

This would be a rerun of the cheap victory and enormous credit with her Arab clients won by Russia in 1956, when President Eisenhower forced Israel, Britain and France to retire from the Suez and the Sinai, while concurrently Russia stayed put in Hungary.

If repeating its 1956 mistake, the United States were to put pressure on Israel to withdraw to the vulnerable armistice lines of 1948, the probability this time is that Israel would not acquiesce. This would put the United States in the intolerable posture of pressing a friendly state to risk its own destruction, or even worse, inciting Russia to armed intervention on behalf of its clients out of belief that the United States would not oppose.

If refusing to repeat its 1956 mistake, the United States refuses to put pressure on either of the disputants, the consequence is that Israel and Russia's Arab clients must settle their dispute between themselves.

If Russia's clients refuse to do so as is likely for the moment to be the case, they can either continue to shore up diseased governments by this essentially false issue, or resort to a shooting war with Israel in which event they risk a re-run of three prior debacles, or take the lesser risk of continuing to encourage the Arab irregulars to cross cease fire lines into Israel.

In the latter event, the United States can serve international law and the peace by an even-handed policy of refusal to join in any condemnation of Israeli reprisals, as long as Russia continues to veto any condemnation of violation of cease fire lines by her clients.

#### NATIONAL MERIT SCHOLAR SENTENCED TO 5 YEARS

#### HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 10, 1969

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, I am truly astonished at the inequities of our present judicial system. Day after day, I read in the newspaper of cases where a felon receives a light sentence—whereas a concerned youth protesting the injustices of our country receives a severe penalty. The priorities of our judicial system are as askew as those of our Government.

Take these incidents of which I am personally aware:

First. Two robbery suspects, caught redhanded by the police, were dismissed on a technicality—the two men had strong political connections.

Second. Two young men using Nazi-like tactics to terrorize, to damage, and to harass businesses to the point that one fine bookstore was forced out of business—one of the men received a light fine and a year's probation—charges against the other were dropped altogether.

Can these crimes possibly be compared to social, economic, or political protest? Are they not more injurious to society than peaceful protest or assembly? Law and order takes a peculiar turn when protesting peacefully the unresponsiveness of university administrators, staging a sitdown strike in a discriminatory restaurant, or reading the names of Vietnam war dead—become grave crimes against society.

Yet, Mr. Speaker, the punishment of these acts speaks for itself. Today, I bring to the attention of my colleagues one specific case which concerns me deeply. One young man, a junior at Harvard University, placed on the dean's list all 3 years and a national merit scholar—has received the maximum penalty for destroying his draft card. This student's protest was prompted by the feeling of futility and frustration which followed the Chicago Democratic Convention last August.

This case has come to my attention through a touching letter from Michael B. Weissman's parents. They write, not to request political string pulling—but, as they put it:

If you have any advice, we would be grateful for it, but we are not really asking anything of you. We do think you should know the sort of thing that is going on in St. Louis. It is perfectly clear that our son is not a criminal.

I suggest that any Congressman who had received a similar letter with a similar outline of such a tragic situation—would feel as strongly as I do that these people have reaped more than their share of injustice.

A \$10,000 fine has been levied against this student and a 5-year penitentiary sentence. This, my friends, is how we are protecting society and rehabilitating criminal elements. If this were not enough in itself—I am more angered that upon the advice of his parents, the boy reapplied for a new draft card which was issued—and he was still prosecuted and subsequently convicted to the limit of the law.

Somehow, the authorities granted no consideration to this boy's previous record—his intent and action to reinstate himself under the draft—nor the obvious parental concern and guidance afforded him. The only thing the authorities did not do with this student—was name him to the Nation's 10 most dangerous criminals list.

There is no logic, no analysis, no compassion and no thought of individual or society's welfare in such a verdict. A boy like this—who asked for a chance—was totally ignored. Yet, time after time, deadly crimes committed by confessed criminals—are being rationalized and abated through the channels and rhetoric of law and order. It all depends upon the victim of crime.

If the crime is a threat to white society or a threat to a system perpetrated by white society frightened by change—no judgment is too strict. But against black, poor, Quakers, individual or group protestors—the limit of the law is sought and attained.

There is little doubt in my mind that the action taken against this student is the result of an attempt to stifle opposi-

tion to the war. The Government cannot afford to make examples out of a conscientious youth like this one who is concerned with the future of this Nation.

Senator FULBRIGHT has noted in his excellent book, "The Arrogance of Power," that it is extremely difficult for concerned Americans in the minority to protest the actions of the majority—even for a Senator—without having undue pressure brought to bear against them. He is right. I would take it a step further at this point in time, and say that majority protest against a minority who hold the strings of power is equally as difficult. Protest against the Vietnam war is such a protest.

The student in question broke the law—the law of this democracy which supposedly provides for "mitigating circumstances." In this body's case, the temper of the Nation after the Chicago convention, which was very disturbing to me, and the sincere efforts of the accused to mend his actions—should have overwhelmingly constituted "mitigating circumstances."

Inequities in punishments are not limited to Vietnam war protesters; they extend to the civil rights field as well. The St. Louis American reported on June 26, 1969, that a black man allied with a black militant organization received from an all-white jury an unprecedented 7-year prison sentence for beating another black man. The St. Louis American aptly called this punishment the stiffest sentence known in the history of black citizens of this community. One man remarked in a sadly humorous way that "They usually get only 30 days for killing each other." The black community of this country is used to the double standard of law and order—but it used to sit by and let such decisions pass as inevitable. Today, the black community will not sit by. They will act for principles in which they believe. In Watts, Detroit, Newark, and other cities, one can see that blacks no longer let pass the injustice that has burdened them for so many years.

Black people want equal protection of the law. They want crimes against black people by black people given the same consideration as white against white, black against white, or white against black. They are tired of murder ignored in black ghettos—and tired of harassment if their activities search for a change in the system. What they want, then, is equality—the same thing which has been recited to white people for 200 years.

Our country was founded in the spirit of protest. The Constitution preserves that right. The most pressing problems of our time—Vietnam and civil rights—will be protested in spite of fear of unjust punishments and repression.

Mr. Speaker—I am tired of repression whereby the system makes an unfortunate "example" of one or a group of people—just to keep other would-be followings in line. There must be changes in the handling of these cases or the present turmoil over Vietnam and civil rights will explode into proportions of which I am assuredly afraid.

Now—for the benefit of my colleagues—I insert a summary of the inci-

dent involving the youth whose case has prompted me to make this speech. I invite each of my colleagues to assess the crime and the penalty—and to console himself that this is a just nation seeking to protect the general welfare of society.

The summary follows:

#### CHRONOLOGY OF CASE AGAINST MICHAEL B. WEISSMAN

Michael B. Weissman was sentenced to 5 years in the penitentiary and \$10,000 fine in U.S. District Court in St. Louis on June 13 for mutilation of his draft card. The chronology of the case is as follows:

August 30, 1968. Michael tore his draft classification and registration cards in two and handed them to a plain clothes policeman during a demonstration in St. Louis in protest of the Chicago convention. This was a time when people all over the country, particularly students, were in a highly emotional state.

September 1. Michael wrote to his draft board disclosing in full what had happened and asking for new cards. This letter was probably not mailed until the next day. It was received by his board on September 4.

September 11. Michael was granted new cards by the board.

October 30. The draft board declared Michael 1A delinquent. There is some ambiguity over the facts here. The prosecution brief states that Michael was declared delinquent on October 11, but no notice was sent to him until October 30. It was established at the trial that an entry stating that he had been granted a 2S deferment was erased from his draft record in this period.

November 19. Michael was indicted for mutilating his card. This was more than two months after asking for and receiving new cards.

February 19, 1969. He had a personal appearance before his board, asked for reinstatement of his 2S deferment.

March 7. Trial in U.S. District Court. The judge refused to allow the defense to present character witnesses, saying that the defendant was a first offender and his good character was not in question.

March 31. Michael was again classified 1A by his local board, by direction of the state director of selective service, although the local board had written to the state director that Michael met all requirements for a 2S deferment. Michael has appealed his draft classification to the Massachusetts state board.

May 28. Verdict of guilty.

June 13. Maximum sentence imposed. No reason was given. An appeal has been entered.

Michael is now (June, 1969) 19 years old and has completed his junior year at Harvard University. He is a National Merit Scholar majoring in mathematics and has been on the Dean's list all three years.

I also insert this commentary carried in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch July 5, 1969.

#### PROBATION IGNORED

From the standpoint of saving potentially useful citizens for the future, what is the best thing for a federal judge to do with draft law offenders? Throw the book at them, by way of maximum sentences and fines, or put them on probation?

The question arises from United States District Judge Regan's imposition of the maximum five-year prison sentence and \$10,000 fine on a 19-year-old University City student, Michael B. Weissman, for mutilating his draft card. Young Weissman is a junior at Harvard on a National Merit Scholarship. He told Judge Regan after his conviction that he would advise his friends not to destroy their cards.

Judge Regan acted under provisions of a

federal law permitting him to commit the defendant to a federal institution for a 90-day period of "evaluation," which is supposed to provide him with detailed information useful in determining the ultimate sentence. After the 90-day period, the judge with evaluation in hand can cut the sentence or even order the defendant paroled. But to obtain this useful flexibility of action under the particular statute he must in the first place set the tentative sentence at the maximum level.

This statute has its uses, but if a judge believes an offender may qualify for probation after 90 days in prison the question is why he does not grant probation at once on the basis of investigation by federal probation and parole authorities. Most draft law defendants are first-offenders. Are they not more likely to be saved for useful citizenship if they are given a chance to behave themselves under probation than if they are sent to prison first? Throwing the book at them may relieve a judge's feelings, and show how tough he is, but the main question is the future of the young man who violated a law for reasons of conscience.

Judge Regan's colleagues, Judges Harper and Meredith, generally do not go even as far as he in considering this question. They almost invariably hand out five-year sentences to draft law defendants pleading conscientious objection to military service, disdaining both the option of probation or a sentence based on use of the evaluation statute. Throw the book at them! That is a lot easier than trying to understand. \* \* \*

#### TO BE REMEMBERED

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 10, 1969

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, when the House passed the 10-percent income surtax extension, it in effect told the American taxpayers that no meaningful tax reforms would emanate from the House. The low- and middle-class taxpayer, who bears the brunt of the tax burden, does not regard repeal of the 7-percent investment credit as anything but tokenism, nor will promise of protest. Only by plugging the notorious loopholes in our tax structure and relieving some of the pressure from the little man can we fulfill our promises and obligations.

A recent editorial by John Orr of the McKeesport Daily News points up the fact that the promises we make are not forgotten. I submit the editorial for the Record and the attention of my colleagues:

#### To Be Remembered

During the current Congressional proceedings over extension of the 10 per cent surtax the American citizen should keep in mind the fact that President Nixon once promised to allow the thing to die at its original termination date last Monday midnight.

Indeed, the President, during the heat of the 1968 campaign, was asked pointblank at a press conference his intentions about the Johnsonian levy and replied unequivocally that he would oppose its continuation beyond June 30.

Once elected, the President changed positions. He found that the tax was needed, he explained, to "fight" inflation. He then put pressure on a reluctant Congress, tuned into the tax revolt at home, and today seems to be getting his way. The House has approved

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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—Extensions of Remarks

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been made in using satellites for detailed photographic reconnaissance.

First conceived of by the Air Force in the early nineteen-sixties, the MOL project was the consolation prize given the Air Force after the civilian space agency was created and given the primary responsibility for conducting the nation's manned space flight program.

Initially, as its competitor to the space agency's manned space flight programs, the Air Force had the DynaSoar project to develop a manned "space glider." When the DynaSoar project was terminated in 1963 after an expenditure of \$405-million, Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara gave the Air Force permission to proceed with the MOL.

The cancellation came as the project, after many delays, was approaching the flight test stage of unmanned components.

[From the Nashville Tennessean, June 12, 1969]

#### A 2,700 PERCENT HIKE CHARGED IN SUB RESCUE PROGRAM

WASHINGTON.—The Pentagon hardly had time yesterday to concede that the cost of its primary missile program had approximately doubled before being slapped with another charge—that a submarine rescue program is running about 2,700% above original price estimates.

Barry J. Shillito, assistant secretary of defense for installations and logistics, said Air Force figures tend to support the estimate that the Minuteman II intercontinental missile program has grown from \$3.27 billion to about \$7 billion.

Shillito testified before a House-Senate economic subcommittee holding hearings on the military budget and national priorities.

The subcommittee chairman, Sen. William Proxmire, D-Wis., confronted Shillito with evidence of new cost increases, this time in the Navy's Deep Submergible Rescue Vehicle (DSRV) program.

Proxmire said the cost estimate for each submarine rescue vehicle had increased from \$3 million to \$80 million.

He said the Navy originally planned to buy 12 of the deep-diving craft for \$36.5 million but has settled for 6 at \$480 million.

Shillito conceded the figures' accuracy, but said the program had been improved so much it is "almost totally different from the one we embarked on."

Earlier an Air Force efficiency expert said Defense Department employees are sometimes disciplined for trying to cut costs because the Pentagon wants to keep its contractors prosperous.

A. Ernest Fitzgerald told the subcommittee that employees who try to economize are subjected to undesirable transfers and other forms of retaliation.

He said in 20 or 30 of the biggest defense plants, the government permits prices to be higher than elsewhere.

"The government knowingly allows them to charge higher prices to keep their plants open," he said.

"This is done in the name of 'maintaining capability' which means to keep the contractor in business."

Later, talking to reporters, he said "sure" when asked if politics was a factor in such actions. Many defense plants are located in the home states of powerful congressmen who support big military budgets.

As a result of these policies, Pentagon employees learn not to question costs and "the most successful government project managers take a detached view of all financial matters once they make sure they have enough money to cover their contractors' requirements," Fitzgerald said.

He said contractors are permitted to keep unneeded engineers on some vague project just to have them on hand.

"It ought to be stopped," he said. "If

you're going to keep them there, you should keep them doing something."

Fitzgerald's testimony was contradicted by Shillito, who said "all" Defense Department officers and employees are "dedicated to rooting out waste and inefficiency wherever and whenever they appear."

Under questioning, however, Shillito conceded that there was an "over-optimism problem" in which the estimates given Congress of the costs of new weapons often turn out to be understated.

But he said he disagreed entirely with Gordon W. Rule, the Navy's director of procurement control, who told the subcommittee Tuesday all three services "play games" with Congress in estimating the cost of new weapons.

In another military cost dispute, the General Accounting Office reported that congressional critics have been correct in saying the C5A superjet transport program will cost \$5.2 billion, some \$1.8 billion above original estimates and \$2 billion above contract target prices.

The GAO, budgetary watchdog for Congress, also said in its report to the House Armed Services Committee that the Air Force could have predicted the large increases as early as December 1967.

Nevertheless the cost increases were not reflected in routine Air Force management reports six months later or revealed to Congress until last November, the GAO said.

Proxmire added further fuel to the debate over military expenditures, saying he has information that the Air Force's short range attack missile program has increased in cost during the past year from \$300 million to \$600 million.

The first indication of the \$3.7 billion increase for Minuteman II came in testimony Tuesday from a former Air Force consultant, C. Merton Tyrrell.

Shillito conceded there's been "roughly that kind of growth." He blamed it on cost "overoptimism that is most awkward in this area."

#### THE CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

##### HON. ALLARD K. LOWENSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 10, 1969

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, for the past 10 years, the Honorable SEYMOUR HALPERN of New York has provided one of those rare voices of conscience that the Congress needs so badly. His tenacious devotion to high principle and to the public interest have brought him the admiration and gratitude of colleagues in both parties.

Recently Congressman HALPERN spoke about the crisis in the Middle East at one of the biweekly forums that we hold in the Fifth Congressional District of New York. His remarks deserve special attention in view of the deteriorating situation in the Middle East.

It has never been more important than it is now for Americans to insist that their Government press for direct face-to-face negotiations between Israel and the Arab nations. There can be no peace in the Middle East without direct negotiations, and without peace there will be no opportunity to resolve the problems that have bedeviled the people of this troubled area for so long.

Under unanimous consent I submit the statement for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

#### STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE SEYMOUR HALPERN, JUNE 15, 1969

Mr. Chairman, let us look at the Israeli-Arab situation as liberals. Let us apply the criteria we would use in judging a confrontation within the United States.

If we're going to tell it like it is in the Middle East, let's start with the relevant facts.

The Arabs, it seems, represent the establishment. They speak and think in terms of racism, religious chauvinism, militarism; they oppose change; they reject the right of a minority nation to exist.

Israel was born in the aftermath of World War II—a brutal conflict in which six million Jews were murdered.

Israel's "thing" is not war. It is survival. The state of Israel is based on a messianic concept of social justice and human redemption.

The Kibbutz philosophy, the idea of social democracy and sharing, inspired the world. Israel personified the striving of humanity. Affluent Jews assisted the culturally and emotionally deprived. The Arabs residing in Israel were accorded political rights and human dignity although Jews were brutally persecuted in the surrounding Arab states.

The underprivileged Jews of Morocco arrived in Israel and were educated and assisted with "Head Start" programs long before anyone conceived the United States' "New Frontier." An Israeli peace corps operated in underdeveloped nations of Africa and Asia in the 1950's when the brothers Kennedy were yet to capture the popular imagination.

Before Martin Luther King called out for justice, Ben Gurion, Chaim Weizmann, and Theodore Herzl had their dream. They dreamed of Jews and Arabs sharing the lands of their origin and heritage. They dreamed of cooperation. They dreamed of a region in which Jew and Arab would co-exist in human dignity and brotherhood and where the desert would be made to blossom. They dreamed of social justice and self-determination. They would have rejected imperialism and exploitation as a nightmare.

Today we find that all the idealistic dreams of the Zionist visionaries have become nightmares. We find that the Arabs have adopted the "Jim Crow" discrimination of the American southern white racists. The Arabs seemingly cannot accept the Jews as human beings entitled to a place in the sun.

The Arab line today is as rigid as that of the racists of Alabama or Mississippi of many years ago. They simply will not accord to the Israelis the right of existence as a free and equal people.

Today the Arab line of anti-Jewish hatred is spurred by Moscow. The communists have discovered a gimmick. The name of the game is "Anti-Imperialism." The Jews are branded "Imperialists." The game is so contrived that only the communists and Arabs can win. According to the game, Israel has to lose.

Moscow is using the Arabs. And the Arabs are using Moscow. The governments involved are not concerned about people. They are after power and pressure.

The Israel issue is being exploited by both Arab Imperialism and Soviet Imperialism. That is why the massive Soviet arms shipments were poured in. That is why the Arabs formed a massive lynch mob against Israel in May and June of 1967 to wipe out Israel and to finish Hitler's job. That is why the Arabs will not to this very day accept the idea of entering into peace talks with Israel.

Yes, in the Middle East the Arabs are the reactionaries. The Jews are the radicals—in the best sense of the word. That is why Israel has made one very reasonable and very non-negotiable demand. It is the demand for a face-to-face peace conference involving the personal participation of the parties to the conflict.



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Israel cannot accept the imposition of a settlement by the obviously self-interested super-powers. All this amounts to is a bid by the big boys for Arab favor, one outbidding the other at Israel's expense. Israel will no more accept an American-Soviet decision on her fate than would American bankers accept a French-British decision on what the U.S. prime interest rate should be inside the United States.

With Israel, peace is more vital than interest rates or money or any material thing. The life of a nation is involved. Israel will live or perish as a result of her own conception of what nationhood involves.

Israel has made a non-negotiable demand in answer to the world's power structures. That demand is for peace and recognition of just and defensible boundaries as the pre-condition for withdrawal of troops from territories occupied as a result of the Six Day War.

The Six Day War has become a 666-Day War. But Israel will not be intimidated by bullies and bullets.

The El Fatah Racists, a sort of Ku Klux Klan or Minutemen of the Middle East, cannot deprive the Jews of a homeland. The victims of Arab terrorism are both Moslem and Jewish. I fail to see how anyone can renounce racism and terrorism in the United States and espouse the Arab terrorist cause abroad.

Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko has just visited President Nasser in Egypt. The same old story. Reports of that meeting say the Arabs won't negotiate. Irony isn't it—the parties to the war won't be the parties to the peace.

Israel is expected to make a unilateral and unconditional withdrawal from all territories. Then Israel will be set up like a patsy for the further onslaughts of the artillery and rockets, the bomb and the bullet of the terrorists as well as the regular Arab forces.

I am very pleased to observe that the administration in Washington has not given in to pressures for a so-called Big Four Peace settlement at Israel's expense. Indeed, it now appears that our government is standing firm. The Israelis are not under pressure from the top levels in Washington although the State Department policies often waiver from expediency to expediency.

It is my conviction that our administration has insisted to the Russians that peace must come only as a part of a package deal involving a real peace settlement between the Arabs and Jews—a settlement that Israel can accept.

Meanwhile, we have just witnessed the beginning of the third year in which Israel continues to occupy the cease-fire lines established in June, 1967. This is not an ideal arrangement. But, despite the bloodshed and unrelenting Arab pressures, life goes on. Israel, if anything, is stronger. Israel is making the best of a bad situation. But as of now there is no alternative.

The United States is keeping its commitments to supply Israel with the necessary phantom jet fighter-bombers and certain other implements of defense. Hundreds of Israeli technicians and pilots have been trained in the United States and are training here.

For Israel there is no alternative to the current state of affairs. Nor is there a realistic choice for her friends. The task will not be easy. A tendency already exists for appeasement and surrender. Some well-intentioned persons say that "if only Israel will give in, if only Israel were less rigid, if only Israel were less arrogant, less belligerent, and so forth"—then, everything would be peaceful.

I am afraid, however, that it is not that simple. The "peace" that might emerge would be the "peace" one finds on a visit to the remains of the Dachau or Belsen concentration camps.

The Israelis are not ready to be liquidated because we are tired hearing about the shootings and the bombings.

Jews have survived only against all the odds of history. The Jews of Europe paid a terrible price. Israel is mindful, alert to the implications of racism and power politics. Israel is resolved not to become another Warsaw ghetto. If the Israelis can take it, her friends—if they really care—can do no less.

Israel remains a human cause of such merit that no true liberal can cop out.

George Washington spoke during the American Revolution of the summer soldiers and peacetime patriots. The going was tough and the fainthearted abandoned the cause. The cause of liberty, American or Israeli, is not yet out of date.

I do not think that a true liberal abandons a tough cause, at home or abroad. Justice for Israel is inseparable from justice in our cities and the universal quest for freedom.

### SMUT PEDDLERS—PART III

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 10, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the fight against smut peddlers has wide support, but it is going to take even more vigorous effort on the local front. Public influence can be the greatest deterrent to the spread of pornography.

A former colleague in the House, the Honorable O. K. Armstrong, wrote an interesting article on smut peddlers for the February 1967 edition of Reader's Digest, as follows:

#### A VICTORY OVER THE SMUT PEDDLERS

(By O. K. Armstrong)

Late in December 1965, while gathering information on obscene literature for a series of articles in The Reader's Digest, I interviewed publisher Ralph Ginzburg. He had been convicted by a federal court in Philadelphia on charges of selling *Eros*, a magazine which he described as "devoted to the subjects of love and sex," and two other publications that were also declared obscene by the court. He had been fined and sentenced to five years in prison. He had appealed the conviction to the U.S. Supreme Court.

From across his desk high in a New York office building, Ginzburg told me with emphatic self-assurance: "The Supreme Court will reverse my conviction! No one can define obscenity."

Ginzburg proudly admitted that his publications had proved very profitable. He told me that he had sent out about nine million pieces of advertising matter to promote *Eros* resulting in 150,000 subscriptions and three million dollars in gross revenues. When I reminded him that federal and state laws prohibit circulation of obscene materials, he exploded: "All such laws are unjust! The First Amendment to the Constitution guarantees complete freedom of speech and press, and that covers everything. In 20 years all laws against so-called obscenity will be wiped from the books!"

In decisions announced last March 21, the Supreme Court replied. In a five-to-four ruling, it affirmed Ginzburg's conviction and sentence. At the same time the conviction of Edward Mishkin, one of the country's more notorious distributors of pornography, was also upheld.

These two decisions greatly strengthen previous rulings. Heretofore, the test for obscenity had been based on the decision in

*Roth v. U.S.* in 1957. The Supreme Court then held that material is obscene if "to the average person, applying contemporary community standards, the dominant theme of the material taken as a whole appeals to prurient interest." In the Ginzburg decision, the Supreme Court went a step further, bringing into clear focus a principle long recognized by fighters for decency: *The material itself need not be the only consideration. How the material is advertised and promoted for sale to the public can be considered. If the obvious purpose of the publisher or seller is to appeal to lustful interest, he can be held accountable.* In effect, the court said, motive may determine legality.

In the ruling that confirmed Mishkin's conviction, Justice William J. Brennan took notice of the nature of the materials in this purveyor's magazines and books: fetishism, sex scenes between women, flagellation and other sadistic tortures to satisfy the perversions of sexually deviant groups. "The evidence fully establishes that these books were specifically conceived and marketed for such groups," he declared.

This decision clarified an important legal point: a pornographer can no longer plead that his offensive output was issued for a special group—such as artists, doctors or psychiatrists—if he offers his material to the general public.

The majority opinions in the Ginzburg and Mishkin cases were hailed by church leaders, public officials and news media alike. Francis Cardinal Spellman, Dr. Norman Vincent Peale and Rabbi Abraham B. Hecht, president of the Rabbinical Alliance of America, joined other religious spokesmen in a statement: "It is a matter of profound gratification to all God-loving people that the Court has served notice that panderers of filth for profit will no longer be given a free hand in contaminating our society."

The New York Times commented in an editorial: "Mr. Justice Brennan and his majority colleagues have shown wisdom and moral courage in the subtle and arduous task of upholding the law against obscenity while still protecting liberty of expression. . . . The Court inescapably concluded that Ginzburg had no scholarly, literary, or scientific interests; he was strictly an entrepreneur in a disreputable business who took his chances on the borderline of the law and lost. He is no different from Edward Mishkin . . . who was convicted for hiring hack writers to produce books deliberately aimed at an audience of sexual deviates. . . . The public clearly has the right through the enforcement of laws to curb this 'sordid business of pandering.'"

Charles H. Keating, Jr., chairman of Citizens for Decent Literature—a national organization with more than 300 chapters—says, "The Supreme Court decisions of last March, 21 make it a different ball game. . . . Any area that decides to rid itself of obscenity can do so by competent enforcement and vigorous prosecution. There is no excuse for pornographers to be in business after the Court's decision."

"The decisions provide a powerful weapon in our drive to ban pornography from the mails," says Henry B. Montague, chief of inspection of the Post Office Department.

Throughout the nation, evidence is clear that the new rulings are having a profound effect on the legal war against filth. A survey of recent trial-court decisions reveals that, in the five months following the Ginzburg and Mishkin judgments, 40 convictions in obscenity cases were rendered across the country. During the same period, 11 appellate-court decisions either affirmed lower-court convictions or reversed dismissals.

Increasingly, judges have cited the new Supreme Court opinions in their decisions. In considering one book, a New York judge noted that the Ginzburg case had "introduced a new factor in deciding what is obscene. The court will now examine the method of advertising and promoting the book. If the

on the home islands of Japan cannot be used to support a military action elsewhere in Asia without prior consultation with the Japanese Government. Additionally, no nuclear weapons can be stored on bases located in Japan. The question is can the Japanese Government politically afford to resume administrative control of Okinawa without subjecting the American bases there to the same type of restriction on free use and nuclear storages as exists in Japan?

My conversations on Okinawa last November with the American High Commissioner, Lieutenant General Unger, and members of General Unger's staff lead me to believe that the Military Establishment does not think we can restrict our use of the Okinawan bases to the same limitations as exist for the Japanese bases and still have the capacity to live up to our defense commitments in Asia.

A solution must be found to this apparent impasse. It is going to require creative and affirmative thinking by the Nixon administration. A head in the sand approach will resolve nothing and produce an even deeper division on the issue between Japan and the United States.

In my opinion, a possible solution which should be considered is the early announcement that the United States has been burdened with the administrative control of Okinawa for over 20 years. It is time that the Japanese assumed their responsibilities for the overall welfare of the Ryukyans. We, therefore, are forthwith going to divest ourselves of such control. No mention would be made of free use of the bases or nuclear storage. These points would be left for future negotiations with the recognition that any modification of American rights could well be conditioned upon Japan doing more for itself in the area of self-defense.

A second serious problem area in which Japanese interests are often at cross-purposes with those of the United States is bilateral trade policy. It is not my intent today to catalog the various commodities which constitute the \$7 billion commerce between our two countries. I want to point out however, that protectionism is always a nemesis to the health and expansion of trade and that a protectionistic state of mind is gaining strength in both Japan and the United States. Frankly, neither nation can afford it.

Following World War II the United States gave \$4 billion in loans and credits to Japan. For the first two decades following the war the balance of trade was heavily in our favor, providing in 1961 the remarkable surplus to the United States of \$654.8 million. In 1965, Japan was able for the first time to achieve a parity in her trade with us. In 1968, it was \$1.1 billion in Japan's favor. When you consider that Japan is also selling \$175 million worth of goods to the South Vietnamese Government, goods purchased with American dollars, you can readily see the extent of the deterioration that has occurred in our overall balance of commercial accounts with Japan in the past several years.

Japanese imports have had a particularly large impact on the steel and textile industries. By way of example, Japan sold \$490 million worth of steel and \$216 million worth of textiles in the United States in 1965. In 1968, the respective figures are \$809 million for steel and \$272 million for textiles.

Strong protectionist lobbies are operating on Capitol Hill to restrict Japanese imports. Congress must not succumb to such tempting false panaceas. It takes 435,000 workers to produce the commodities we sell to Japan. A self-defeating and self-sustaining spiral of restrictive trade legislation on both sides of the Pacific could endanger the jobs of one or all of these American workers.

But trade is a two-way street. If the United States is to use restraint in imposing new trade barriers, Japan must reduce those barriers to the U.S. goods which presently exist in violation of her covenants under the GATT Treaty. At the moment she has 121 illegal quota restrictions on various commodities. Japan almost totally excludes U.S. automobiles and computers from her domestic market. Japanese licensing procedures inhibit the importation of many other commodities which are not officially subject to quota restrictions. Many American businessmen throw up their arms in disgust and dismiss as impossible the prospect of being able to cut through redtape and acquire a Japanese import license.

Ongoing negotiations on the details of trade policy between high-ranking American and Japanese officials must be given high priority. Our trade with Japan is vastly more important to the United States than trade with all the rest of Asia combined. The underlying philosophy of any agreements should be to the end that a freer and more expansive commerce is developed between our two countries. This means, and I reiterate, refusal by the United States to establish restrictive trade laws and willingness by Japan to eliminate various practices which unfairly and illegally constrain the importation of goods from the United States.

An American looking at Asia today cannot help but stand in awe of the enormity of the problems facing underdeveloped countries in the region. Teeming populations, inhibiting religious and social customs, grinding poverty, low levels of education, all contribute to institutional structures that produce change at a slow and irregular pace.

Technological innovation and communications are having a dramatic impact on popular attitudes. Misery is no longer accepted as inevitable. Progress is a value of mystical dimensions. Ferment and dissatisfaction have replaced dull reignition to the unchangeable. Political unrest is an inescapable offshoot of this new awakening.

The United States as a revolutionary country should feel sympathetic to the revolution of aspirations occurring in Asia and other parts of the world. Justice, freedom, opportunity, progress are not exclusively Western values. They are human values of universal appeal.

The war in Vietnam has distorted our

vision. It has tended to polarize our thought between monolithic communism and noncommunism fighting for supremacy in the third world. In actuality the fever of irresponsible change is multifaceted and is far too effervescent for the United States or any other world power to control. We cannot remake the world. We can however in Asia, with the help of Japan, share our technical skills and capital resources to assist in the developmental process. We can relate to Japan of the 1970's and abolish stereotypes conceived during the late 1940's and early 1950's.

We must recognize the bitterness of Asia's colonial heritage and expect that our own motives will at times be held suspect. Our strategy should emphasize social and economic initiatives, not military reaction. It has to be based on long-term objectives not short-term crisis planning. We should not try and shape the present in the image of the irretrievable past. Altered circumstances require fresh vision.

We must not attempt to defend our past mistakes in Asian policy. But neither do we want to make the greatest mistake of all—that of waiting with arms folded and doing nothing for fear of making a mistake. History will judge us harshly if we do.

#### MALAWI'S INDEPENDENCE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. Diggs) is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the independence of, and the third anniversary of the declaration of the Republic of Malawi, I should like to extend warm congratulations and best wishes to President Kamuzu Banda, the Government, and people of Malawi.

Under the leadership of Dr. Banda, the Republic of Malawi is making progress in its economic development. Today, Malawi does not only have diversified agriculture to protect, as much as possible, its economy from the ruinous price fluctuations in world agricultural markets, but it has also started building a light industrial sector to complement its agricultural economy. In this particular regard, I would like to add that Malawi welcomes foreign investors whose contribution to the economic development of Africa is very urgently needed.

In saluting Malawi on this day, I wish to pay tribute to its people for the progress they have made so far and to wish them great prosperity in the years that lie ahead.

ME

#### INTERNATIONAL HYPOCRISY

(Mr. PODELL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, in light of the developing situation in the Middle East, I should like to present a capsule picture of the situation there. Backed by their Soviet allies, the Arabs grow ever more frantically bold in their des-

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perate efforts to show they have recovered from the paralyzing blow Israel dealt them not so long ago.

Shrilly their radios blast forth messages of hatred and death. There is no mention of compromise or direct negotiations. Nightly, Arab guerrillas probe at the borders of Israel, against whose defenses and awareness their thrusts increasingly fail.

Daily barrages thunder across Suez, as Egyptians violate the so-called ceasefire, using U.N. observers as targets in the process. Constantly their planes take to the air over the area, and just as constantly are brought down to earth by Israel's excellent air force.

I never cease to be amazed at the array of forces Israel is confronted by, sworn to end her national existence. Almost never before in history has such a small state stood up so bravely, consistently and successfully to such a massive, all-fronts assault upon her sovereignty. For this is truly what it is.

In the United Nations, an Arab-Soviet coalition aided and abetted by U Thant utilizes instrumentalities of that body as a forum for anti-Israel propaganda. With regularity, condemnations of Israel issue forth from the Security Council. On lower U.N. levels, attacks are made upon the rights and privileges of Jewish or Israeli organizations to participate in a full range of worldwide U.N. activities.

Internationally, there is an Arab boycott of Israel and her goods. Nations who dare trade with her are subjected to economic blackmail. Acts of terror are perpetrated against Israeli agents or agencies peacefully plying their legitimate trades. Constantly, here commerce is subjected to violence, sanction and discrimination. Yet she is unbowed and undefeated.

In spite of all this, Israel continues to thrust outward in a thousand ways. Her trade and industry expand. Her advisers aid dozens of nations around the world. I consider this tiny state a wonder.

Mr. Speaker, in spite of America's willingness to stand aside quietly at the U.N. and allow Israel to be condemned, she survives and grows. In spite of an unmatched array of enemies thirsting for her blood, she is more vibrant daily. In spite of U Thant and his pro-Arab, pro-Soviet sycophants, she stands unbowed.

Is it not incredible that we in this country debate while 2½ million survivors and children of persecution stand off the entire Arab world backed by Russia? Is it not a matter of true amazement to us to observe her courage, performance, and daring in the midst of strife; strength in the midst of threat; reality in a world of unreality.

America has stood by and let this situation deteriorate. We went along with a severe anti-Israel vote in the U.N., and make no excuses for it. We allow ourselves to be drawn into a mockery of four power talks over the Middle East. But Israel in 1969 is not Czechoslovakia in 1938. She has no desire to win a peace prize at the expense of her national existence. Direct peace talks is her reiterated theme, and she is right. Mr.

Speaker, it is incredible to me to see people making grotesque efforts to find a balance of fairness between Israel and the forces arrayed against her. It is a mockery of fairness to condemn her just for the crime of desiring to survive as a national state and live in peace. Surely the world, led by the U.N., is setting some future standard for hypocrisy by its actions.

#### FEDERAL ACTION TO TEMPORARILY BAN DDT IS IMPERATIVE

(Mr. PODELL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, every few days in the past several months the Nation has been confronted with further evidence that hard pesticides, particularly DDT, are an ever-growing menace to wildlife, ecology, and man.

I have introduced a bill to ban further shipments of this pesticide. Individual jurisdictions are banning it, domestically and abroad. A time has arrived for our Federal Government to impose a temporary ban upon further manufacture, shipment, and use of this pesticide.

To this end, I have sent a letter requesting such action to the Secretary of Agriculture, Commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration, and Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission. I am inserting the text of this letter today in the hope that it will be of interest to the membership of the House.

The text of the letter follows:

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I believe we share a common interest in both prevention of pollution and protection of our land's ecology. Recently, cumulative evidence has delivered a damning indictment of the continuing use of some hard pesticides. Most specifically, the accusing finger points to DDT.

Several species of wildlife face extinction because of this long lasting poison, among them the peregrine and American eagle. Sweden has banned its use of a trial period and Denmark will follow Sweden's lead and halt its use in agriculture, forestry, and horticulture next fall. Michigan has banned it. Arizona has done the same for two years. The New York City Park Department has banned it permanently. California is banning it from homes, gardens and in dust form on farms.

Both Great Britain and the Soviet Union are considering its discontinuation. The case of the Coho salmon and Lake Michigan watershed DDT levels is already well known. Our Department of Agriculture has banned DDT use on lettuce and cabbage, once the heads of vegetable forms.

Other short-life pesticide alternatives are easily and cheaply available. A ban on DDT use would harm no one and aid many. Every conservation group in the land, those lonely courageous voices in our modern wilderness, has been calling for such action for months now. Will it take a major disaster to make us move?

Several measures have been introduced in both houses of Congress which would end DDT's use. Banning its interstate shipment would be an excellent start. I have already introduced a measure to this effect.

It is so terribly sad to see a society which can act so swiftly on behalf of destructive goals acting in so dilatory a manner on a threat which menaces its entire structure. When wildlife is destroyed and ecosystems unbalanced, can permanent and far-reach-

ing harm to man be far behind? Are we blind to the threat? Do we not realize that what kills animal and birdlife as well as vegetation, can and will also eventually kill people? Do we not stir uneasily at the thought of pesticide residues building up to such levels that everyone on all sides of us bans or acts against it? Still, we wait.

Man is not going to be satisfied until he denudes his earth of everything in the way of wildlife except parasites who prey upon him alone. He will not be satisfied until his every stream is polluted and all his air is befouled. Until junk, garbage and solid wastes tower in mountainous heaps on every side. Until he has to stand with his back to the wall and struggle for existence with forces he has himself unthinkingly unleashed.

Here is our own land we have despoiled so much . . . ruined so much . . . killed off so much. The buffalo and passenger pigeon are gone. Our virgin forests are gone. Clean water and fresh air shrink daily. We desperately strive to save a wild river here . . . a few redwoods there. Our inheritance shrinks daily. This good and fair land bleeds from thousands of man-inflicted wounds. Then we salt them with pesticides in the name of progress. It is time that the word progress was used with a little more care. Once it was used to advance man. Today it has degenerated to the level of a camouflage term for new despoliation or exploitation.

Such evidence is incontrovertible. It is time the Federal government followed these leads. Therefore, I hope you will seriously consider a temporary national ban on further production, shipment, and use of this pesticide, until the inevitable conclusive evidence is in. In the interests of public health and national safety, I would hope you would consider such action.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

BERTRAM L. PODELL,  
Member of Congress.

#### MISTREATMENT BY OVERSEAS NATIONAL AIRWAYS

(Mr. HAYS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record.)

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago our distinguished colleague from California (Mr. VAN DEERLIN) strongly indicated his outrage at the treatment one of his constituents received at the hands of Overseas National Airways, a supplemental air carrier—perhaps better known as a nonsked.

On the chance that you missed the gentleman's words, let me repeat them for you:

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, apparently it takes a will of iron and the stamina of a fullback to travel these days on some air carriers.

This morning I received a telephone call from a constituent, who reported she had been waiting all night at Dulles International Airport, with 250 other passengers, to depart on a vacation trip to Europe.

She was highly upset, not so much by the delay as the fact that the carrier, Overseas National Airways, had not bothered to tell the passengers what was wrong or to make any effort to ease their discomfort.

I checked with the airport manager, and was told that for about 3½ hours, between 2:30 and 6 a.m., some 450 passengers from at least two Overseas National flights were milling around Dulles. At that time of night, the airport snack bar is manned by a single employee. All other eating facilities are closed, and I understand that frustrated passengers were on the verge of rioting.



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So, Mr. President, let the Senate examine these basic questions. We can argue all day and all week about the technicalities, about the computers, about the programing of computers, about the geometry of the weapons, the yield of weapons, projectile timing, and so forth. These things will have a bearing upon the issue. But the essential facts are already available, not only to the Senate, but, fortunately, to the American people, to reach a decision on the basic question.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GORE. I yield.

Mr. HART. I merely wish to thank the Senator for opening the debate in the fashion he has—effective, restrained, thoughtful, and, I think, magnificent. I wish all Senators could have heard it.

Mr. GORE. I thank the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GORE. I yield.

Mr. PELL. I wish to add my own word of accord and to add that I wish all Senators could read the thrust of the argument of the Senator from Tennessee which, I think, is well digested from many hours of testimony.

Mr. GORE. I thank the Senator.

Mr. President, I call attention to the fact that the secret hearing with Secretary Laird on the question of intelligence estimates, after the making of certain deletions, is going to the printer tonight.

It will be available to the public on Wednesday or Thursday and then the Senate and, fortunately, the American people can determine for themselves whether the Secretary now maintains that the "Soviets are going for a first-strike capability."

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GORE. I yield.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I wish to join with Senators in commending the distinguished Senator from Tennessee on his most eloquent and well-reasoned presentation this evening. I think this Senator not only this evening but also during the conduct of the hearings he held, with the quality of the witnesses and the thrust of his questions, performed an extremely important service to this body and to the people.

I wish to join him and commend him this evening. I wish to say that I am certainly hopeful that his voice will be heard often during the course of discussion and debate because there are few Members of the Senate who have his understanding, background, and experience in this subject.

I thank the Senator for his comments and my only regret is that more Senators did not hear him.

ME

## GREECE

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, Rowland Evans and Robert Novak have written three excellent columns that appeared in the Washington Post on the present situation in Greece. The first of these articles, entitled "Greece Facing Grim Alternatives: Salazar-Type Rule or Bloody Revolt," appeared in the Post on June 19. The second, entitled "U.S. Ac-

tion Against Greek Junta Is Prevented by Military Needs," appeared on June 23. The third, entitled "Nature of Greek Junta Underscored by Arrest of Distinguished General," appeared on June 26.

I ask unanimous consent that these three articles be printed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, Mr. Evans and Mr. Novak make statements that deserve close attention. They note that if the colonels who seized power in 1967 ever intended any partial return to representative government, that intention is dead. They quote the Deputy Premier as saying, when asked about popular elections, "Nobody wants elections" and theorize that this attitude may be due to the fact that the military regime's popular base is so low that calling elections "would be equivalent to surrendering power." They characterize Greece as a "huge political pressure cooker" which they say may explode into insurrection with Communists in leading roles. Messrs. Evans and Novak argue that the need for a tough U.S. stand against the military dictatorship "is being undermined by the Pentagon's military requirements in the eastern Mediterranean." They report that the commander of the U.S. Military Advisory Group and his subordinate officers "have exercised little discretion in telling their Greek counterparts how they oppose the Embassy's fastidiousness about democracy." In their last column, they point to the case of the imprisoned General Koumanakos against whom no formal charge is pending, no trial is scheduled, and no limit of imprisonment has been placed. The implications of the sentiments aroused by the Koumanakos case, according to Messrs. Evans and Novak, include the possibility that many Greeks who have viewed Communists as their blood enemies now see the colonels ruling Greece as their real foes.

The three columns by Messrs. Evans and Novak do not paint a pretty picture but they do portray the political situation in Greece today with its very real dangers for Greece tomorrow.

This also brings to our minds the need that there be appointed to Athens a tough-minded, strong-willed, civilian-oriented ambassador who will express the wishes of the United States the best he can and will nudge Greece a little further along toward democracy.

## EXHIBIT 1

## GREECE FACING GRIM ALTERNATIVES: SALAZAR-TYPE RULE OR BLOODY REVOLT

ATHENS.—The Greek military dictatorship, after two years of bland assurances to Washington about restoring democracy, intends to retain power indefinitely without free elections—posing immense danger to long-range stability in the strategic eastern Mediterranean.

If the colonels who seized power April 21, 1967, on the pretext of preventing communism here ever intended any partial return to representative government, that intention is dead. Even the few politicians who have tried to cooperate with the colonels now concede that Col. George Pappadopoulos, the Premier, envisions an institutionalized tyranny modeled after Salazar's 37-year dictatorship in Portugal.

Unlike our last visit there two years ago when the freshly installed junta pledged an early return to constitutional forms, the regime now regards itself as permanent. Brig. Gen. Stylianos Pattakos, Deputy Premier and the junta's No. 2 man, bristled when we asked about popular elections. "That is an internal matter that you cannot inquire about," he said. "Go ask the people on the street. Nobody wants elections."

Indeed, all objective sources here agree that the military regime would lose badly in free elections. The colonels' "revolution," attempting by edict to transform the Greeks into work-oriented puritans, has depleted what popularity the regime enjoyed in 1967. Although past Greek governments have had excellent success in rigging elections, the military regime's popular base is so low—perhaps 10 per cent—that calling elections would be equivalent to surrendering power.

Unwilling to surrender power, the colonels have turned Greece into a huge political pressure-cooker with the true feeling of the Greeks suppressed by the local gendarmerie's watchful eye. An election today probably would show a sharp leftward swing. More ominously, after two or three additional years, the pressure-cooker may explode into insurrection with Communists in leading roles.

These ominous prospects have their source in perhaps the tightest police state this side of Moscow. Violating the colonels' own new constitution, non-Communist potential foes of the regime—mainly army officers and intellectuals—are imprisoned without indictment or trials. Reports of torture are impossible to verify in detail, but maltreatment and brutalization of low-level political prisoners continue.

Former political leaders are watched constantly. They cannot speak their view, are denied passports to travel abroad, and have their mail and telephone calls monitored. One former Premier cannot move without a car full of police agents following him. All former cabinet members are tailed when they visit their old constituencies.

The regime's iron vise is even tighter on the academic world. So many teachers have been purged that the educational system is crippled. Distinguished professors are subject to humiliating interrogation by Col. John Ladas, hard-line secretary general of the Interior Ministry. University students, solidly against the regime, are intimidated by police agents attending their very classes. A further deterrent is formed by severe prison sentences given six young teaching assistants (two of whom later were tortured) for distributing anti-junta propaganda.

The first armed resistance against this tyranny has come from the right: clandestine supporters of exiled King Constantine. Infrequently reported in the controlled Greek press are daily bombing incidents in the heart of Athens (forcing the government court martial to change buildings). There have been unconfirmed reports that the royalist resistance was responsible for the recent deaths of three pro-junta officers.

Thus, 16 retired officers arrested recently are all royalists with anti-Communist records (two of them with service in the Korean war). The regime's contention that the arrested officers participated in a left-wing army plot is only a propaganda smokescreen.

Harassing though it may be, however, the royalist resistance is incapable of overthrowing a regime so vigilant against potential opposition. Remembering the existence of the anti-Nazi resistance in World War II, Greeks fear that the Communists—better organized than ever—will dominate if and when the resistance assumes major proportions.

That day remains relatively distant. Greek Communists, badly fragmented into rival segments, are passive. The Soviet Ambassador here is circumspect, declining to discuss

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oppose the deployment of an ABM weapon system.

When the question was before Congress heretofore, my subcommittee held extensive secret hearings. So far as I know, no secrets were withheld from the committee. But much information essential for a public judgment upon the issue was withheld from the public and from the Senate generally, except that any Senator, of course, could go to the committee rooms and obtain from the vaults the secret testimony and there read it.

This year, upon my recommendation, the subcommittee concluded to have public hearings. We felt that it was essential to involve the American people in this very important, very basic decision.

The hearings, as Senators know, have been extended. Members of the intelligence community and the universities, scientists, engineers, and authorities made themselves available by the hundreds to testify.

It has been, I believe, truly an educational experience. At the beginning of that hearing the opposition to the deployment of ABM was very much in the minority. As information accumulated, so did opposition.

So far as I know, no secret information has now been withheld from my committee. Therefore, we are fully prepared to debate it in secret session. I shall bring to the floor of the Senate numerous secret documents, including the testimony of the CIA. Nothing will be withheld from the Chamber. The more Senators know about the ABM, the more Senators will be opposed to it. I intend to afford them the opportunity to know the full story.

I know what the secrets are. What are they? They involve intelligence, intelligence estimates, sources of intelligence. They involve the yield of weapons, the geometry of weapons, trajectory, time elements, details of computers, radar, and so forth.

The secret information is largely technical.

Mr. President, there is ample information available not only to the Senate but also to the American people with which to reach a decision upon the central issue involved.

What is the central issue? It is whether or not it is necessary to deploy an antiballistic defensive weapon system, the ABM, in order to preserve the integrity of the U.S. deterrence against a nuclear war.

This is the principal basis upon which this deployment is advanced. In the words of both the President and the Secretary of Defense, ABM deployment is necessary, "to preserve the integrity of our deterrence."

Is it? Is it? That is the central issue, and on that we have joined issue. It is neither necessary nor advisable.

Why is it not necessary? It is not necessary because our country has massive power of retaliation in a variety of categories—Minutemen, the ICBM's in our Minute silos, intercontinental airplane bombers, our nuclear submarine fleet, missiles on foreign bases, planes on foreign bases, tactical weapons under our command in the NATO forces, nuclear missile launches aboard surface vessels.

There are so many and so much that our country has the power to lay 48 weapons—each one 50 times as powerful as the one that destroyed Hiroshima—on each of Russia's 50 largest cities. But Mr. Laird in public testimony on television before the American people, with millions of people listening and watching, said the Soviets are going for a first strike capability. Then he added, "There is no question about that."

Mr. President, there has been no intelligence estimate of the National Board of Intelligence to support that conclusion. And that information will be brought here in detail before the Senate.

Throughout this fight, there has been an attempt to spread an aura around the ABM, an aura of secrecy and thus win by secrecy what cannot be won in public debate in the light for all to see.

The Pentagon and the Pentagon projects thrive on secrecy. But Senators shall know.

I say the essential facts necessary to reach a judgment upon the central issue are publicly known, and I am proud to have had a part in making them publicly known.

Oh, yes. Mr. Laird says that deployment of ABM is necessary to preserve the integrity of our deterrence; therefore, he says, we must deploy ABM.

Is it necessary? The answer is "No," because of the magnitude of this country's retaliatory capacity. Deterrence has two parts: First, the power to retaliate with devastation upon an enemy who should attack the United States; second, the will to use that power. There is no question that the United States has the power; and if this country should be attacked with nuclear weapons, I have no doubt that it has the will to use that power. The important question is, What is the estimate of the Soviets of these two elements? What is their estimate of our power to retaliate if they should launch a nuclear war against us? I think they know what our power is.

What is their estimate of our will? This I do not know. But I surely do not wish to plant any questions in their mind. They are not frightened with ABM's. ABM's are not a deterrent.

Right in the beginning of this debate, let it be known that the senior Senator from Tennessee believes that we need to preserve the integrity of our deterrents. There will be no victory in a nuclear war. We would lose; they would lose; civilization would lose; everything would be lost in a nuclear exchange between Russia and the United States.

The way to win this battle is to prevent nuclear war; and to prevent it we need to have a deterrent—an unquestioned deterrent—not only the power to retaliate, but the will to retaliate. The important place for that to be rested is in the mind of anyone thinking to attack the United States with nuclear weapons. This is the central question.

Secretary Laird, in more recent testimony, has not again repeated his view that the Soviets were going for a first-strike capability. A first-strike capability, as the senior Senator from Missouri knows, is a word or term of art to the military. I placed in the Record an official interpretation of the term. It means,

in laymen's language, the capability of striking a country a first blow with such devastation that that country will not have the power to retaliate with unacceptable risk.

I ask the Senator from Missouri if that is a correct statement.

Mr. SYMINGTON. I would say that it is a correct interpretation.

If the Senator from Tennessee will yield to me for a brief remark, I would hope that every Member of the Senate would realize that for many years the distinguished senior Senator from Tennessee has been a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

Mr. GORE. I thank the Senator from Missouri. I was a member of a small subcommittee that handled the appropriation for the Manhattan District when Oak Ridge, Tenn., was still a wilderness. I have been involved in nuclear energy since its very beginning. So far as I know, no secrets have ever been withheld from me. No secrets will be withheld from the Senate in this debate.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. GORE. I yield.

Mr. SYMINGTON. I am glad that the able Senator brought up that fact, because he was deeply interested in the atomic picture when he was a Member of the House of Representatives for many years prior to his coming to the Senate. Therefore, I say without fear of contradiction that his position in this matter is at least as experienced as that of any other Member of the Senate.

Mr. GORE. I thank the Senator.

I wanted to say at this time, right in the very beginning, that we need to keep our minds on the central question: Is the deployment of ABM necessary to preserve the integrity of our deterrence? I think the answer, unquestionably, is No. Then the question is, If unnecessary, or though unnecessary, is it advisable? This leads to the involvement of our will and the estimate of our will. But more important, perhaps, it leads to the third point, which is that our deployment of ABM will stimulate and accelerate another round in the nuclear armaments race, out of which will come not more but less security for our country; less opportunity, not more, to avoid a nuclear war. So let us start the debate on this level.

I know there are questions as to whether it will work; questions about the computers; questions about the radar; questions about accidental detonations; many questions and doubts. These are mostly tangential and secondary issues.

The fundamental issue, let me repeat, is this: Is the deployment of ABM necessary for the Soviets to know that we have the power to retaliate with devastation if they should level an atomic attack against us? And is it necessary or advisable to deploy ABM to convince them of our will to do so if they start a war? Or would ABM deployment affect their estimate of our will to retaliate?

We have no intention of starting nuclear war. Our strategy has been postulated on the thesis that the way to prevent a nuclear war is to have the power to retaliate. This is the deterrence. This is what Winston Churchill called the balance of terror.

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Greek internal affairs during a recent two-hour luncheon with an anti-junta politician. The Communists know the time is not ripe for insurrection.

But heavy government borrowing and stagnant investment here the last two years are storm signals for the modest prosperity now enjoyed by Greece. If an economic recession and rising discontent with dictatorship intersect some years from now, the dismal alternatives may be these: an institutionalized police state along Salazar lines or a bloody insurrection with Red overtones. Before that happens, however, the colonels might yet be turned out by a strong stand against them from Washington—a prospect, even though unlikely, worthy of discussion in a later column.

#### U.S. ACTION AGAINST GREEK JUNTA IS PREVENTED BY MILITARY NEEDS

ATHENS.—The growing need by U.S. foreign policy for a tough stand against the Greek military dictatorship to avert ultimate political tragedy here is being undermined by the Pentagon's military requirements in the eastern Mediterranean.

Indeed, Greece poses a critical dilemma in American foreign policy. A return to Greek democracy may well depend upon U.S. repudiation of the colonels and halting all military aid. But such action conceivably could deprive the U.S., in the short run at least, of naval bases and communications guidance for the 6th Fleet and Polaris submarines vital to the nuclear deterrent.

Those military considerations prevent sharp U.S. action against the junta. But the long-run cost could be immense. At worst, perpetuated dictatorship here could trigger a popular insurrection led by the Communists. At best, U.S. permissiveness toward the military regime already is building intense anti-American sentiment which will surface in any regime that replaces the colonels without Washington's help. Thus, the long-range U.S. military position in the eastern Mediterranean is becoming dependent on permanent tyranny in Athens.

Even though military needs inhibit American diplomats, relations between the Greek government and the U.S. Embassy here—so intimate for 20 years—are icy. The junta deeply resents the absence of an American ambassador since January. U.S. diplomats do not hide their displeasure with the colonels' aim of institutionalized dictatorship.

But whatever impact this official American frigidity might have is counteracted by the U.S. Military Advisory Group here whose commander, Maj. Gen. Samuel Eaton and his subordinate officers have exercised little discretion in telling their Greek counterparts how they oppose the Embassy's fastidiousness about democracy.

Any psychological influence of the vacant Ambassador's chair is obliterated by constant shuttling in and out of Athens by U.S. officers assigned to NATO. Their photographs in friendly poses with Col. George Papadopoulos, the Prime Minister, almost daily adorn the controlled Greek newspapers. Most notorious was the reply to a Papadopoulos toast by Gen. Lyman Lemnitzer, retiring NATO commander, in which Lemnitzer conveniently omitted phrases about democracy and the rule of law while quoting from the NATO Treaty's preamble.

The same impression was given by President Nixon's shabby treatment of King Constantine, self-exiled in Rome since his bungled counter-coup in December, 1967. A tentative visit with the King during Mr. Nixon's visit to Rome early this year was cancelled after pressure from the junta. Con-

stantine was denied a meeting with the President while in Washington for the Eisenhower funeral (although Brig. Gen. Stylianos Pattakos, the Deputy Prime Minister, had a few minutes with Mr. Nixon).

Moreover, the Greek colonels are expert at disregarding signs of displeasure from Washington. In an interview, Gen. Pattakos told us that the portion of military aid which has remained suspended since the coup of April 21 will be resumed soon. When we asked the basis for this forecast, Pattakos replied with a statement that simply is untrue: "President Nixon has promised it."

In fact, Pattakos's triumphant account of his Washington visit was so removed from reality that the State Department on April 24 issued a sharp statement indicating Pattakos had been urged to restore representative government and civil liberties. When we asked about that statement, Pattakos told us it did not represent the U.S. Government's position. Then who wrote it? "Some Communists," he snapped.

Summoning up, a conservative Greek politician says: "Everybody I know thinks the American Government participated in the coup." Old-line politicians such as former Prime Minister Panagiotis Canellopoulos argue with friends that Washington cannot be blamed. But among the younger generation and particularly students, anti-American feeling is rising steadily in a land where once it was almost unknown.

Nevertheless, the United States might yet put itself on the side of democracy. The three elements whose maneuvering degraded Greek political life before the coup—the King and the two major political parties—are belatedly cooperating and ready to form an interim unity government.

Tentatively, King Constantine would return as rallying point for all Greeks with the government headed by conservative Constantine Karamanlis, who provided stability during eight years as Prime Minister and is now exiled in Paris. But neither the King, nor, more important, Karamanlis will return to Athens without Washington's repudiation of the junta.

Few realistic Greeks, however, believe the Nixon Administration will move decisively against the colonels. That accounts for skepticism among gloomy Greek democrats that the dictatorship can be terminated peacefully. Worse yet, they feel preoccupation with naval bases is wedding the United States to the fate of the colonels, be it a generation of tyranny or their violent overthrow and the dangerous days that would lie beyond.

#### NATURE OF GREEK JUNTA UNDERScoreD BY ARREST OF DISTINGUISHED GENERAL

ATHENS.—The true nature of the Greek military dictatorship is revealed in the fate of Maj. Gen. George E. Koumanakos, who gained international renown fighting Communists on the field of battle and is now completing his 17th month of imprisonment by the colonels who claim they have saved Greece from communism.

The Koumanakos case is another example, dismally frequent in this generation, of Kafka come to life. No formal charge is pending, no trial is scheduled, no fixed limit has been put on his captivity. Underlining the Kafkaesque touch, Koumanakos had kept scrupulously free of political connections—unlike many fellow Greek officers.

Why then is he imprisoned? For precautionary reasons. Koumanakos, a living legend in the Korean War as the fearless commander of the Hellenic Expeditionary Forces, is a patriot who some day conceivably might

oppose the present tyrants. Thus, the junta took no chances with a potential rebel.

Koumanakos is one of many. The distinguished Adm. Athanasios Spanides, 66, is beginning his 14th consecutive month of detention in a Greek village. A brigadier, one of the army's most daring officers, is in poor health after suffering head injuries (supposedly in a diving accident) while in captivity. A highly respected retired major general who responded to his recent early morning arrest by slapping the face of the arresting officer was beaten bloody by security troops.

But the case of Koumanakos is perhaps closest to Kafka because of his valorous and wholly nonpolitical career. As a youth in World War II, Koumanakos won a battlefield commission and later escaped the Nazi occupation to join Free Greek bombing squadrons. He was in combat against the Communists throughout the bloody Greek Civil War of 1947-49, winning special commendation from Lt. Gen. James Van Fleet as the conqueror of Mount Cleftis.

But Koumanakos's greatest fame as a soldier came in the mountains of Korea in exploits that inspired his U.S. comrades in an official report of March 25, 1953. Koumanakos's American superior officer, Col. R. E. Akers, Jr., said:

"The Greeks are truly fierce soldiers . . . Yet all their individual courage and resolution is best symbolized in their commander, Lt. Col. Koumanakos. He has constructed for himself an outlook . . . which is higher and nearer the enemy than any other post of a senior commander in Korea. Col. Koumanakos is my eagle. He goes to his battle position high above his soldiers each evening . . . Col. Koumanakos would welcome a Communist attack."

After winning the U.S. Silver Star and Legion of Merit, Koumanakos commanded the Greek military detachment on Cyprus in the 1960 crisis, headed general staff operations in 1964-65, and then retired. So circumspect was he about keeping out of politics that he purposely went abroad in the spring of 1967 to avoid the national election campaign that was canceled by the colonels' coup of April 27, 1967.

Assuming that he had nothing to fear from anti-Communist fellow officers, Koumanakos returned to Greece May 17. Seven days later he was arrested at his home without charge. The General was held for five months at the police station, then transferred to a small, damp prison cell for common criminals where he suffered a heart attack three days later. After a week in the prison hospital, Koumanakos was released in a Christmas amnesty. The charge, made five months after his arrest and never substantiated, was a misdemeanor: "calumniating another officer in 1963."

Koumanakos lived quietly after his release, still refraining from politics. Nevertheless, he was pulled from his bed last Aug. 13 and rearrested following the assassination attempt against Col. George Papadopoulos, the Prime Minister. Charged only with being "dangerous for the country's security," Koumanakos has spent nine months in closely-guarded exile in three villages.

He is now at Deskati in northern Thessaly, sometimes confined for days to his room in a peasant house. He is forbidden to talk to officers or foreigners and the local gendarmerie warns the villagers not to talk to the General. He is given a private soldier's pay of 17 drachmae (about 60 cents) a day for food and shelter.

Col. Nicholas Makarezos, a key member of the junta who served under Koumanakos



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against the Communist guerrillas, has privately expressed shock at his imprisonment but has done nothing about it. When Koumanakos's wife appealed to the U.S. Embassy, she was informed by a high-ranking diplomat that this was not an American concern. Koumanakos has refused to write his old American comrades-in-arms because he does not want to criticize Greek officers to foreigners.

Those sentiments reveal an officer of the old school, which may be why the colonels have imprisoned him. But the precautionary detention is producing one side effect. Gen. Koumanakos's friends and family for a generation have viewed the Communists as their blood enemies, but now see their real foes as the colonels reigning in Athens. The profound implications of that change in outlook are yet to be felt.

## ADJOURNMENT

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 6 o'clock and 14 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, July 8, 1969, at 12 o'clock noon.

participation in the political life of South Vietnam for all political elements that are prepared to do so without the use of force or intimidation."

Religious and political suppression is widespread. Speaking for peace or in any other way opposing the Government easily brings the charge of communist sympathy and subsequent arrest. Long detention without trial is frequently the result.

The number of political prisoners continues to increase.

There must be no illusion that this climate of political and religious suppression is compatible with either a representative or stable government.

We respectfully request that you consider this in weighing any commitments to the Thieu Government.

On behalf of the Study Team on Religious and Political Freedom in Vietnam,

JOHN CONYERS, JR.,  
Member of Congress.

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#### PROSPECTS FOR ATLANTIC UNITY, MIDEAST PEACE

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I wish to report to the Senate on my trip to Israel and to five major capitals of Europe undertaken during the period of May 24 to June 9. My trip had dual, and interrelated, purposes. As Chairman of the Political Committee of the North Atlantic Assembly—the NATO Parliamentarians' Assembly—it was my duty to chair the Political Committee's spring meeting at NATO headquarters in Brussels on June 9. Preceding the Political Committee meeting, I made short visits to the major European capitals, as is my practice, to meet with government leaders and to confer with our own American Ambassadors.

Also, I used the occasion of my trip to Europe to visit Israel for several days en route. In Israel I had intensive discussions with the U.S. Ambassador and his staff and with Israel's Government leaders dealing with the hopes for peace between Israel and the Arab States which is of direct concern to the United States and to NATO.

I summarize my findings herewith and report my conclusions and offer recommendations.

In Europe, I visited, in order, Paris, Bonn, Frankfurt, Rome, London, and Brussels. My visit to Paris immediately preceded the first round of France's presidential election. I met with a number of highly placed private persons who were able to acquaint me with the full spectrum of French opinion with regard to

the significance of General de Gaulle's departure from the Presidency.

In addition to my meeting with a number of distinguished citizens and parliamentarians of France, I met with Ambassador Shriver and his senior staff. I also had a fine discussion with Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge—the chief U.S. negotiator at the Paris Vietnam negotiations—and his principal aide.

An additional major reason for my visit to Paris was to fulfill a longstanding commitment to address the American Club in Paris. My speech, entitled "The Atlantic Community: Return to the Mainstream," was prominently reported in the European press. I shall ask unanimous consent that its text be printed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks.

From Paris I traveled to Bonn, where I had an extensive conversation with Chancellor of the Federal Republic, Dr. Kurt Kiesinger. I also had a most interesting and useful luncheon conversation with Mr. von Hase and Mr. Duckwitz, the Under Secretaries of the German Defense and Foreign Ministries, respectively. This took place at the residence of our able Charge d'Affairs, the honorable Russell Fessenden.

The following day, I chaired a 3-hour meeting at the Deutsche Bank in Frankfurt concerning the work of the Eastern Mediterranean Development Institute—EMDI. The meeting was attended by leading German bankers, university figures, foundation officials, industrialists, and airline officials who have participated in the work of EMDI. EMDI is a project which began under the auspices of the Economic Committee of the North Atlantic Assembly in 1965, when I was Chairman of that Committee.

EMDI, initially known as "the Greek-Turkish project," was inaugurated at the request of the Greek and Turkish Governments with the purpose of promoting economic development and cooperation in the two eastern Mediterranean members of NATO. This project has now been converted into an institute which has no formal connection with the North Atlantic Assembly. I am chairman of the board of directors. I ask unanimous consent that a copy of the latest EMDI status report be printed at the conclusion of my remarks.

In Rome, I had an extremely useful meeting with Dr. Guido Carli, the distinguished Governor of the Bank of Italy, covering the entire range of issues concerning international monetary problems and prospects for reform. I also met the Vice Prime Minister, Mr. de Martino, who provided me with a most interesting assessment of Italian, European, and world issue as seen from his own political perspective as a left Socialist. In Rome I also had helpful briefings and conversations with key members of the U.S. embassy staff, and with informed and highly placed private citizens.

In London I had a wide range of meetings and discussions with senior government and opposition leaders, distinguished private citizens and the American Ambassador and his senior staff. It was my privilege to call upon Prime Minister Harold Wilson at 10 Downing Street and to call upon Chancellor of

the Exchequer Roy Jenkins at 11 Downing Street. The leader of the opposition, the Honorable Edward Heath, was out of town, but I was able to learn the thinking of the Conservative Party on key issues from conservationists with the chairman of the party, Mr. Anthony Barber, and other senior associates of Mr. Heath.

The Political Committee meeting in Brussels was attended by a distinguished group of parliamentarians from all the NATO countries excepting Greece—where democratic institutions have been overthrown by the military regime—and Italy—which has not yet reconstituted its NATO parliamentary delegation following the last elections. In addition to intensive day long discussions with my parliamentary colleagues in Brussels, it was also my privilege to have a most interesting meeting with the Honorable Manlio Brosio, the distinguished Secretary General of the North Atlantic Council.

#### FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS IN EUROPE

My principal findings and conclusions regarding the policy situation in Europe may be summarized as follows:

First, I found widespread alertness to the new possibilities for European unity resulting from the change of leadership in France. Immediate attention is focused specifically on the issue of expanding the European Common Market, or EEC, to include Britain and other applicants of the EFTA. I consider this to be free Europe's No. 1 priority for the near term.

But, while there is a strong general disposition to move ahead, both with the expansion of the EEC and on the longer range problem of European political unification, the question of leadership for these moves remains to be decided. While it is recognized that the United States has an important role, it is recognized also on both sides of the Atlantic that the United States cannot be the leader. For varying reasons, Germany, Britain, Italy and France all feel momentarily inhibited from playing a determined leadership role in the revival of the historic postwar movement toward European unity. I am satisfied that with the United Kingdom in the EEC, the objective of present decisionmaking will have been realized and collective leadership will be adequately effective.

The priority which President Nixon has restored to Europe in U.S. foreign policy, his emphasis on a meaningful allied consultative process, his Western European trip and the initiatives he proposed at the 20th anniversary celebration of NATO—all have struck deeply responsive cords in Europe and have helped reverse the erosion of confidence and esteem for U.S. policy notable in recent years in the eyes of our European allies, and largely attributable to Vietnam.

Second, U.S. moves to bring the Vietnam war to an early conclusion have renewed the disposition of our traditional European allies to accept U.S. leadership and to participate again in multilateral efforts to deal with the pressing issues of war and peace.

Third, On the vital question of international monetary problems, I found broad awareness of the need for major reforms. But there was also a curious

\* Organizational associations listed for purposes of identification only.

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All of these carefully spelled-out guarantees were nullified for political offenders by Law No. 10/68 of November 5, 1968, which we have earlier described. This law amends and revitalizes a pre-constitutional decree issued June 24, 1965. By its legitimization of the Military Field Courts, this law, in effect, amended the Constitution although none of the Articles of the Constitution related to amending the document (Nos. 103-107) were complied with.

The November 5, 1968 law, in addition to authorizing the invasions of individual rights previously recited authorizes local proclamations of martial law and in its Article 2 declares that:

"All violations of the law related to national security fall within the Military Field Courts which will try them in accordance with emergency procedures."

The creation of these "Military Field Courts" is nowhere authorized in Article 76 through Article 87 of the Constitution, which provide in detail for the structure of Vietnam's jurisdiction. Nor is the "Military Field Courts" related to military tribunals which exist in the armed forces of South Vietnam for the prosecution of offenses committed by military personnel. The "Military Field Courts" are not really courts at all.

The Study Team is convinced that the number of arrests and imprisonments continues to grow larger under the law of November 5, 1968. Moreover, it is clear that the 1968 law, unlike the 1965 decree, abrogates and amends the 1967 Constitution of South Vietnam in an illegal way. Indeed, the 1968 law eviscerates that Constitution and suggests that the President and the National Assembly disregarded the Constitution in several respects and, relying on "a state of war", undertook to legitimize the Military Field Courts which imprison persons in proceedings having few if any of the features of a real trial. No matter how favorably they are viewed, these courts serve as the instrument by which the Thieu government imprisons and thereby silences its critics.

The inadequacies of the Military Field Courts are many. Among their more glaring defects are the following:

(1) These courts violate Articles 77 of the Constitution which stipulates that every court should be composed of "an element that judges and an element that prosecutes, both of which are professionally qualified." In the Military Field Court, the judge is a military official not necessarily trained in law.

(2) The offenses triable by the Military Field Courts are non-appealable. The denial of these basic rights violates the Vietnam Constitution as well as the practices which have become customary in most of the judicial processes in the civilized world.

(3) The Military Field Courts also violate Article 9 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states that, "No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention." This statement is now incorporated in the draft Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and is broadened to read as follows:

"Everyone has the right to liberty and security of person. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest and detention. No one shall be deprived of his liberty except on such grounds and in accordance with such procedures as are established by law."

These provisions are being violated in South Vietnam. Their violation is thus a violation of the Constitution of South Vietnam which states in Article 5 that "the Republic of Vietnam will comply with provisions of international law which are not contrary to its national sovereignty and the principle of equality between nations."

## IV. APPENDIX

## A. U.S. study team on religious and political freedom in Vietnam

James Armstrong, Bishop of the United Methodist Church, Dakotas Area. Bishop

Armstrong received his A.B. from Florida Southern College, a B.D. from Emory University, and D.D. from Florida Southern and DePaul University. Elected to the episcopacy in 1968, James Armstrong is the youngest United Methodist Bishop in the United States. He taught for eight years at the Christian Theological Seminary (Disciples of Christ) in Indianapolis, served for ten years as minister of the Broadway United Methodist Church in Indianapolis. Known for his interest in public affairs, he was a board member of the Community Service Council, the Urban League and the Indianapolis Progress Committee, and was singled out as "one of the leaders who builds cities" by Time-Life in its book *The Heartland*. He himself is the author of the book *The Journey That Men Make*, published by Abingdon Press.

Mrs. John C. Bennett (Anne McGrew Bennett). Mrs. Bennett received a B.Sc. in Education from the University of Nebraska and M.R.E. from Auburn Theological Seminary. She taught for several years in country schools in Nebraska, was married in 1931 to John C. Bennett, now President of the Union Theological Seminary in New York City. Mrs. Bennett has been active in denominational and interdenominational affairs for many years. She is a member of the U.S. Inter-Religious Committee on Peace, a former board member of the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ, and served from 1960 to 1964 on the General Board of the National Council of Churches.

Allan Brick, Associate Secretary for National Program, Fellowship of Reconciliation. Dr. Brick received an A.B. from Haverford College, an M.A. and a Ph.D. in English from Yale University. A former professor of English at Dartmouth and Goucher Colleges, Dr. Brick served as Peace Education Director for the American Friends Service Committee, Middle Atlantic Region, from 1966 to 1968. He has published articles on English and American literature, as well as articles on student and protest movements and is co-author of *The Draft*, a report by the American Friends Service Committee, published by Hill and Wang, New York.

John Conyers, Jr., Representative in Congress of the First Congressional District, Detroit, Michigan. Congressman Conyers received his B.A. and his law degree from Wayne State University. Currently serving his third term both as a Representative and a member of the Judiciary Committee, he has been an active supporter of civil rights legislation in Congress. In this capacity he has made trips to Selma, Charleston, Mississippi and other places to investigate cases of civil rights violations. Prior to election to Congress, Mr. Conyers was a labor and civil rights lawyer, also serving as Director of Education for Local 900 of the United Auto Workers, an executive board member of the Detroit NAACP and an advisory council member of the Michigan Civil Liberties Union. During the Korean conflict, he served as a Second Lieutenant in the Corps of Engineers.

Robert F. Drinan, S.J., Dean, Boston College Law School, and Professor of Family Law and Church-State Relations. Father Drinan received his A.B. and M.A. from Boston College, his LL.B. and LL.M. from Georgetown University Law Center, an S.T.L. (Licentiate in Sacred Theology) from Gregorian University in Rome. He is author of several books, the latest of which is *Democracy and Disorder*, published on 1969 by the Seabury Press, and is a contributor to many publications, including *Commonweal* and the *Harvard Law Review*. Father Drinan has served widely in legal, civic and education organizations and committees. He is a former vice-president of the Massachusetts Bar Association, is currently chairman of the M.B.A.'s Committee on the Administration of Justice and chairman of the Advisory

Committee for Massachusetts to the United States Commission on Civil Rights.

John de J. Pemberton, Jr., Executive Director of the American Civil Liberties Union. Mr. Pemberton received his B.A. at Swathmore in 1940, an LL.B. cum laude at Harvard in 1947. As a student at Harvard Law School, Mr. Pemberton served on the board of editors of the *Harvard Law Review*; after graduation, taught commercial and bankruptcy law at Duke University until 1950. From 1950 to 1962, he practiced law in Rochester, Minnesota, as a member of the firm of Pemberton, Michaels, Bishop and Seeger. In Rochester, he served on the Minnesota Advisory Committee to the United States Civil Rights Commission and the Minnesota Fair Employment Practices Commission. An active member of the ACLU since 1950, Mr. Pemberton was appointed its Executive Director in 1962.

Seymour Siegel, Professor of Theology in The Jewish Theological Seminary of America and Assistant Dean of its Herman H. Lehman Institute of Ethics. Dr. Siegel graduated from the University of Chicago. In 1951 he was ordained by the Jewish Theological Seminary and in 1958 received the Seminary's degree of Doctor of Hebrew Literature. As representative of the World Council of Synagogues, Dr. Siegel has traveled widely to Jewish communities abroad; in 1962, he became the first Visiting Professor from the Seminary to serve at the Seminario Rabbinico Latinoamericano in Buenos Aires. He is a member of the editorial boards of *Conservative Judaism*, *Jewish Heritage*, and editorial consultant to Benziger Brothers Publishing Company. Now completing work on his second book, *Jewish Theology Today*, he has also contributed many articles and reviews to both scholarly and popular journals, among them the *Saturday Review* and *Commentary*.

Arnold E. True, Rear Admiral, United States Navy, Retired; Professor Emeritus of Meteorology, San Jose College. Admiral True received a B.S. at the U.S. Naval Academy in 1920, and M.S. from M.I.T. in 1931, and graduated from the U.S. Naval War College in 1935. He served in the United States Asiatic Fleet in the Far East, commanded the USS Hammann and two destroyers in World War II, and was on the staff of the Commander-in-Chief of the United States Atlantic Fleet between 1944 and 1946. During the Battle of Midway he received injuries which necessitated his retirement. From 1947 to 1967 he was professor of meteorology at San Jose College. Admiral True recently presented testimony to the Senate Armed Services Committee concerning budget requests of the Department of Defense.

The Reverend Peter Jenkins, of Congregational Church, Wimbledon, England and Treasurer of Eirene International Christian Service for Peace Organization, met the team in Paris and accompanied them to Saigon.

CABLE FROM U.S. STUDY TEAM TO PRESIDENT NIXON

SAIGON,  
June 5, 1969.

President NIXON,  
Washington, D.C.:

The Independent Study Team on Religious and Political Freedom in Vietnam has completed its study here and is preparing a detailed report. The team met with South Vietnamese and United States officials, various Buddhist and Roman Catholic leaders, representatives of other principal sects, members of the National Assembly, attorneys and other specialists in jurisprudence as well as numerous private individuals, including some prisoners.

The team inspected prisons in Saigon, Thu Duc and Con Son. Our final report will be related to the following firm impressions:

The Government of South Vietnam does not presently exemplify at least one of the goals set forth in your May 14th statement. "There should be an opportunity for full



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preoccupation with the tactical and political problems and difficulties—at the expense of the substantial and vital long-term benefits to be gained from comprehensive, multilateral measures. International monetary reform is the No. 2 priority of the Atlantic developed nations.

Fourth. The U.S. preoccupation with Vietnam, and the concurrent Gaullist-led opposition to European and Atlantic Community unification, have left a residue to parochialism and protectionism in trade and other policies of Western Europe. Boldness, and breadth of vision have been eroded, while the habits of traditional nationalism have been strengthened. The No. 3 priority must be further trade liberalization and reduction of nontariff barriers to trade.

Fifth. Considerable interest has been evoked by President Nixon's proposal regarding the undertaking of joint efforts in the Atlantic community with respect to the environmental problems of modern industrial societies—questions of the quality of life in the context of such factors as air pollution, high-density living, mass housing and transport problems. This is the No. 4 priority for the Atlantic developed nations.

Sixth. I found less awareness in Europe than I had expected of the significance of internal U.S. debates with respect to the nuclear arms race, the Vietnam war and national priorities, and United States-U.S.S.R. negotiations with respect to strategic arms limitations, the Middle East and other subjects. It seemed to be taken for granted that ultimately the Federal Republic of Germany too would adhere to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

My four principal policy recommendations are as follows:

First. The United States should adopt an active, supportive policy with respect to the expansion of the EEC, by including Britain and the other EFTA applicants, within a coordinated policy framework directed toward eliminating nontariff barriers to trade.

Second. The United States should take the leadership in convening a new Bretton Woods-type of conference to effect major reforms in the international monetary system. In my judgment, major reforms are needed urgently and can only be achieved by an international conference of this nature. These are some of the prime considerations:

The industrial nations can no longer afford to lurch from one weekend currency crisis to the next—with disaster narrowly averted by ad hoc rescue parties.

The political problems of unilateral adjustments of currency parities are too great to be handled effectively on a case-by-case basis; but multilateral adjustments can help overcome the political problems of all.

The present and anticipated future supply of monetary gold is just too small as a base for expanding international trade and meeting the problems of liquidity on a long-term rather than short-term basis.

The International Monetary Fund should be given new authority to permit it to function more as a world central bank, empowered to create new reserves as needed—through special drawing rights and possible revaluation of monetary gold—and related central-bank functions including the provisions of large-scale credits for the developing nations of the southern zone.

Third. The United States should take the leadership in creating new patterns and institutions to expand trade through a large new grouping of industrial nations including the United States, Canada, Japan, the EEC, and other advanced nations. In addition, the United States should pursue a policy of greater Atlantic community economic consultation and unity, and harmonization of policy on East-West trade.

Fourth. Specific programs should be adopted to implement President Nixon's proposals for joint planning and consultations within the Atlantic community with respect to the environmental problems of life in advanced industrial societies. We must seize this imaginative new approach to improving the quality of life for all our citizens through a sharing of experience, knowledge, and research on the problems of air and water pollution, public health problems in a changing environment with changing population patterns, and problems related to high-density living such as mass housing and transport systems.

#### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATION CONCERNING MIDEAST

I wish to report the following conclusions and recommendations with respect to Mideast policy.

First. It is essential the United States strive for a permanent peace in the Mideast with the terms mutually supportive, and that the United States not once again be a party to armistices or cease-fire lines. This entails a willingness to sweat it out in the months ahead until a meaningful peace is attainable through negotiations principally between the parties concerned—Israel and its Arab neighbors. The United States must resist attempts to achieve an imposed peace forged under the pressure of Arab and Soviet propaganda efforts to portray the Mideast as being on the verge of explosion into another war endangering world peace.

Second. In the absence of a change of heart by the United Arab Republic Government with respect to acceptance of the fact of Israel as a nation, and of the need for a meaningful peace agreement, there may be little prospect of reopening the Suez Canal. The United States and its European allies should proceed with long-term plans on the basis that the Suez Canal may not be reopened in the immediate future, but efforts should continue to be made to reopen the canal as an international waterway available to all and not the exclusive property of the United Arab Republic.

Third. Efforts should continue to achieve an international agreement on the limitation of arms shipments into the Mideast from outside sources. Such agreement should, of course, be consistent with the legitimate security needs

of the nations of the area, including Israel's requirements for deterrent strength in the supersonic aircraft field and the supply of the supersonic jets agreed to be delivered by the U.S.

Fourth. A new look should be taken at the Arab-refugee situation, and the international support so long given to keep them in a refugee status.

Fifth. The possibilities of an economic self-help organization in the Middle East, with United States and free Europe's support, should again be explored.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed at this point in the Record a speech entitled, "The Atlantic Community: Return to the Mainstream," delivered by me before the American Club in Paris and a status report to the board of directors of the Eastern Mediterranean Development Institute, of which I am chairman, and remarks by me in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 28, 1960.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY: RETURN TO THE MAINSTREAM

(Speech by Senator JACOB K. JAVITS, before the American Club, Paris, May 29, 1969)

We are about to witness the dawn of a new era of Atlantic community cooperation and purpose and therefore of hopes for world peace. Conditions are propitious for a renewal of Western unity and a return to common action in the mainstream from which both Western Europe and the United States were diverted so tragically in the mid-1960's.

In the United States, our preoccupation with Vietnam is drawing to an end. In Western Europe, the disengagement of France from the forces striving for European unity is coming to an end.

At this particularly sensitive moment on the eve of an historic Presidential election in France even the best-intentioned American must take special pains to avoid in his comments any reference to the election. But I do feel that it is proper for a U.S. Senator to express his views as to what he sees as the best future for U.S.-Western European relations and the peace of the world.

Also, it is appropriate to state, as I see it, what Western Europe can expect from the United States under the Nixon Administration; and what the United States hopes it can expect from Western Europe.

President Nixon has made it unmistakably clear that he regards our Atlantic Community ties as the fulcrum of his entire concept of America's role in the world. In my judgment, it is of great significance that President Nixon has chosen—of all the possible roles open to him—to conduct the vital, upcoming negotiations with the USSR on strategic nuclear arms limitation in his capacity as a leader of NATO.

President Nixon has been quite specific in this regard. Here are his words addressed to the North Atlantic Council:

"I pledge to you today that in any negotiations affecting the interests of the NATO nations, there will be full and genuine consultation before and during those negotiations."

On a subsequent occasion he stated: "... the forthcoming arms talks will be a test of the ability of the Western nations to shape a common strategy."

The significance of President Nixon's approach to nuclear arms limitation talks with the Soviet Union—the premium placed on

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NATO interests and consultations—is not yet adequately appreciated in Europe. In my judgment, to understand its significance one must also have a familiarity with the current political situation in the United States.

The forthcoming Strategic Arms Limitation (SALT) negotiations with the USSR, and related questions concerning ABM and MIRV, have been the subject of the most important public debate in the United States since the NATO debate of the late 1940's. This public debate in the United States has been concerned with the very fundamentals of our American society and aspirations. I have been an active participant in this debate.

For the fundamental theme of the debate concerning the nuclear arms race has been the question of U.S. national priorities and the allocation of U.S. resources between civilian and military requirements. But, in the U.S. domestic debate, virtually no attention has been given to the NATO aspect of the American approach to, and negotiating posture in, the strategic arms limitation negotiations. This is uniquely President Nixon's contribution—and he runs the risk of encountering later misunderstanding and criticism at home for placing the emphasis he does upon NATO interests and an allied consultative approach. Those who have opposed his timing on the Safeguard ABM have been concerned mainly with highly urgent, but essentially domestic civilian needs. The crisis in our great cities, the tensions between whites and blacks, the seething unrest at some of our major universities—these are the burning issues which compel immediate political attention and which set the framework for the debate over U.S. national priorities.

Yet the U.S. President has not been diverted by this issue but has taken account of Europe's dual fear about future U.S. policy—that the U.S. would strike a deal with the USSR over the heads of our allies, and that the U.S. would retreat into some form of neoisolationism. These fears ought now to be allayed by the strongly expressed views of President Nixon as to consultations with our allies and following a NATO-oriented approach.

That portion of responsibility which rests on the U.S. for the deterioration and devitalization of the Atlantic Community in the mid-1960's is related most directly to the Vietnam war. Here too I believe the moment is auspicious for countering the factors which worked against the interests of the U.S.-Western Europe alliance.

There can be no mistaking the determination of the American people to end the Vietnam war as rapidly as possible. Nor, can there be any doubt now that President Nixon accords priority on the nation's agenda to that task. He was speaking with every understanding of the situation when he recently told the nation in a televised address:

"In my campaign for the Presidency, I pledged to end this war . . . I am determined to keep that pledge. If I fail to do so, I expect the American people to hold me accountable for that failure."

In my judgment, it is clear from the factors I have just cited that the United States is reordering its affairs to enable us to play our full role in a revitalized Atlantic Community which is now again within our grasp.

And it is a most fortunate coincidence of timing that Western Europe, too, now has a comparable opportunity to reorder its policies and redirect its energies in ways that can make possible the achievement of European unity within a revitalized Atlantic Community.

For the Atlantic Alliance has suffered grievous strains militarily, politically or economically which have induced many to believe that our Atlantic Community is no longer a realistic possibility. But I disagree and believe that even the removal of SHAPE from France, the exclusion of the U.K. from

the E.E.C., the arresting of progress toward the political unity of Western Europe and the recurring monetary crises can be overcome and the Atlantic Community revitalized.

In saying this I want to make it clear that I am not trying to exonerate other members of the alliance for their acts of omission and commission—least of all my own United States which allowed itself to become entrapped in a costly military stalemate in Vietnam which appeared increasingly irrelevant to the nation's true interests, even in the eyes of its own people.

I have spoken and written personally on a number of occasions concerning the objectives and the potentialities of a fully developed Atlantic Community. Now I find hope that many of my views may well be shared by President Nixon. And, I wish now to quote his words, instead of my own because he speaks with an authority unrivalled, by virtue of his office. In pondering his words, it should be borne in mind that President Nixon is not a man given to uttering lofty words lightly.

Speaking to the NATO Council of Ministers on the Twentieth Anniversary of the signing of the NATO Treaty he said:

"Now the Alliance of the West needs a third dimension . . . a social dimension to deal with our concern for the quality of life in this last third of the 20th century."

"The industrial nations share no challenge more urgent than that of bringing 20th Century man and his environment to terms with one another—of making the world fit for man, and helping man to learn how to remain in harmony with the rapidly changing world."

"To discover what this Western Alliance means today, we have to reach back, not across two decades, but through the centuries to the very roots of the Western experience. When we do, we find that we touch a set of elemental ideals, eloquent in their simplicity, majestic in their humanity, ideals of decency and justice and liberty and respect for the rights of our fellow men. Simple, yes; and to us obvious. But our forebears struggled for centuries to win them and in our own lifetimes we have had to fight to defend them."

It would be a mistake, in my judgment, for Europe to discount the President's words as the rhetoric of a ceremonial occasion. They should rather be understood as an authoritative expression of what the United States is prepared to do within an Atlantic Community, and the almost limitless aspirations we hold in that regard.

An air of cynicism and *ennui* has grown up on both sides of the Atlantic over the past decade in an accompaniment to the unprecedented material prosperity in Europe and the United States. And the present generation of students on both sides of the Atlantic has been profoundly alienated by this apparent lack of meaning and idealism in life.

The Western peoples are very ripe in my judgment for new ideals and bold, exciting designs which transcend mundane preoccupations with force levels, nuclear megatonnage, Gross National Product. They yearn for adventures of the spirit—for vision—and I believe that undertaking again construction of an Atlantic Community in its fullest and highest sense can provide the spirit which is needed.

Idealism does not have to be impractical. There are a number of very specific steps which can and ought to be taken to give effect to the objectives and potentiality of the Atlantic Community. These steps are in the mainstream of a return to the continued construction of the Atlantic Community which was abandoned so precipitously in the mid 1960's.

In the field of trade, the trend toward protectionism and exclusion—even in the

European Economic Community, erected as the very model of liberal trade—needs to be reversed. The division of Western Europe into rival trade blocs—EEC and EFTA—should be undone through the expansion of the EEC to include the U.K. and other EFTA applicants. Non-tariff barriers to trade should be dismantled on a reciprocal basis, and the issues of trade expansion not addressed by the historic Kennedy Round especially in agriculture now should be tackled. The United States must, for its part, move away from restrictions on overseas capital investments and efforts to secure "voluntary" export quotas to protect selected domestic industries. Other forms of government assistance to embattled domestic industries are feasible and more appropriate.

New measures of cooperation in technology and education are already widely forecast for the Atlantic Community. These include an Atlantic Technology Pool and a University of the Atlantic including professional schools in law, medicine and other disciplines for the Atlantic Community.

Reforms are needed urgently in the international monetary system, so that the industrial nations do not have to lurch insecurely from one week-end balance-of-payments crisis to the next, while currency speculators circle like sharks around the weak currencies of that particular crisis. Surely it is not beyond the wit of man to devise orderly and rational mechanisms to adjust fluctuations in currency exchange values and to rationalize the position of so relatively slim a gold stock in the total picture.

The ancient and irrational tyranny of gold must be overthrown so that the nations can provide, based on their own productivity for the expansion of reserves needed to finance the constant expansion of trade and the accelerated development of the crucial developing Southern zone of the world.

A harmonization of trade policy within the Alliance with respect to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union should be an element of the expanded political consultations and harmonization of policy on East-West issues in general. Each can reinforce the other and give added leverage to common policies.

A revitalized and purposeful Atlantic Community would certainly accelerate the movement toward closer understandings and agreements with the Soviet Union—as for example in space exploration and research in medicine and biology and physics—and its Eastern European allies—making possible the relief of tensions in Europe and preparing for a way the handling of a potentially disruptive new superpower—mainland China.

Collective consideration of the problems of the Middle East and the entire Mediterranean basin will be essential, in my judgment, if peace and economic development in the Mideast is to be secured over the long run. Soviet hegemony over the land, sea and air links between Europe, Asia and Africa, and Soviet control over the supply of Mideast petroleum which currently supplies 50% of the energy resources for Western Europe, pose potential, completely unacceptable, long-run threats to Western security. Something more than a defensive "policy of denial" will be required and nothing less than a positive "concert" of Western action to achieve affirmative goals must be evolved.

With the conclusion of the Vietnam war, Asia presents enormous opportunities for Atlantic Community collaboration, in a partnership with Pacific and Asian nations, heavily concentrated in the economic and cultural fields. A dynamic Japan and growing Australia and New Zealand offers us unparalleled agencies for communicating industrial technology and techniques to this vast and heavily populated region.

Europe has a major role to play in the development and evolution of Latin America—

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the success of my own ADELA experiment points the way. Latin America provides an excellent opportunity for the United States to demonstrate, by inviting Europe "in", that we do not seek a position of domination or exclusiveness of American interests within a broader Atlantic Community. If our instincts were imperial, we would seek to exclude, rather than enlist, European investment and influence in Latin America.

The whole world awaits the golden touch of Atlantic Community cooperation. We should not forfeit the hopes and aspirations of all mankind by failing to grasp the opportunity now available to us for the second time following World War II.

#### EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE STATUS REPORT

To: Board of Directors.

I am addressing this status report on the Eastern Mediterranean Development Institute to the Board of Directors. Copies are also being sent to the Ford Foundation, the Thyssen and Volkswagen Foundations, and other supporters of the project for Greek-Turkish economic cooperation. I first take this opportunity to express, in behalf of Senator Javits, Chairman of the EMDI Board, and for myself a strong-felt appreciation of the support of the individuals and institutions who contribute in time and money, interest and counsel, to the work of assisting economic cooperation and well-being in Greece and Turkey.

A brief resume follows:

##### 1. ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS

On November 14-15, 1968, the first meeting of the Board of Directors of the Institute was held at the Hotel Amigo, in Brussels. It was attended by the Chairman, the Deputy Chairmen, Mr. Kasim Gülek and Mr. C. C. Arliotis, nine nominee-Directors (whose names are included on the attached list), the Executive Director, the Special Consultant from Turkey Mr. Ramazanoglu, and guests. Observers at the general session on November 15 included: Messrs. Andresen and Missir of the EEC, Messrs. Domergue and Parsons of the OECD, Mr. de Lacombe of NATO, Mr. Akbil representing the Government of Turkey, Mr. Mameletzis representing the Government of Greece, Mr. Van Dyke, the U.S. Representative to the DAC, Mr. Drouhin of the UNDP, Mr. Broumis (Athens Technological Institute) and Mr. Jenson of the U.S. Department of the Interior (the last three having a special concern with the Meric/Evros project).

The meeting formed a Board of Directors of 17 members: five from Greece, five from Turkey, three from the United States, two representing Canada, one each from Italy and the Federal Republic of Germany; and four Alternative Directors, two from England and two from the U.S. An Executive Committee was elected consisting of: Mr. George James (Chairman), Mr. Resat Aksan, Mr. H. A. R. Powell, and Mr. Alexandre Zuilas. A complete list of the Board of Directors is attached.

##### 2. PROGRAM

The Board of Directors agreed to put special emphasis on its continuing plans for cooperative activities in tourism development and for advancing the Meric/Evros project; and to continue to investigate the feasibility of developing complementary investment policies in Greece and Turkey. Work in the areas of fisheries and agriculture will also continue as time and circumstance permit.

##### a. Tourism

The Board agreed that the most promising field for early returns in cooperative development is tourism. In line with decisions taken at the meeting, discussions have been held looking toward a tourism meeting between high-level administrative officials of Greece and Turkey. On the consequent invitation of the Turkish Ministry of Information and Tourism, a meeting will be held in

Istanbul on March 7 through 9, 1969. It is anticipated that, in addition to a useful exchange of views, plans may be there discussed for an expanded, international tourism conference, centered on the Aegean regions of Greece and Turkey, in which representatives of transport, accommodation and travel agencies and organizations would be represented.

##### b. Meric/Evros

(1) The preliminary study of the area, conducted and reported by the study teams under the direction of Professor Hans Wilbrandt assisted by Dr. Korküt Özal and Mr. John Broumis (and financed as a special project by the Thyssen and Volkswagen Foundations) was completed in 1968. The United Nations agencies, the World Bank, the European Investment Bank, the OECD and other organizations have been kept fully informed about the project since it began. The United Nations Development Programme has indicated its willingness to assist in carrying the project forward if Greece and Turkey request such assistance.

In October of 1968 the UNDP sent an unofficial exploratory mission to Bulgaria, where the Meric/Evros rises, to ascertain the Bulgarian attitude toward cooperative development on the River. Further discussions were then held in Ankara and Athens between the UNDP and the respective Governments. EMDI assisted in preparing those meetings, and has been closely in touch with the UNDP, both at its European headquarters in Geneva and in New York.

Mr. Georges Drouhin, Senior Water Consultant of the UNDP, reported at the November meeting of the EMDI Board of Directors that the Bulgarians had shown themselves willing to cooperate unofficially without participating in the joint venture. A receptive attitude had been shown both in Athens and Ankara. The UNDP plans next to send a small mission to the Meric/Evros area in Thrace, and to Athens and Ankara, as soon as an official request is received from the Governments of Greece and Turkey. The mission would assist in the preparation of a request for a full feasibility study. The UNDP and EMDI have both initiated discussions on the basis of which it is hoped that prompt progress will be made along these lines.

(ii) It has been suggested that the Water-for-Peace program being conducted by the United Nations (and member countries) and the Meric/Evros project might be able to benefit mutually by exchanges of information on research techniques and modern technology in the field of data storage and retrieval. A series of meetings has been held in Washington with officials of the Water-for-Peace Office of the U.S. State Department, and the Office of the Science Adviser to the President, the most recent on November 26, 1968. EMDI has put forward two proposals, both of which have received considerable encouragement: (1) a proposal to hold a seminar dealing with development of international waterways, at which the Meric/Evros techniques and those of other projects for developing international waterways will be studied, and (2) investigation into the possibility of establishing a computerized research center on water resources in the Eastern Mediterranean. It was with respect to the latter possibility that the Director of the U.S. Water-for-Peace Office proposed that Mr. Raymond Jenson, of the Water Resources Office of the Department of the Interior, participate in the November meeting of the EMDI Board. Mr. Jenson did so and gave an informative and interesting talk on computerization techniques and results in water resources data.

##### (c) Proposed study of complementary investment policies

This proposals was discussed with officials of the National Industrial Development Bank of Greece, the Hellenic Industrial De-

velopment Bank and the Turkish Industrial Development Bank at meetings in Washington in October of 1968. It was agreed to explore the possibilities of cooperating on projects of mutual or complementary interest to the economies of Greece and Turkey and to consider the feasibility of mixed Greek-Turkish companies in which the Development Banks and possibly outside companies might participate. As a start, there was to be an exchange of information on investment laws and regulations in the two countries. At the November Board meeting there was further discussion, in which representatives of outside companies participated. Mr. Kenneth Mueller, Chairman of AGRIDCO, an agri-business consortium, attended the Brussels meeting at the invitation of EMDI, for these discussions. Other organizations have also shown interest in these possibilities. Exchanges and contracts are being continued. It is hoped that special-project funds can be obtained to fund the proposed study.

(d) Arrangements for a delegation of Greek industrialists to visit Istanbul, returning a similar visit to Turkish industrialists to Athens some three years ago, are being discussed. The visit has been agreed in principle on both sides, the only remaining question being a convenient date. In this connection, it has been noted that the World Congress of International Chambers of Commerce is scheduled to be held in June of 1969 in Istanbul.

##### 3. FINANCES

In June of 1968 the Ford Foundation made a grant of \$150,000 on a matching-fund basis, for support of the Eastern Mediterranean Development Institute through 1969.

The Governments of Greece and Turkey have each guaranteed the sum of \$50,000 to the Institute. In addition, in 1968 and to date, a total of \$30,750 has been contributed by private organizations. These sums, plus the contribution of services and facilities by Mobil Oil, Pechiney and the Bank of Greece, more than fulfill the matching-funds requirement.

The financial contributors in 1968 to date are: American Standard, American Tobacco Company, Bank of America, IBM World Trade Corporation, Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company, Massey-Ferguson, Mobil Oil Corporation, Morgan Guaranty Trust Company, Morrison-Knudsen Company, Prudential Lines, Arthur and Gloria F. Ross Foundation, Singer Company, and Standard Oil Company (N.J.).

Other contributors prior to 1968 have been listed in previous reports.

##### 4. PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

As agreed at the Board of Directors' meeting, the Deputy Chairmen, Mr. Kasim Gülek and Mr. C. C. Arliotis, are to submit plans on the organization of the Greek and the Turkish bureaux of the EMDI. Organizational decisions in Greece and Turkey are, of course, to be left to local decision, it being understood that it would be desirable to have a general similarity in organization, but that legal and other requirements may dictate some differences in the institutional arrangements.

The Governments of Greece and Turkey have been kept fully advised of the Institute's activities and have unfailingly given their support.

The international organizations have, ever since the inception of the Greek-Turkish Economic Cooperation Project shown the liveliest interest. At the November meeting of the Board, representatives of these organizations contributed valuable counsel and indicated their willingness to cooperate in future, and the Institute will continue to work closely with them.

As noted, the EMDI and its predecessor organization have been funded by foundation grants and a relatively small number of substantial corporate (or individual) con-



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tributions. It is hoped to transform the EMDI, during 1969, into a broadly-based permanent institution devoted to the betterment of Greco-Turkish economic and cultural relations, mainly in the private sector. Discussions looking toward this objective are under way, and will hopefully be discussed at a mid-year meeting of the Board of Directors, when it is hoped that specific proposals can be presented for consideration.

Respectfully submitted,

SEYMOUR J. RUBIN,  
Executive Director.  
ALBERT ZUMBIEHL,  
European Director.

FEBRUARY 1969

BOARD OF DIRECTORS, EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN  
DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE  
OFFICERS AND AFFILIATION

The Hon. Jacob K. Javits, Chairman; Senator, United States.

The Hon. Kasim Gülek, Deputy Chairman; Member, Grand National Assembly of Turkey.

Mr. C. C. Arlitis, Deputy Chairman; Governor, National Mortgage Bank of Greece.

Mr. George F. James, Chairman, Executive Committee; Senior Vice President, Mobil Oil Corporation.

MEMBERS AND AFFILIATION

Mr. Resat Aksan (Executive Committee); General Manager, Banque Ottomane S.A.

Mr. C. Apostolidis; Chairman of Board, Federation of Greek Tourist and Traveling Offices.

Dr. Nejat F. Eczacıbası, President, Eczacıbası İlaçları Ltd.

Mr. Resid Egeli; General Manager, Türkiye Sınai Kalkınma Bankası A.S.

Mr. George Gondicas; General Manager, National Investment Bank for Ind. Development of Greece.

Dr. Hüseyin Gülek; Director, Matas Trading Corporation.

Mr. M. Haralambis; Member of Board, Federation of Greek Tourist and Traveling Offices.

Mr. Rahmi Koç; Director, Koç Holding Company.

\* Mr. Evangelos Kourakos (Special Consultant, Greece); Economic Research Specialist, Bank of Greece.

Mr. H. A. R. Powell (Executive Committee); Managing Director, Massey-Ferguson Holdings Ltd. (London).

\* Mr. Ahmet Ramazanoglu (Special Consultant, Turkey); Public Relations Manager, Mobil Oil, Turkey.

Mr. Arthur Ross; Exec. Vice President, Central National Corporation.

\* Mr. Seymour J. Rubin (Executive Director); Attorney—Surrey, Karasik, Gould & Greene.

Dr. Celestino Segni; Director, Italconsult.

Mr. G. Siniosoglou; Member of Board, Federation of Greek Industries.

Mr. Spyros Skouras; Chairman, Twentieth Century-Fox.

Mr. Samuel P. Smith; President, Smith Transport Ltd.

Professor Hans Wilbrandt; Director, Institut für Ausländische Landwirtschaft, Univ. of Göttingen.

Mr. Alexandre Zullas (Executive Committee); Member of Board, Federation of Greek Industries.

\* Mr. Albert Zumbiehl (European Director); Financial Counselor, Pechiney.

ALTERNATE MEMBERS AND AFFILIATION

Mr. George Bridge; Manager, Frank Fehr Company.

Mr. R. C. Coleman; Consultant, Ottoman Bank.

Mr. Rodney B. Wagner; Vice Pres. Morgan Guaranty Trust Co.

Mr. S. H. Willner; Vice Pres., Hilton Hotels Intl.

\* Ex officio member.

[From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Jan. 28, 1969]

GREEK-TURKISH ECONOMIC COOPERATION  
PROJECT

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I have on several previous occasions brought to the attention of the Senate the work of the project for Greek-Turkish economic cooperation. Reports on this matter were presented on June 3, 1965, on October 20, 1965, on January 19, 1967, and on December 15, 1967.

I now present a report on this important project through the calendar year 1968.

Mr. President, first I should like to submit for the Record the substantive text of a report which I presented to the North Atlantic Assembly on November 20, 1968. That report was presented to the North Atlantic Assembly in my capacity as trustee of the Special Committee on Developing NATO Countries, of which I was chairman, and which has now been dissolved, its principal functions having been successfully discharged. I have been requested by the North Atlantic Assembly to act as the custodian of the responsibilities of that committee and it is in this capacity that I have presented my report to the North Atlantic Assembly itself.

Several developments, falling outside of the scope of the report presented to the North Atlantic Assembly, should be reported. Chief among these is the fact of a highly successful meeting of the Eastern Mediterranean Development Institute, which took place in Brussels on November 14 and 15, 1968. The meeting was attended by a representative group of industrialists, bankers, and businessmen from Greece and Turkey, and also from the other countries of the North Atlantic Alliance. A broadly representative board of directors of the Eastern Mediterranean Development Institute was elected, and that institute was launched on what promises to be an extremely successful career.

Second, in December 1968, the work which has been done on the development of the basin of the Merç-Evros River was carried a further step forward, in the course of meetings between myself, Mr. Rubin, executive director of EMDI, and Mr. Paul Hoffman, director, and Mr. Paul-Marc Henry, deputy director of the United Nations Development Program. It is anticipated that a UNDP project team will be visiting Greece and Turkey shortly, and that further steps in the development of mutually desirable relationships between Greece and Turkey will thus have been taken.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the report be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

"REPORT OF SENATOR JACOB K. JAVITS, AS TRUSTEE FOR THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON DEVELOPING NATO COUNTRIES, OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY, NOVEMBER 1968

"It may be said at the outset that initiative taken by the Assembly (then the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference) has been demonstrated to have been a valuable contribution to development and to amelioration of relations between two important countries of NATO. The work of the Project and of the Institute have been founded on the conviction that an enterprise which is essentially private in its nature, and which has relied on the mutuality of interest in the private sector on both sides, can carry on important functions even during a period marked by a variety of governmental difficulties. That this is so is, of course, attributable largely to the fact that both of the directly interested nations have continued to give their interest and their support to the project. It is also due to the willingness of businessmen, industrialists and bankers, not only of Greece and Turkey, but also of North America and

Western Europe, to make a strenuous effort toward cooperative and mutually beneficial results. In great measure, the benefits of this project go beyond its own limits, and demonstrate the feasibility of mobilizing the great resources of private enterprise toward a broadly statesmanlike end.

"The technique here used may therefore suggest possibilities for much useful work, beyond the parameters of the Greek-Turkish enterprise itself. I should therefore mention at the outset the important role played by my former colleagues on the Special Committee, particularly the Deputy Chairmen of that Committee, Messrs. Spanourrigas of Greece and Gülek of Turkey, and its Rapporteur, Mr. Westerterp of the Netherlands. In the work of the Institute, of which (as was the case with the Special Committee), I have the honor to be Chairman, Messrs. Gülek and Governor Karol Arlitis of Greece, and Mr. George James of the United States, have given time, energy, and skilled guidance. Much credit is due to them, and to the devoted service of former Ambassador Seymour Rubin, the Executive Director of the project, and Mr. Albert Zumbiehl, his European associate.

"Finally, the Honorable Seymour J. Rubin of the United States and M. Albert Zumbiehl of France have consented to continue with the Institute as Executive and European Directors, respectively. Much is owed to them for the success of the project so far.

"I may come now to the organizational framework as it presently exists.

"As was reported in November 1967 to be the intention, the Eastern Mediterranean Development Institute was in fact organized as a non-profit corporation under the laws of the District of Columbia of the United States. A meeting of the nucleus of its Board of Directors was held in Athens, in May, 1968. At that meeting a number of important organizational decisions were taken.

"It was decided, first of all, that branches or sister organizations, depending on the legal and other relevant considerations in the two countries, should be established in Greece and Turkey. Informally, steps have already been taken in this direction, continuing and expanding upon the systems of liaison which has proved its merit. In both Greece and Turkey, assurances of financial support for these national operations have been given, with a special fund already created in Greece and partially contributed in Turkey.

"Secondly, it was decided to expand the Board of Directors so as to include important and representative business and financial interests in North America and Western Europe. I am glad to be able to report that invitations extended by me to a number of such persons have been accepted, and that the first order of business of the current meeting of the Institute (in Brussels on Nov. 15, 1968) will be to fill out the Board. Those who have been offered and have accepted membership on the Board have shown past interest in the project, have expressed willingness to help in the future, and are indeed a distinguished group.

"Thirdly, it was emphasized at the Athens meeting that important decisions of the Institute must reflect also the agreement of the Turkish and Greek members. This is an obvious requirement, but one which nonetheless deserves mention specifically. It reflects my strong personal conviction, shared by my colleagues, that useful work in this—as in many other areas of international activity—must rest on the interest, and involvement, indeed, the commitment of those directly affected, and with most at stake. The Institute must not, and will not, be an organization which seeks to tell our Greek and Turkish friends what is good for them. Its work must arise out of their conviction that they wish done what the Institute can do, and out of their full partici-

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pation in its work, at all stages from planning to implementation. In such circumstances, the Institute can perform a valuable catalytic function, can help to mobilize outside resources, can act as a liaison with various international and national organizations. But a basic responsibility for decision must be recognized to rest with the Greek and Turkish participants.

"Brief mention may be made of the financial arrangements for the Institute, and of plans for the future.

"A generous grant has again been made by the Ford Foundation to help in the establishment of the Institute. I have already mentioned the financial support given or committed on the Greek and Turkish sides. Mr. George James of the Mobil Corporation of the United States has carried to other American and Canadian companies his own conviction in the worth of this work, and has mobilized substantial financial assistance. As a result, the matching requirement of the Ford Foundation grant has already been met. It is hoped that interest in Western Europe, where connections with Greece and Turkey are strong and traditional, will be reflected in additional support.

"Since the Institute plans to have no substantial staff of its own, but to rely heavily on the expertise available to its membership, these arrangements should carry the Institute through calendar year 1969. During 1969, it is hoped to transform the Institute into a broadly based organization, with a substantial membership in the business and financial communities, as well as in professional circles. Hopefully, the Institute would then be supported by numerous but relatively smaller contributions with individual projects being the beneficiaries of collateral financing by foundations or others—as was, for example, the case with the generous financing of the studies of the Meric/Evros River by the Thyssen and Volkswagen Foundations. Administrative costs will thus be kept to a minimum, with available resources being used for directly productive projects.

"As will be recalled, at the meetings of November, 1967, both of the Assembly and of the International Advisory Commission of the Project for Greek-Turkish Economic Cooperation, a Work Program was approved. This document suggested that the work of the Institute might be divided into two main categories; in the general category was the continuation of efforts to encourage fruitful contacts and discussions, in the context of the international organizations of which Greece and Turkey are both members, and with emphasis on the private sector; in the specific category was work on the various projects already or to be undertaken—the Meric/Evros work, tourism, agriculture, cultural exchange, and so forth.

"I am pleased to be able to report that much has been done, in both categories.

"New contacts have been established and existing ones strengthened. During the meetings in Athens of May, 1968, for example, special sessions, both formal and informal, were arranged between members of the Greek and Turkish investment banking communities, and between institutions financing economic development. These meetings were a more specific followup of meetings which it has been my practice to arrange in Washington during the meetings there of the Governors of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Thus, the May meetings in Athens, with a few but deeply interested participants, were followed by a useful breakfast meeting held at my invitation in the Capitol in Washington, where participation included not only the official representatives of Greece and Turkey, members of the investment banking communities in both countries, and in the United States, but also representatives of the World Bank and the International Finance Corporation.

"Nor have these sessions been merely discussions, useful though discussions of this sort is. Specific proposals have been elaborated for a study of complementary investment opportunities and policies. Here a memorandum was prepared by Mr. Rubin, but only after consultation with and strong encouragement from the financiers of industrial development in Greece and Turkey. The memorandum was subsequently circulated to and discussed with the World Bank and the IFC. The breakfast meeting to which I have alluded, of October 3, 1968, was thus held on the basis of much preparatory work, and has resulted in specific proposals being elaborated in consultation with the Turkish and Greek sides. An informal agreement has been reached to exchange information relating to laws and practices which might affect complementary or even joint financing of projects. As a further step toward implementation of these proposals, and again with the full participation of the Greek and Turkish investment bankers, a survey is being discussed with the Agro-Industrial Development Company, an American-based organization which combines the resources of several companies in the agricultural-industrial field, and which has also the participation of Adela—a highly successful enterprise in whose initiation I and the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference played a vital role.

"I go into this matter in some detail for several reasons. The proposal to bring together the investment and banking interests concerned with economic development is important in itself, since it cuts across all fields of economic development, and not merely a single industry, however important. But this project also illustrates the progress of a project, from a general discussion arranged by the Institute to the elaboration in close consultation with all concerned of a proposal, the revision of that proposal after consultation with the competent international organizations, subsequent discussion of methods of implementation, and then placing the proposal before capable private organizations. It is of course too early to say what will be the outcome. It is not too early to say that the working out of a project in this manner is, in and of itself, important.

"With respect to specific projects, I am unfortunately not able to report much advance in our projected work on tourism, a field which is by all objective appraisals an extremely desirable one for cooperation, with much mutual benefit to be derived. Despite much work, and many assurances of willingness to meet, it has been difficult to follow up on the useful meeting of November, 1966, and the subsequent informal talks in the following year. Nonetheless, it may be reported that this was one of the subjects discussed during the May visit of the Greek Minister of Commerce to Ankara, and it may be said that the difficulties appear to be procedural rather than substantive.

"On other fronts, work is progressing, with organizations such as the FAO and the OECD participating. The most important and indeed dramatic results, however, have been achieved in connection with the Meric/Evros project.

"In October, 1967 at a conference in Frankfurt Germany the report was finalized of the tripartite (German, Greek, Turkish) expert commission set up to make a reconnaissance survey of the Meric/Evros River basin. The economic—and political—significance of this cooperative work on this border between Greece and Turkey is evident. Although the work on the study was done by private experts, under private auspices, it received the full support of governmental authorities on both sides. The report, when completed, was forwarded to several international institutions, notably the World Bank and the United Nations Development

Programme, which had taken a strong interest in this project from the outset.

"As I have previously indicated, I received some months ago the visit of the Bulgarian Ambassador in Washington, who expressed the interest of his government in the matter—an interest which is both natural and useful, since the river originates and flows for almost 60% of its length in Bulgaria. As has been indicated in the report made by our own tripartite expert commission, Bulgarian cooperation would substantially improve the cost-benefit ratios of work to be done on the Greek-Turkish segment of the river. The Bulgarian authorities having further indicated their interest, and after this interest having been made known both to the United Nations Development Programme and the Greek and Turkish authorities, a further meeting took place between myself and the Bulgarian Permanent Representatives to the United Nations in Geneva, under the auspices of the UNDP. In early October of this year, Mr. Rubin was informed by the UNDP that the Bulgarians would be pleased to receive a UNDP exploratory mission.

"During the week of October 30-November 6, thus, a small UNDP mission has visited Sofia, Athens and Ankara. It should be underscored that this is an exploratory mission, particularly insofar as any plans beyond the boundaries of Greece and Turkey are concerned. It is nevertheless an important fact that the UNDP is discussing with Greece and Turkey the possibility of further steps looking toward a full scale feasibility study of the Meric/Evros region, that Bulgaria, as one of the riparian states, has been informed, and that this important regional and multinational project continues to progress, with United Nations participation.

"It may be further pointed out that discussions in Washington growing out of the interest in the United States in a Water for Peace programme have centered on the Meric/Evros and the work of the Institute. After the international Water for Peace Conference in Washington, in the summer of 1967, much attention has been focused on multinational projects. In this context, the work of the Institute has attracted attention, and it has been suggested that this work might provide the starting point for two fields of investigation. One such field would be the utilisation of the technique of the Meric/Evros study—that is, the use of private scientists, privately sponsored, but with full governmental support and approval. Here it may be that in certain cases more can be achieved, to the greater satisfaction of all, than would be the case if rigorous channelization through governmental departments were the rule. The second such field is the possibility of experimenting with computerization, in order to keep data both current and immediately available. Here work done by the FAO is relevant, and the establishment of a data storage, information retrieval and possibly a research center has been preliminarily discussed, with it having been suggested that a start might be made in a seminar on the subject of international river basins, which could be sponsored jointly by the Water for Peace office and the Institute. As a measure of the interest in this matter, a representative of the Water for Peace Programme will address the November 15, 1968 meeting of the Institute.

"All of this represents much useful and tangible work. But I feel that most important, among the achievements to which the Special Committee, the Project for Greek-Turkish Economic Cooperation and the Institute can lay claim to a greater or lesser degree, is the greater measure of confidence in Greek-Turkish relations, both in the private and the governmental sector. Mr. Rubin has recently been able to inform the Greek business and industrial community that an invitation to come to Turkey for friendly

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discussions on matters of common interest will shortly be extended. Contacts in the cultural sphere, which would have been out of the question not long ago, are now under discussion. This is substantial and meaningful progress, on the basis of which a solid and continuing relationship between Greece and Turkey may be built."

#### S. 2545—INTRODUCTION OF A BILL RELATING TO URBAN PROGRAM FOR COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, in its most recent report, the National Advisory Council on Extension and Continuing Education emphasized the need for major community service and continuing education programs to aid universities to conduct research, planning, and program operations—including national or regional demonstration projects—to help our cities solve their complex problems. These are multiple problems associated with rapid urbanization and technological and social change.

I introduce, for myself and Mr. SCOTT, Mr. GOODELL, Mr. MONDALE, Mr. NELSON, and Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, a bill to accomplish this objective by providing a 15-percent set-aside, with 90-percent matching funds, of title I—community service and continuing education programs—of the Higher Education Act. Presently, programs under title I qualify for only 66½-percent Federal funds. By allowing a special set-aside at 90-percent matching, colleges and universities will be greatly assisted within their financial means toward making a sustained commitment to urban problem-solving.

The university in our society can become more creative—strengthening economic and social links between the university complex and the environment in which it is situated. The old days of separation between town and gown are gone. Last year at Columbia University we observed the tragic results of the failure to recognize in this respect the difference between yesterday and today, and the seeds of student discontent with the limited involvement of universities in the urban problems surrounding them have taken root in several of our major campuses. Faculty, administration, and student body must be encouraged to develop programs that produce solutions to complex urban problems in the community and the country at large.

This bill would involve no additional cost to the Federal Government, since funds would be drawn from title I of the Higher Education Act. Authorizations for title I stand at \$50,000,000 for the current fiscal year and \$60,000,000 for the next fiscal year, which begins July 1, 1970.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be printed in the Record.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 2545), to amend title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965 in order to authorize the Commissioner of Education to arrange for community

service programs seeking solutions to national and regional problems, introduced by Mr. JAVITS (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. 2545

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended by inserting at the end thereof a new section as follows:

#### "DISCRETIONARY FUND FOR SOLUTION OF NATIONAL AND REGIONAL PROBLEMS"

"Sec. 112. Fifteen per centum of the amount appropriated pursuant to section 101 for each fiscal year shall be available to the Commissioner for paying 90 per centum of the cost of community service programs which are carried out by institutions of higher education and which are for the purpose of seeking solutions to problems resulting from rapid urbanization and technological and social changes in the nation, including national or regional demonstration projects."

Sec. 2. Section 103 (a) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended by inserting after "Of" the following: "85 per centum of".

Sec. 3. The amendment made by this Act shall be effective for fiscal years beginning after June 30, 1969.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE—ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills, and they were signed by the President pro tempore:

S. 1010. An act for the relief of Mrs. Aili Kallio;

S. 1011. An act to authorize appropriations for the saline water conversion program for fiscal year 1970, and for other purposes; and H.R. 12167. An act to authorize appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission in accordance with section 261 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes.

#### SAWTOOTH NATIONAL RECREATION AREA

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 250, S. 853.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 853) to establish the Sawtooth National Recreation Area in the State of Idaho, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Idaho?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs with amendments, on page 2, line 12, after the word "Area" insert "in accordance with the laws, rules and regulations applicable to the National Forests"; on page 3, line 25, after the word "Act," insert "Lands acquired by the Secretary or transferred to his administrative jurisdiction within the recreation area shall become parts of the recreation area and of the na-

tional forest within or adjacent to which they are located"; in line 10, after the word "owner" strike out "falls" and insert "is unwilling"; in line 14, after the word "property" insert "and land for recreation and other administrative facilities"; on page 5, line 7, after the word "this" strike out "Act" and insert "section"; and on page 8, at the beginning of line 23, strike out "There is hereby authorized to be appropriated not more than \$27,380,000 to carry out the provisions of this Act," and insert "There is hereby authorized to be appropriated \$30,000,000 for the development of recreation and related facilities and for the acquisition of land and interest in land pursuant to this Act,"; so as to make the bill read:

S. 853

A bill to establish the Sawtooth National Recreation Area in the State of Idaho, and for other purposes

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That, in order to assure the preservation of, and to protect the scenic, historic, pastoral, fish and wildlife, and other recreational values of the Sawtooth Mountains and adjacent valley lands, there is hereby established, subject to valid existing rights, the Sawtooth National Recreation Area.

Sec. 2. The boundaries of the recreation area shall be those shown on the map entitled "Proposed Sawtooth National Recreation Area", dated April 1, 1966, which is on file and available for public inspection in the office of the Chief, Forest Service, Department of Agriculture. The Secretary of Agriculture (hereinafter called the "Secretary") shall, as soon as practicable after the date this Act takes effect, publish in the Federal Register a notice of the establishment of the Sawtooth National Recreation Area, together with a detailed description and map showing the boundaries thereof.

Sec. 3. The Secretary shall administer the Sawtooth National Recreation Area in accordance with the laws, rules, and regulations applicable to the National Forests in such manner as will best provide for (1) the protection and conservation of the salmon and other fisheries; (2) the conservation and development of scenic, historic, pastoral, wildlife, and other values contributing to and available for public enjoyment, including the preservation of sites associated with and typifying the economic and social history of the American West; and (3) on federally owned lands, the management, utilization, and disposal of natural resources, such as lumbering, grazing, and mining, that will not substantially impair the purposes for which the recreation area is established.

Sec. 4. Subject to the limitations hereinafter set forth, the Secretary may acquire by purchase with donated or appropriated funds, by gift, exchange, bequest, or otherwise, such lands or interests therein within the boundaries of the recreation area as he determines to be needed for the purposes of this Act. But any property or interest within the recreation area owned by the State of Idaho or any political subdivision thereof may be acquired under the authority of this Act only with the concurrence of the owner.

In exercising his authority to acquire property by exchange, the Secretary may accept title to any non-Federal property or interests therein located within the boundaries of the recreation area and convey to the grantor of such property any federally owned property or interests therein within the State of Idaho under the jurisdiction of the Secretary, notwithstanding any other provision of law. The properties so exchanged



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Government-created corporations which derive their funds from the Federal Government, earning salaries in excess of a certain figure, possibly \$42,500, the same as congressional salaries, should be submitted to Congress for approval.

Mr. President, on April 30, 1969, in the Committee on Armed Services, I put some questions to Mr. Grant Hansen, Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Research and Development, and also to Lieutenant General McNickle, Deputy Chief of Staff of Research and Development for the Department of Air Force, and I ask unanimous consent that the questions and the answers I received from Mr. Hansen and General McNickle be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Senator BYRD of Virginia. I was interested in the response by the General that the salaries had to be commensurate with private business. I am just wondering whether that is a philosophy we need to follow.

We certainly don't follow that philosophy in regard to the Secretary of Defense and the Assistant or Deputy Secretary of Defense, and many of these Cabinet officials, and many of the Air Force generals and many other people could go out into private business and get larger salaries than they make in Government.

I see here the president of Aerospace is paid \$90,000, the senior vice president is paid \$66,000, and the vice president of the corporate planning is paid \$40,000, another vice president \$39,600, another vice president at \$60,000, another vice president at \$53,000, another vice president at \$54,000, another vice president at \$48,000, another vice president at \$45,000, another vice president at \$60,000, another vice president at \$53,000, another vice president at \$50,000, and that is all I guess on this Aerospace. It seems to me this is getting out of line. Who sets salaries for Aerospace executives?

Mr. HANSEN. The board of trustees of Aerospace Corp.

Senator BYRD of Virginia. How are they appointed?

Mr. HANSEN. I don't know the answer to that question. Do you, General?

Senator BYRD of Virginia. I think what you will find out is when you get back to it they are set by the Defense Department.

General McNICKLE. They are approved.

Senator BYRD of Virginia. They are approved, that is the final authority. They are set then.

General McNICKLE. And a number of them were not recognized for the full recommended salary.

Senator BYRD of Virginia. I am not worried about recommended salaries. I want to know what they are paid.

General McNICKLE. Yes, sir.

Senator BYRD of Virginia. Now the Defense Department has approved these figures, I assume. If I am wrong about it, I want to be corrected.

General McNICKLE. That is correct.

Senator BYRD of Virginia. So the final decision is with the Defense Department. It is not with some board. It is not with the board of trustees. It is with the Defense Department?

Mr. HANSEN. Yes, sir.

Senator BYRD of Virginia. There is no doubt about that.

Mr. HANSEN. That is correct.

Senator BYRD of Virginia. I want to get that clear.

Mr. HANSEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, since that discussion in committee, I have verified that the trustees of the Aerospace Corporation were appointed by the Department of the Air Force and are a self-perpetuating group.

#### AMERICAN CASUALTIES IN VIETNAM

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, the Defense Department has today released new totals of killed and wounded American soldiers in the Vietnamese war.

There have now been more than 44,000 casualties since the inauguration of President Nixon.

The Defense Department reports that such casualties, as between January 18 through June 21 of this year, have reached the alarming total of 44,922.

Mr. President, this war must be ended.

#### ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ME

#### LOOK MAGAZINE ACCEPTS GREEK GOVERNMENT'S CHALLENGE TO INVESTIGATE TORTURE CHARGES

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, on May 12, 1969, I drew to the attention of my colleagues and had inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the article by Christopher Wren that appeared in the then current issue of Look magazine.

The thrust of the article is that torture continues to be used in Greece as a means of both intimidating the population from unrest and extracting information from political prisoners.

I am very glad indeed that the Greek Embassy responded by issuing a press release in which Look magazine was invited to send a representative over to Greece to investigate the truth of the article.

I am glad to say, too, that just on June 19 Look magazine has accepted the invitation of the Greek Government and has designated their senior editor, Christopher Wren, who originally wrote the article, to make the trip. He will be accompanied by Thomas R. Koeniger, a photographer; Congressman DON EDWARDS, and James Becket, an American attorney and investigator for Amnesty International.

I look forward with very real interest to reading the report of Mr. Wren on his return from Greece.

I trust, too, that, since the Greek Government has invited him, every effort will be made by Greek officials to let Mr. Wren travel and visit where he wishes.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the press release of

the Greek Embassy dated June 9, 1969, a letter from Look magazine to the Greek Embassy dated June 16, 1969, and a press release of Look magazine dated June 19, 1969.

There being no objection, the press releases and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ROYAL GREEK EMBASSY PRESS &  
INFORMATION SERVICE,  
Washington, D.C., June 9, 1969.

With regard to an article published in the issue of May 27th of Look magazine under the title: "Greece: Government by Torture", the Greek Embassy wishes to put into record a statement made by the Prime Minister of Greece at a press conference held in Athens on June 7th, 1969 for Greek and foreign correspondents.

The official position of the Prime Minister of Greece gives a clear answer to all those who seek the truth, bare from any political motivation:

"I would like to make some comments on an article published recently by Look magazine. People should know that only through the respect for truth we can survive in peace and freedom. How could we consider ourselves part of a civilized society when we accept the most imaginary and malignant accusations produced by a mentally deranged person, who has been an inmate to asylum for disturbed persons; and how could we reproduce those accusations for the use of tens of million of readers throughout the World?

I have an obligation toward the history of the Greek people as well as the respect for a truth. I believe that neither the publishers nor any other person in charge of the Look can be held responsible for the fact that such an article was published in their magazine. I invite them to send over to Greece a duly authorized representative with the purpose of investigating the truth. He could be accompanied by the person who supplied the writer with the false accusations and whose freedom, safe conduct and expenses will be fully covered by the Greek Government.

I further declare that should the truth of the acts mentioned in the article be established, I will not hesitate to order the execution of those found responsible right here in Constitution Square, and I shall assume full responsibility for it."

TEXT OF LETTER SENT BY LOOK MAGAZINE EDITOR WILLIAM B. ARTHUR TO THE GREEK EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

JUNE 16, 1969.

Mr. MICHAEL MAZARAKIS,  
Charge d'Affairs Office, Royal Greek Embassy,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MAZARAKIS: The Royal Greek Embassy Press and Information Service has issued a press release dated June 9, 1969, which states that the Prime Minister of Greece has invited an authorized representative of Look to Greece to establish whether torture of political prisoners has taken place as reported in the article, "Greece: Government by Torture" in the May 27, 1969, issue of Look. This invitation has never been conveyed directly to us. If the press release is accurate, Look welcomes the Prime Minister's stated "obligation toward the history of the Greek people as well as the respect for truth," and accepts the invitation as long as safe and productive conditions can be fully guaranteed by the Prime Minister.

I have designated as Look's representative Senior Editor Christopher S. Wren, who wrote the May 27th article. Staff photographer Thomas Koeniger will accompany him since Look feels that the Prime Minister will welcome photographic documentation of what Mr. Wren discloses. I also designate Mr. Wren

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and Mr. Koeniges to interview the Prime Minister during their stay in Greece, accepting your government's specific offer in a letter dated May 29, 1968, from the Consul General of Greece in New York.

In the press release, the Prime Minister also invited "the person who supplied the writer with false accusations." Look states again that it reported the facts, but is pleased that the Prime Minister is anxious to examine them. The information for the article came not from one person, but from many people, most of whom live in Greece. Inasmuch as Look has reason to fear reprisals against them, we cannot of course reveal their identities.

Instead, Look is sure that the Prime Minister will welcome the inclusion of two other individuals in the party as representative of those who are concerned about the problem. James Becket, Esq., an American attorney and investigator for Amnesty International, has followed developments in Greece since the military coup of April, 1967, and will be of valuable assistance in bringing documentation to the Prime Minister's attention. Congressman Don Edwards, Member of the Judiciary Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives, has expressed an interest in the matter and will join the group as an observer.

I decline the Prime Minister's kind offer to underwrite expenses; I feel it proper for Look to assume that responsibility. We will also be happy to provide our own interpreter. I assume that the Prime Minister's pledge of freedom and safe conduct in the press release of June 9, 1969, offers immunity from criminal or civil prosecution under Greek law for Messrs. Wren, Koeniges, Becket and Look's interpreter and would appreciate acknowledgment of this so that I know this group will be accepted in Greece and enabled to carry out its work in freedom.

I ask assurance that the above group will not be subjected to any prepared itinerary, and that it will be able to move and interview freely anywhere in Greece, including inside government detention facilities, without interference or harassment. Such working conditions are essential to produce the documentation that the Prime Minister is anxious to have. I further ask assurance that the group will be free to investigate on its own, unencumbered by either officials or other press. I also ask that they have the right to talk to anyone, including those in government custody, without the presence and out of the hearing of any official.

It would be essential to have a written guarantee that anyone with whom the Look party talks will not be subjected to any retaliation.

I expect that any written and photographic documentation gathered by the group will not be liable to either scrutiny or confiscation and that the group will be free to leave with such documentation.

If it is proven to the Prime Minister that some of his subordinates have condoned or engaged in torture, Look prefers that the Prime Minister not carry out his promise in the press release of June 9 to order their public execution in Constitution Square, but instead publicly try such offenders in accordance with traditional Greek jurisprudence.

I assume in this reply that the Prime Minister's invitation, conveyed in the press release, was accurate and in good faith. As Look's representatives prepare for their visit to Greece, I await the Prime Minister's direct response to each of my requests, in the knowledge that the Prime Minister will find the investigation a mutually fruitful and enlightening one.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM B. ARTHUR.

# LOOK MAGAZINE ACCEPTS GREEK GOVERNMENT'S CHALLENGE TO INVESTIGATE TORTURE CHARGES MADE IN ARTICLE

NEW YORK.—Look magazine announced today that it has accepted the Greek government's challenge to send representatives to Greece in a dispute over Look's published charges that political prisoners in Greece have been brutally tortured.

The announcement came in answer to a statement made by Prime Minister George Papadopoulos of Greece, inviting an "authorized representative" of Look to visit Greece "with the purpose of investigating the truth" concerning reports of torture published in an article, "Greece: Government By Torture," in the magazine's May 27 issue.

The Greek Prime Minister's offer, which never conveyed directly to Look, was made at a press conference held in Athens on June 7. At this conference Papadopoulos denied Look's charges.

Look's acceptance of the Greek government's invitation was made by William B. Arthur, Editor of Look, in a letter dated June 16 to the Greek Embassy in Washington.

In the letter, Arthur designated Look senior editor Christopher S. Wren, who wrote the May 27 article, and photographer Thomas R. Koeniges to make the trip. He stipulated that they be accompanied by James Becket, an American attorney and an investigator for Amnesty International, and Congressman Donald Edwards (D-San Jose, Calif.), member of the Judiciary Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives.

Arthur also stipulated that Look's investigative team be granted full freedom in providing further support for the claims made in Wren's article.

Arthur said that he conditioned his acceptance upon the Prime Minister's pledge of freedom and safe conduct for the Look party, including a guarantee of immunity from harassment and criminal or civil prosecution under Greek law. He asked that they be allowed inside government detention facilities without interference or harassment. Furthermore, Arthur called for a written guarantee that anyone interviewed by the Look team would not be subject to retaliation.

In his press conference, the Greek Prime Minister stated that if Look proved to him that torture had taken place and supplied names, those responsible would be publicly executed in Athens' Constitution Square.

In his reply, Arthur suggested that those responsible should instead be tried in accordance with "traditional Greek jurisprudence."

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

## SPECIAL TAX TREATMENT FOR OIL INDUSTRY INJURES NATION'S SECURITY

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I am very grateful to the distinguished Senator from Louisiana for lifting the quorum call. It is most appropriate that he should be the man who should do it, because I am going to speak on oil this

afternoon. I expected to make a fairly short speech, and perhaps it will be short.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PROXMIRE. Yes, indeed.

Mr. LONG. If my friend the Senator from Wisconsin can tell me something I do not know about oil, I am very anxious to hear it.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I doubt whether anybody can tell the Senator from Louisiana anything he does not know about oil; he is very expert in this area, as he has demonstrated time and again on this floor, especially when he enlightens this Senator.

Mr. President, the time has come for Congress to take dead aim at the notorious depletion allowance, which too long has served as an obstacle to tax reform. The Senator from Louisiana (Mr. Long) has invited any interested Senator to submit amendments to his committee, and when the tax bill comes to the Senate, I intend to take him up on his offer when the matter is before his committee.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PROXMIRE. Yes, indeed.

Mr. LONG. The Senator is going to get a better chance than that. He is going to get a chance to vote against every businessman in America. We will give the Senator a broad opportunity.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I am sure the Senator from Louisiana will give me every opportunity that I desire to vote on tax legislation, and I certainly do not intend to vote against every businessman in America. I intend to vote against the surtax when it comes up.

Mr. LONG. Will the Senator yield further?

Mr. PROXMIRE. Yes, indeed.

Mr. LONG. Does the Senator know what the biggest loophole is in the tax law? What is the biggest tax loophole?

Mr. PROXMIRE. I would like to know the opinion of the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. LONG. Capital gains. What is the Senator's opinion on that one?

Mr. PROXMIRE. I think the capital gains law, as presently drafted, could be construed, perhaps, as a loophole. However, I would not want to, although I am sure some Senators would, repeal it outright, because I think there is some merit to it.

Mr. LONG. Will the Senator yield further?

Mr. PROXMIRE. I yield.

Mr. LONG. The Democratic policy committee invited Mr. Stanley Surrey, whom they regarded, I assume, as the best tax reformer there is in America, to come down and explain his views on taxes for them, and he did not even mention depletion among the major items. He said capital gains is the biggest loophole there is. Is the Senator prepared to vote to do something about capital gains?

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the difficulty with discussing this whole subject is that it is a matter of value judgments. I am shocked and surprised that Mr. Surrey did not mention oil deple-

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ticipant a more intimate knowledge of the others and made working together much more meaningful.

For the most part, the study program as originally initiated was continued, procedures being discontinued only when they appeared to serve no useful purpose. This was done only after open discussion at monthly meetings or by notification from one of the participants.

What has this study accomplished?

It resulted in mutual trust and respect for each other, thus providing a good climate for further cooperation.

It revealed to each participant what the other was attempting to accomplish.

Certain procedures were found to have little or no value and a need for others became apparent.

Each participant saw his ideas and program evaluated by the others and for the State at least this will guide us in updating our cannery program.

The format of the agreement had to be simplified and the language of the specifications had to be given in layman's terms (the layman often being the regulatory official).

As more experience was gained in the pilot study, it became apparent that not every canner can take part in Self-Certification to the same degree as others who have greater quality control resources. Consequently, some means must be developed to supply such canners, as well as other food processors having limited control resources, with services from qualified agencies, so they can install adequate Self-Certification Programs.

From our experience, we feel that every food processor needs his own Self-Certification Program so he can give assurance from day to day that his products will retain their position in the market. Nothing short of resident inspection would accomplish this end if it were to be supplied by Government. Therefore, a processor must perform quality and sanitation control of his own products if he is to assure the best possible products for the consumer.

The Self-Certification Program appears to be the most desirable and efficient way to meet this need.

## THE FDA DISTRICT VIEWPOINT

(By Horace A. Allen and James A. Davis)

Minneapolis District became involved in a self-certification program after Green Giant made preliminary inquiries of FDA in Washington early in 1968.

Most of the groundwork in setting up the agreement was handled by FDA in Washington, and in April the District made a pre-certification evaluation of the plant and facilities at Blue Earth, Minn. At about this time it became apparent that any agreement entered into by Green Giant and FDA should include the Minnesota Department of Agriculture, since this department is required by State law to cover the State's canneries. The self-certification concept was discussed with the Minnesota Department of Agriculture, and a three-way agreement was signed on June 26, 1968. This agreement covered a pilot study of self-certification at Green Giant's Blue Earth plant involving the production of canned peas and whole kernel corn.

The general requirements by FDA to protect the consumer by insisting on approved processing steps are, of course, public information. But the specific action taken by industry to put these general requirements into effect may constitute or involve trade secrets. Also available to the public is information about products recalled by industry after they leave the processor's warehouses and enter the normal distribution system to wholesalers and other distributors.

Initially the pilot study required more FDA manpower than would be given to any one plant during a normal canning season. However, we felt this was necessary to become thoroughly familiar with the plant and its

operation and to be in a position to evaluate reports and information the firm would be expected to furnish when the pilot study was extended into an operational program.

As the program progressed, all parties to the agreement developed greater respect for each other's problems and abilities, and a freedom of communication evolved that has not historically characterized industry-Government relations. During some of our early meetings, occasional reservations developed, but these were quickly allayed by the frankness of our discussions. We learned that industry, because of its familiarity with a plant, was in a position to give us knowledge and information that could never be obtained through our unilateral inspections.

Our experience during this pilot study has shown us that as a regulatory agency, we can have a greater degree of confidence in the quality of the firm's product by evaluating its in-plant controls than by routine regulatory inspections and collection of samples.

ME

## THE FALLACY OF "FREEDOM" IN GREECE

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 23, 1969

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, last September 29 the Greek people voted, by a 92-percent majority, in favor of a new constitution proposed by the military junta that has ruled Greece since a coup in April 1967. Contrary to what the junta would have us believe, the election was not conducted in an atmosphere of freedom. Opposition to the constitution was ruthlessly stifled, and dissenters faced the prospect of a jail sentence.

Nine days before the referendum an American professor, George Anastaplo, spoke directly to the point of this repression at a banquet in Athens attended by about 30 Greeks. Dr. Anastaplo is lecturer in the liberal arts at the University of Chicago and chairman of the Political Science Department at Rosary College in Illinois. The dinner at which he spoke was given for 26 members of a group from the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, who were visiting Greece under his direction. The banquet host was the Foreign Press Division of the Office of the Greek Prime Minister.

Following is a reconstruction of Dr. Anastaplo's extemporaneous remarks at the dinner as they were printed in the May issue of the Chicago Council's publication, "Notes on World Events":

## DISSENT IN ATHENS

It may seem ungracious of me, after we Americans have just been treated to a meal which it is impossible to consider in any way blameworthy, to dissent as I am now obliged to do from what has been said to us tonight in defense of the way the present Greek government conducts itself.

It should be evident to all of you by now that I would have preferred on this occasion only to listen, and thus to learn. But I cannot completely ignore the challenge we have just heard from our official host in his determined effort to induce me to say something to this gathering. An American, he complains, should not wait to say in Washington what he dare not say in Athens. I therefore consent to comment on various of the things said to us this evening, as they now occur to me.

## NO FREEDOM OF DISCUSSION

We have been reminded that Greece and the United States have long been allies in defense of the free world. I need not dispute our host's observation that one form of freedom is that in which discussion appears. There is no doubt that we had an opportunity tonight to exchange opinions, to ask questions, and for our host and his colleagues to give the answers of their government. But I must challenge his suggestion that this is proof that there is freedom of discussion in Greece today. For the fact of the matter is that such a discussion as ours tonight is not now generally permitted in Greece. The only people who dare speak as freely in public as we have here are some members of the present government, a few other men with the famous names of old families, and visitors who hold foreign passports. Most Greeks dare not speak as we have, except in the privacy of their homes and even there only with relatives and friends whom they can trust. All of you Greeks here tonight must know this. It cannot be forgotten that thousands of "enemies of the regime"—men and women of the Left, Center and Right—are still held in Greek prisons without trial and without any prospect of trial.

We have been reminded that the American Constitution also followed upon a revolution. This is certainly true. But I hardly think that justifies the manner in which the constitution to be voted on in Greece next week has been brought forth. The Constitution of the United States was written by fifty-five men freely selected by the American people to represent them. Who these men were, why they were selected and by whom was known to everyone. This is not the case here. What those men produced in 1787 was discussed publicly and freely for a year and more in circumstances where no man was afraid of being officially penalized for the position he took in public. That is not the case here. Rather, we know that the most distinguished opponents of your proposed constitution—the politicians who we know have had large popular followings for years—have been for some time under house arrest and will not be released before next Monday, and only then in order to be able to vote the following Sunday on the proposed constitution. It has been made clear to them that they are not to speak publicly against the constitution. How can it be said in such circumstances that a genuinely free referendum is being held, irrespective of how the balloting itself is conducted or comes out? How can an ordinary citizen be sure that he will not be regarded an "enemy of the regime" if he should be detected voting against the constitution proposed by his insistent government?

## A FREE REFERENDUM?

Yet, we have been told several times this evening that we are about to witness free balloting, that this is confirmed by the fact that some newspaper criticism of specific articles in the proposed constitution has been permitted. But we Americans know what a free election is. We know this from our own experience. We know what a free election feels like. We know what it sounds like. We know what it looks like. And we know this is not it.

Several of my fellow-citizens have this evening remarked on the fact that there are only *NAI* (YES) signs on display in Greece these days. Nowhere can one see *OXI* (NO) signs. In fact, I have the past week seen only one *OXI* chalked on a wall—and even this had been almost rubbed out. It has been suggested to us tonight that such signs are not significant, that Greeks will freely vote for what they "believe in." But does the government really believe that its monopoly of propaganda is inconsequential? Considerable money has been spent by the government on these signs, as well as on the press, radio and



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and its members are saying that it now puts them on a level of acceptance with the Republican and Democratic parties.

Residents of the community should let the college administration know what they think of this affront, this show of contempt for decent American opinion.

Resentment should be shown, first of all, by the alumnae, either by voice or—what is more expressive—by holding back on gifts.

Alumnae tell us that when they are solicited for gifts and when they mention with dismay the pink hue the college has acquired, they are told: "Oh, yes, but this can be changed by continued loyalty." Oh, yes? The appointment of Dr. Aptheker proves that the administration values what transient black commies want above what the public thinks of the college.

They may go in for "Intellectualism" at Bryn Mawr, but they don't show much intelligence.

## WHAT'S HAPPENING AT BLUE EARTH?

## HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 23, 1969

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, a most interesting experiment involving Federal, State, and food processing industry interests has been in progress in my congressional district. This experiment, a pilot study in self-certification conducted at the Green Giant Co.'s plant in Blue Earth, Minn., is designed to assure quality control and indicates, perhaps, the direction that will prove least costly yet most effective for consumers, producers, and guardians of the public interest. The initial findings are reported in an article, "What's Happening at Blue Earth?" appearing in the April issue of FDA Papers. I include the article at this point in my remarks for the particular benefit of colleagues in the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, who also have responsibilities in this area:

## WHAT'S HAPPENING AT BLUE EARTH?

(NOTE.—Will self-certification work in the food processing industry? Will it work as a practical matter in all food processing plants? What do working level FDA officials think of the concept in these early stages? How receptive are State officials responsible in the pertinent areas? What reservations does industry have or may it be expected to have about self-certification as a way of life? What room is there for improvement in self-certification for quality assurance as it has developed so far?

(Early in 1968 the Green Giant Co. decided that it couldn't afford to ignore the implications in a concept that had been under study by the FDA for some time and was already undergoing limited pilot testing in an arrangement between FDA and another large food processing firm, General Foods. Green Giant's next step was to see how self-certification might work in its own backyard. Whereupon the company, despite reservations about some features and a little uneasiness about the whole new concept of an industry-Government partnership in quality assurance, let FDA know it was willing to give self-certification a fair try for a limited number of products at its plant in Blue Earth, Minn.

(The agreement that resulted included the Minnesota Department of Agriculture as an active participant, since MDA under State law is responsible for covering canning

plants. The three-way pilot plan, agreed upon in June 1968, has been under way ever since, and the participants—Green Giant, MDA, and FDA's Minneapolis District—have gained some definite impressions and reached some tentative conclusions from their separate points of view about self-certification as a working tool and how it has affected their interests or responsibilities so far. These remarks, passed on in informal narrative to Nathaniel L. Geary, Special Assistant for Quality Assurance in FDA's Bureau of Compliance, are recounted on the following pages.)

## THE INDUSTRY VIEWPOINT

(By C. B. Way)

When we first heard about the Self-Certification Program, many of us had doubts about any such cooperation with a regulatory agency. The food industry had always resisted FDA attempts to get at its records. The attitudes prevailing between inspectors and inspected have been standoffish, to put it mildly. The Self-Certification Program goes against all this; thus, most of the food industry looked askance at such a program.

However, we cannot really be for or against something with which we are unacquainted. Since one company with a proven quality assurance program had, at least tentatively, accepted a Self-Certification Program, it made sense to us to investigate it. This was all we had in mind when we visited FDA in January 1968. Just to find out what it was all about.

Soon after, we tried setting up a model program for a peas and corn plant just to see how it might look. There were no definite plans by either party to implement it at that time. However, one thing led to another, and by June of 1968 we had an agreement, all duly signed, to proceed with a pilot program.

One of the philosophies we developed during this "investigation" of the program was that we thought FDA ought to know more about our business insofar as its operation affected the consumers' health. The old business of "let them do it the hard way" changed to "let us show you." It was not necessary to disclose any classified information, or to give away the keys to the vault, so to speak. We felt that if FDA were to know more about our business, it could write more realistic laws and regulations, and, more importantly, be in a better position to determine the need for various laws and regulations; or so we reasoned. To put it another way, voluntary compliance is one way to keep from being legislated or regulated out of business. Thus, while we were quite reserved about giving out information at first, these reservations soon disappeared.

During the course of this investigation, some differences had to be overcome. One was a "language barrier" or divergence of terminology. To a canner, "raw product" is the green produce as it is harvested. To an FDA'er, it is any product fed into the system, such as tin cans, salt, water, etc. Other differences of opinion as to which areas were "critical" or potentially hazardous had to be settled.

Early in the planning it was suggested that the Minnesota Department of Agriculture (MDA) be a part of this program and, thereafter, the planning meetings became three-way sessions. The agreement was signed in June 1968 by Dr. Goddard of FDA, Mr. Schwandt of MDA, and Mr. Cosgrove of Green Giant. It covered one plant, canning only peas and whole kernel corn.

Basically, the agreement provides that Green Giant will (1) make certain pertinent quality control records available to MDA and FDA, (2) submit monthly reports listing any deviations from the agreed-on specifications, (3) give to FDA and MDA a copy of all corporate quality assurance inspection reports, and (4) submit to FDA and MDA copies of any complaints received from any source

about products covered by the agreement. It also says that FDA and MDA will give to Green Giant copies of their full inspection reports and complaints they receive from any source on the products covered by the agreement.

The specifications which go with the agreement are not public information. What they do is establish preventative courses of action to be taken in such areas as fill of container, pesticide residue, foreign objects, etc. They also set up courses of action to be taken when a deviation occurs or is suspected. These courses of action are all part of the company standard operating practices, and no changes were made as a result of this program. It should be noted that the program concerns itself only with product safety, not product elegance.

A very important part of the agreement is that a deviation from the agreed-on specifications does not necessarily constitute a violation of the law.

One of the things we pressed for, and which we still feel is important in selling this program to the food industry, is the complete absence of publicity, if it is ever found necessary to recall a product from the market. Normally seizures, detentions, and the like are a matter of public record. Our theory was that we were giving FDA and MDA otherwise confidential information which they would not normally have and therefore we ought to be able to recall a product from the market, if necessary, without it being a matter of public record. At this writing, no basic laws have been changed, but a change along these lines is under consideration.

Some results of the self-certification trial program have been that there is an open channel of communications between MDA, FDA, and Green Giant; there has been no increase in quality costs to the company; inspection costs to the taxpayer will ultimately be reduced; concentration of regulatory agencies' resources can be placed in areas where serious health hazards exist; and an air of mutual trust and respect among the participating groups has developed.

## THE STATE VIEWPOINT

(By G. H. Steele)

Minnesota Department of Agriculture has been working with Minnesota canners in both a regulatory and service manner since 1921 when our cannery license law was first enacted.

Services rendered include quality grading, incubation for keeping quality, bacteriological and chemical analyses of ingredients and finished products, and periodic inspections of plants for sanitation compliance.

When we first learned of FDA's intention to inaugurate a pilot study for Self-Certification in Minnesota, we speculated as to what effect this might have on our cannery program and whether or not this might be Federal intervention or creative federalism.

We were invited to participate in the study by contributing to the limit of our resources and capabilities. As a result, we performed in our usual manner, leaving to FDA whatever laboratory and inspection work we were not able to perform.

Our philosophy always has been that every processor must carry out quality and sanitation control to the utmost of his ability to assure the best possible product for the consumer. To this end, the Minnesota Department of Agriculture should interfere only to assist and advise the processor or to take regulatory action when necessary.

The Self-Certification pilot study supplied for the first time the opportunity for FDA, MDA, and Green Giant Co. each to examine his capabilities and to evaluate procedures and methodology in use to determine if they should be continued or discarded.

At the same time, open discussion of our philosophies and programs gave each par-

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film. They are intended to shape the opinions of many who can be moved by such things, and they constantly remind everyone of who is in control here and of what is expected of them. We Americans do know what to think when we see government resources and government personnel marshaled as they have been here in a massive (and no doubt successful) campaign to produce the desired result. This is no more a free referendum than similar exercises are free either in Spain or in Russia.

And yet our host and his government have tried hard to persuade us that we are witnessing a genuinely free expression of the will of the Greek people. It seems important to them that Americans believe this. We Americans may not be informed enough about or familiar enough with Greek history and Greek affairs to be able to judge other claims of this government. But, as I have said, we do have the experience and the ability and the information to judge whether an election is truly free. And when we can see that this government claim about a free referendum, of which we have heard so much, is simply without foundation, what are we to think of all the other claims that we hear from the same government about what it has done for Greece, about what its motives are, about its innocence of deliberate torture of political prisoners, and about the imminent Communist danger from which it saved Greece by seizing power last year? Are we not entitled to judge what we may not know by what we can and do know?

#### THE AUTHORITY TO PRESCRIBE

We have been told several times this evening that Greek affairs of recent years required drastic medicine, that a doctor must sometimes prescribe harsh measures in order to save the life of the patient. But do we not all believe that an adult is entitled to select his own doctor, and to discharge him when he chooses? By what authority does the presiding doctor prescribe what is necessary for Greece? How can the Greeks be said to have selected him, when they did not even know who he was? What diploma does he have as a doctor? What proof of his qualifications is there aside from his self-serving testimony about himself? Certainly, we cannot accept as indicative of public approval of his regimen the fact that an unarmed people does not resist a determined government which is heavily armed.

The republican precedent of the Roman dictatorship has been cited to us in justification of what has happened here since April 1967. But it should be remembered that the Roman dictator (usually a citizen of recognized merit) was given his authority pursuant to the constitutional processes of the Roman Republic—and this was done only after debate and deliberation. It should also be remembered that the Roman dictator held his power for a fixed term, a term clearly stated in advance of his appointment. We have also been cited, in justification of the suspension of civil liberties in times of emergency, the experiences of Great Britain and the United States during the Second World War. But it should be remembered that Mr. Churchill was repeatedly obliged during that war to submit himself to the will of an elected parliament. The Americans present tonight remember the difficulties President Roosevelt had with the American Congress, even in time of war. And in both cases, these wartime leaders were chosen pursuant to the constitutional processes of free people, despite the existence then of emergencies far more threatening than anything confronting Greece today.

I feel honor-bound to address myself, before I close, to the remarks made by our host about Eleni Vlachou, a lady whom he knows, from our conversation during dinner, that I respect. Every Greek here tonight knows that before the coup of April 1967 Mrs.

Vlachou published the most respected newspaper in Greece. You Greeks know that hers was a newspaper of the Right, that she was strongly anti-Communist (indeed, to my mind, too much so), and that she has repudiated the claims of the army officers who made the coup about the danger of Communism from which they saved Greece. You know that hers was the newspaper that most of you, and most of the supporters of the present government, once looked up to as the best in Greece. You know that your government made serious efforts for six months after the April 1967 coup to induce Mrs. Vlachou to resume publication of the newspaper she had immediately suspended upon being confronted by your press censorship, censorship which continues to this day. To disparage her as has been done tonight is simply unrealistic and even unbecoming. To honor her for the stand she has taken and the sacrifices she has made is to honor and to nourish and perhaps even to help revive the best in the Greek spirit. We will know that a significant measure of liberty has indeed returned to Greece when Mrs. Vlachou again publishes her newspaper freely, a newspaper in which I am sure there will be things with which I would be obliged to disagree. In any event, Mrs. Vlachou's exile, like that of your King, serves as a constant reminder that things are not right in Greece at this time.

I have directed my remarks this evening to the question of liberty, to the question of whether liberty exists in Greece today. This is not the occasion to examine the advantages and the excesses of liberty, to examine its conditions and its preservation—all matters about which much needs to be said in Greece as well as in the United States. I must also reserve for another occasion my discussion of what has been happening under the present government to the Greek economy, of what has already happened to the effectiveness of the army that a handful of junior officers has usurped, of what Greece is supposed to have been saved from and saved for by this unconstitutional usurpation, of what has happened to Greek relations with its friends and allies in the West since April 1967, and of what has been happening the past seventeen months to the civil services, to the functioning of government and to the quality of life in this country.

We have been speaking tonight of liberty. Liberty is what we Americans do know something about. And when an American visitor, who respects both the truth and Greece, is confronted as we have been at such length, not only tonight but ever since our arrival in Athens, by the insistence that liberty is to be found in Greece today, he is obliged to dissent, if he presumes to speak at all.

If what Greek citizens have now is what you mean by "liberty", then we should all reconsider what we mean by "the free world."

#### THE DAY THE EARTH WAS LOST

#### HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 23, 1969

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, an editorial of Tuesday, May 20, 1969, in the Kansas City Times catches the significance and the exhilaration felt by all Americans and people throughout the world in the successful flight of Apollo 10. As the editorial points out the Apollo program is truly a journey of man into a new and unknown environment. Yet this undertaking has been done with the

skill and initiative inherent in the American heritage. This editorial is an articulate statement of the importance of continued support of our Nation's quest for new knowledge and capability. I commend it to your reading, and include it herewith:

#### THE DAY THE EARTH WAS LOST

Early in their journey to the moon, one of the astronauts—during the first TV color spectacular from space—said somewhat wistfully:

"We're looking for earth right now. We'd like to show it to you but we can't find it."

The problem, of course, was one of the spacecraft's orientation. In time—after televising the docking with the lunar lander, which appeared much easier than parking on most city streets—the astronauts found the earth. And presented the show of shows as they sped moonward. But for a moment, the words of the astronaut seemed to capture the mixed feelings that the earthbound themselves have, in this mixed-up age we live in.

But the earth was found, and the astronauts will—if all goes according to schedule—find the moon. There is, we suppose, a bit of philosophy to be derived from this, but the philosophers and poets have not yet arrived in space. They will, in due time, the trail having been blazed for them by brave technicians and pilots, by the daring who prove that even a moment of human confusion means nothing.

For now, however, the course belongs to the astronauts, and no man could question the magnificence of their performance. The television cameras recorded the sheer beauty of the takeoff, of the maneuver in space and of the earth itself receding in the background. The astronauts routinely went about their business, apparently with that flawlessness which is the essence of their life. Men below watched in awe at this thing which their fellow men had wrought.

They—the earthbound—had been found by the space-borne camera, and there they were on camera. It was reassuring. Then the astronauts sped onward, toward the moon, lonesome, yet not alone. Earth, gorgeous and mysterious, had been displayed to its residents as it had never been displayed before. What a fantastic start on another of man's incredible journeys into the unknown! Sunday, the earth. Tomorrow, the moon. In time the poets and philosophers will have much to say about that.

#### DR. JOHN F. McHUGH DEFINES "FREEDOM" IN MEMORIAL DAY SPEECH

#### HON. FRED B. ROONEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 23, 1969

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend a speech entitled "Footsteps for Freedom" which was delivered at West Park in Allentown, Pa., by Dr. John M. McHugh, who is principal of the Roosevelt Elementary School in Allentown, on Memorial Day 1969 to the reading of those who look at the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

This speech was recently called to my attention, and I believe there are points of considerable merit contained within it. I invite particular attention to the definitions of "freedom" in Dr. McHugh's remarks.

The text of his statement of May 30, 1969, follows:

**FOOTSTEPS FOR FREEDOM**

(By Dr. John F. McHugh)

Memorial Day, for me, has always been a special day. Perhaps it has been special because during my childhood I loved to watch the two parades in Allentown on each May 30th. I remember getting up early and trotting to Center Square to see the soldiers, to listen to the taps, and to gaze in wonder at the volley of shots fired and heard in center city. Then, I would sit on the curb and wait for the big parade to move up Hamilton Street toward West Park. I always loved a parade . . . and on Memorial Day, I had a double joy of excitement because after the ceremonies in the park were completed, the parade formed again—on Turner street and proceeded back to the Square for the concluding ceremonies. On several Memorial Days I marched in these parades—always carrying the flag.

As I think back over these thirty years, I can still hear the footsteps of the units of soldiers, sailors, and marines as they marched proudly to the cadence of America's traditional marching sons. Perhaps it was these first footsteps that I heard which gave me some idea of what freedom was all about. I may have been too young to know the meaning of freedom, but I was taught in Allentown about the greatness of my country and a respect for her brave men.

What I did not know as a young child was that footsteps for freedom were heard all around the world in the name of our country. What I did not comprehend as a child was that some of these footsteps were now silenced because men gave their lives on battlefields to protect the land they loved and where I, an American, had the grand opportunity to live and to enjoy life.

I emphasize the memories of a young person to render a suggestion that the young of today listen to the footsteps for freedom.

And so today, I want to have a heart-to-heart talk with the young people of our community, and through them, with the young people of our nation.

Young Americans and Young Allentonians: Memorial Day is a day of reverence, remembrance, and respect. It is a day of reverence to Almighty God; a remembrance of the dead; a respect for the brave. But, my young friends, Memorial Day is a day for the living as well. It is a day for you and for me, for all of us, to look inside ourselves to find out personally how we feel about our God, our Country, and our respect for freedom.

Being the educator that I am, I want to ask you some questions; and while I wait and listen for your answers, I want to share some feelings that might help bridge the so-called generation gap which some people say exists in our community and nation today.

Young Americans and Young Allentonians: How do you feel about the American flag? Do you know its history? Do you know what it stands for? Does your heart swell with pride when you see it pass by? Do you give it the respect it rightfully deserves? Do you realize the symbolism of our flag, carried into battle, rallied the forces of men toward victories because men loved their flag because it represented for them the greatness of their country and their love for their nation? Do you realize that for millions of enslaved people around the globe, your flag has become the symbol of hope? The flag of America is a symbol of freedom because men died so that freedom might prevail. The footsteps for freedom have been led by the Stars and Stripes!

Young Americans and Young Allentonians: How do you feel about the Liberty Bell? Do you know its history? Do you realize that men and women were rallied by the tone of

its peal during the dark days of a revolution—that the bell represents for us our independence. Have you been to Independence Hall or our own Liberty Bell Shrine to catch the feeling of what America is about—what her struggles have been, her promise kept, her greatness maintained? The Liberty Bell is a symbol and her tolling has guided the footsteps to freedom.

Young Americans and Young Allentonians: Have you met Abraham Lincoln? Do you know the story of his life? Have you learned from the lessons he taught? Are we truly brothers? Do you have malice for none and charity for all? Do you know he said that our nation was dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal . . . that this nation shall have a new birth of freedom . . . that we are a government of the people, by the people, for the people . . . and that this nation shall not perish from the Earth? Did you know that Lincoln prayed, had faith in God, and was moved by the spirit of the Almighty during the dark days of civil strife in our nation when brother fought brother on American soil? In the parade of American Heroes, Lincoln's footsteps were for freedom!

Young Americans and Young Allentonians: Do you know our nation has been called a melting pot? Do you understand and appreciate that the greatness of our nation came into being because all races, men of all colors, and faiths in many religions contributed their worth, their culture, their traditions, and their individual dignity? Together they had a common purpose: to build a united states, and to set the course of history with America as a giant among nations. They came from different countries but they became Americans. A poem says it better:

"Just today we chanced to meet—  
Down upon the crowded street,  
And I wondered whence he came,  
What was once his nation's name?  
So I asked him, 'Tell me true—  
Are you Pole or Russian Jew,  
English, Irish, German, Prussian,  
Belgian, Spanish, Swiss, Maravian,  
Dutch, Greek or Scandinavian?'  
Then he raised his head on high  
as he gave me this reply:

"What I was is naughty to me  
In this land of liberty.  
In my soul as man to man  
I am just American!"

The footsteps to freedom have been trod by men from many nations—now united as free-loving Americans.

Young Americans and Young Allentonians: Do you want to help your community? Your Nation? Yes, let your voices be heard. But, my young Americans, *let your deeds be respected!* Don't tear down that which took many years, hard work, and dedicated lives to build. And, don't build something in its stead for which someday you will be shameful. Dedicate your lives toward strengthening America—do not destroy her; for in destroying her, you will only destroy yourselves.

Now, my young Americans, I believe there is something which some of us, who are a generation or two older and perhaps a little more formally educated and experienced can share with you. It is this. You and all of us are living through a series of crises. Your age is different because you have known only the curse of crisis and never the fullest pursuits of peace. But we are in these crises together and I am afraid they will be with us for generations to come. What we need to do is adjust to crises, weather the storms, and hope that the lessons of greatness from our past history will endure our determinations to build greatnesses for the future.

Young Americans and Young Allentonians: Let's hope that our passions and our angers—grown out of our frustrations will turn into compassions and understandings—grown out

of mutual respects one for the other. You need to understand that we are living in an interregnum period. One foot's in a world that's going, one's in a world that's coming. What we are going through is the price we have to pay for a new freedom. And the kind of footsteps you make will determine the kind of freedom we will have in the future.

Finally, remember that every right you have has a corresponding responsibility. Learn the history of your country well, remember the words of her heroes, and try to catch the feeling of pride exemplified by her many symbols.

Remember, too, of what America is about. She has problems to solve and she has progress to make. In trying to solve her problems, do not create problems, but determine the progress to be gained.

Young Americans and Young Allentonians: Your turn will come to lead us on. May your footsteps guide us toward that new freedom—a greater America, rich in traditions, and God grant, maybe you can bring us to an era of peace among men. In saluting you, we also challenge you. God Bless You in your endeavors!

CHIEF JUSTICE EARL WARREN

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 23, 1969

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, during his tenure as Chief Justice of the United States, Earl Warren has consistently stood as a force for fairness and as a champion of equal justice under the law. A former district attorney, attorney general, and three-time Governor of California, Earl Warren brought to the Court a knowledge, not only of law, but also of public administration, which enabled him to understand the basic cross-currents and moral conscience of this Nation. Thus, the Court promoted true equality, while discarding hollow rhetoric and legal technicalities as contrary to the original meaning of the Constitution.

Under Justice Warren's leadership, the Supreme Court has vitalized the constitutional law of human rights. In the past 10 years, the Court has extended most of the important sections of the Bill of Rights to cover the States, thus protecting for all people those basic liberties which our Founding Fathers meant to be safeguarded from governmental interference. Specifically, the Court has strengthened the constitutional right to a fair trial by ruling that every man, rich or poor, has the right to counsel in a felony prosecution. The integrity of the electoral process has been strengthened by the Court's "one-man, one-vote" ruling, which declared that legislators represent people, "not trees or acres."

Warren demanded that true opportunity be provided for all Americans, when he wrote for the Court, in Brown against Board of Education, possibly his most famous decision, that segregation in the schools was unconstitutional, because a separate education imposed psychological burdens upon the Negro child which denied him an education equal to the one of his white counterpart. This decision made possible Supreme Court



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TAX, SPEND, ELECT—THE GAME  
CONTINUES

## HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 23, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, this week the House will be asked to consider a new tax bill relating to extension of the 10-percent surtax—a discriminatory tax, double taxing people who already have a duty to pay a tax—and to repeal the investment credit.

It becomes more and more difficult to explain our Government's fiscal policy and it is impossible to justify the continued theft of dollars out of the paychecks of hard-working Americans.

How, for example, can a Congressman explain a \$120,000 grant by HEW to a Communist University at Ljubljana, Yugoslavia—not only a Communist country but one that hastened to recognize the Vietcong-sponsored provisional revolutionary government in South Vietnam which is killing the sons of our taxpayers?

Or how can any Member explain 8½-percent interest to our banks, business people, contractors and homebuilders when we just last week announced a U.S. Export-Import Bank loan of \$14,688,000 to the Irish Government to buy Boeing jet planes. The interest rate on this loan was 6 percent.

Or, how can anyone defend a \$480,000,000 to the World Bank for 30-year loans at no interest—or the overall foreign aid slush funds at the discretion of diplomatic bureaucrats, estimated to be \$10,428,000,000? Interest? We will be lucky even to get part of the principal back.

How can we defend the gift to the U.N. and its specialized propaganda agencies of \$83,886,000 with no benefit to our people but rather deterioration of our national sovereignty and constitutionally secured individual protections?

Mr. Speaker, the overwhelming majority of the people who settled and built this land fled Europe to escape excessive taxation.

The United States of America declared its independence from the unrelenting domination of a king because of taxation without representation.

Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette lost their thrones for less than the tyranny of the taxes being piled again on the backs of our American people.

Taxes have become the curse of the continent.

Our people are being taxed federally, by the States, municipally, locally—directly and indirectly—whether they want the purported reforms or not.

Rather than a continued barrage of taxes against the people, I feel it is time that we who are charged with representing our people start earning our pay by reducing their taxes. Hard-working Americans can be the best deterrent to inflation by handling their own dollars—by enjoying the benefits of the income earned from their own initiative and ingenuity.

Regardless of all the flowery oratory, no one is fooling the man back home

who knows that his savings have been wiped out and whose wife knows that groceries, clothing, and rent continue to soar. And he is getting more incensed at those who would say inflation is caused by his spending rather than by the Federal giveaways of what they first have to take away from him. He just can not understand taking away from him the money he needed to have his daughter's teeth straightened—then sending it to Yugoslavia, or bribing rioters not to riot again.

I include a recent news clipping:

## INTEREST RATE TODAY REACHES HISTORIC HIGH

NEW YORK. (AP)—Major banks today raised the prime rate—the interest charged their biggest and best customers for loans—to a historic high of 8½ per cent from 7½ per cent, effective immediately.

An increase had been expected for some time. But the amount of the hike—a full one per cent—was surprising.

The first bank to increase the rate was Bankers Trust Co. of New York and it did so without making any comment on its reasons. Other New York banks, and then Chicago, Philadelphia and Boston banks quickly made the same move. Among the banks was Chase Manhattan and First National City of New York.

Reacting to the move, the Dow Jones industrial average dropped about 7 points shortly after the New York Stock Exchange opened.

When one bank increases the prime rate, others usually follow.

The prime rate is used in determining the interest rate charged most large corporations. Other rates, such as interest rates to consumers, are scaled upward from the prime rate.

The old rate of 7½ per cent was a record high when it was set on March 17. As recently as last Dec. 2 the rate was 6¼. A series of rate increases, usually one-fourth or one-half of a per cent at a time, had occurred between December and March.

The Federal Reserve Board has taken a number of steps to make it more expensive and more difficult for banks to borrow money. But the demand on banks for money to borrow has continued strong.

By raising the prime rate banks can afford to pay more for the money they borrow.

DISPLAYING THE STARS AND  
STRIPES

## HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 23, 1969

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, a constituent of mine, Mr. Edward Hunter, who publishes a monthly newsletter entitled "Tactics," called my attention recently to an article he wrote in 1965 concerning the lack of interest on the part of many Americans in displaying our American flag on July 4, Independence Day.

As I believe Mr. Hunter's article contains a message for all Americans, I welcome the opportunity to reprint it in full at this point in the RECORD.

The article follows:

WHY NOT FLY THE STARS AND STRIPES?—OUR FLAG NOW "CONTROVERSIAL"

Last year, as July 4 approached, this writer found he was without a suitable American

flag. He found none on sale in the neighborhood. On Independence Day, not a flag was flying on any house in the area, and he had to go blocks before seeing the Stars and Stripes. Startled, he made a tour of the District of Columbia. One could tell where government employees lived; there seemed to be some unwritten rule among them not to display the flag of the country which even was paying their salary. Flying the flag just did not fit in their so-called "sophistication." This editor went home and ransacked closet and drawers until he found an old souvenir flag with 48 stars, 8 by 5½ inches, which he tacked at the top of a downstairs, outside window. At least it was a flag, our flag!

The fact of the matter is that the American flag has joined the word "patriotism" as "controversial." Schools don't teach patriotism any more; it's chauvinistic and apparently a symbol of extremism. It's intolerant to fly the U.S. flag unless you fly the U.N. flag alongside, so as to show you are in the mainstream, and consider all countries the same, the same as all religions, and all the people of the world. After all, to display preference for your own country is a value judgment, and as almost any social scientist will tell you, a value judgment is "unscientific." Nobody wants to be unscientific.

Bunk and buncome! The failure to fly the American flag, and avoidance of such words as "patriotic," are evidences of the extent to which our people are being softened up by enemy propaganda tactics, and how subtly it spreads.

This writer is going to call this situation to the attention of some leaders hereabouts. Maybe some readers will do the same, for their home areas and the national capital. Maybe the White House and our legislators might suggest American flags be available for purchase conveniently, and they be flown on July 4. Maybe federal employees can set the example.

ME

## A GREEK POLITICAL TRAGEDY

## HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 23, 1969

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, for 4 years a Greek political tragedy has unfolded in Athens step by inexorable step, with the final chapter looming more tragic than all that has come before.

America's role in this political tragedy has been an inglorious one. From the time the Papandreu government fell in 1965 until the colonel's coup in 1967, the American mission in Athens was a party to the maneuvers which forestalled elections. By forestalling elections the victory of the Democratic and Liberal Center Union Party was averted, a very questionable political judgment. The political pot was allowed to boil and an atmosphere was created which encouraged a military coup.

When the colonel's coup came on April 21, 1967, it came from an unexpected source; namely, antiestablishment middle-ranking officers in the Greek Intelligence Service, a service trained and financed but not directed by the United States.

From the beginning in April 1967 several of us in Congress have spoken of the short-term and long-term political and moral consequences of America's support of the junta which has been im-

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tutions, manufacturers and distributors of agricultural supplies, fertilizer, equipment, etc., in other areas, as well as the total economic structure of the country, will suffer unless Congress takes positive action correcting this archaic policy so family farms can continue to operate on an efficient, economically sound basis.

## TITLE IX—A NEW DIMENSION IN FOREIGN AID—VI

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 23, 1969

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I hope this Congress and the new administration will make great strides in modernizing the U.S. foreign aid program. However, Prof. John Schott warns that some new approaches would be harmful rather than helpful. He cautions against multilateralizing and he warns against the fragmentation of the program. If these routes are followed, the outlook is dismal, he feels. He wrote these remarks earlier this year before the administration's proposal was made public.

The concluding section to his very thoughtful paper follows:

## OUTLOOK IS DISMAL

Given these three conditions as prerequisites of a successful attempt to implement title IX, the outlook seems pretty dismal. It is generally assumed that the Nixon Administration will recommend organizational and perhaps substantive changes in the foreign aid program. To date, there has been no official indication as to what these may be. Rumors, fortified by several unofficial proposals and continuing Congressional criticisms, suggest that multilateralizing significant aspects of the foreign aid program and/or distributing several of its existing facets among a number of private and semipublic agencies will be given serious consideration. If either of these general proposals become government policy, Title IX should suffer.

The multilateral approach is a noble one and has much in its favor. Further support of existing multilateral organizations is undoubtedly in the long-term interest of this country. Many large capital projects can be effectively designed and efficiently administered by a world organization; so, too, can certain humanitarian and politically-immune technical assistance activities. Title IX, however, involves undertakings of a potentially sensitive and multidimensional character. To seek to increase a country's GNP or to care for its sick and hungry is one matter; to promote increased popular participation in the benefits of development, in the implementation of development activities, and in the decision-making processes governing a country's development, is quite another.

On three grounds it appears unlikely that a multilateral agency can be optimally effective in directly influencing these latter developments: (1) by representing sovereign states with greatly differing social, political, cultural, and economic value systems, a genuinely multilateral agency seeking to realize Title IX goals could not expect from its backers the degree of single-minded, durable support required; (2) denied the forms of leverage possessed by a powerful U.S. government, a multilateral agency would more easily be victimized in delicate Title

IX areas by established regimes and prevailing socio-economic elites fearful of increased popular participation in their country; and (3) lacking the variety of assistance instruments potentially at the disposal of the U.S. Government, multilateral agencies would find it more difficult to provide multi-faceted, fully coordinated programs so essential when dealing directly with the social and political framework of a country.

At the other end of the spectrum, proposals to splinter the responsibilities now under the general aegis of A.I.D., would further complicate the process of coordination, reduce leverage, disintegrate the country programming approach, and—most importantly—probably make Title IX implementation the responsibility of but one of the resulting agencies, most likely that concerned with residual technical assistance activities. Title IX would thereby become narrowly construed and be rendered largely ineffectual. What, on the contrary, is required for Title IX implementation is recognition of the fact that this mandate relates to all facets of U.S.-sponsored development efforts in the LDCs. As A.I.D.'s administrator recently said:

We want Title IX considerations to be weighed when we decide on the overall composition of a country program. When we prescribe the negotiating instructions for a program or an agriculture sector loan, when we decide on a particular capital assistance project, when we undertake and evaluate technical assistance activities, when we support the development efforts of private institutions.<sup>1</sup>

Title IX relates not only to *what* is done, but *how* it is done. Its implementation requires not only an expansion of the spectrum of "allowable" undertakings by A.I.D. and a reorientation of priorities along that spectrum, but conscious Title IX attention to the ways in which particular projects are undertaken and to the conditions attached to various sorts of loans and grants. It means that a feeder road can be built in the most efficient or quickest way possible primarily to increase agricultural productivity; it can also be constructed by inefficient labor-intensive methods in "uneconomic" areas primarily to ameliorate unemployment, teach laborers new skills, or promote national integration. It means that a family planning program can give first consideration to the most efficient and broadest dissemination of propaganda and devices, or it can seek more slowly to establish or strengthen indigenous groups or nascent organizations to perform this work, thereby encouraging small group activity and cooperative local undertakings at the possible sacrifice of a more greatly quickened decline in the birth rate. A sector loan can be granted only on condition that the moneys are channelled to local or intermediate governmental institutions which will have largely autonomous control over their use, thereby seeking to get a particular developmental job done while strengthening the interest and capacity of local decision-making units to perform such jobs without awaiting the sluggish administrative hand of the central government to do it for them.

Military assistance programs can begin to recognize in their training programs the uncomfortable fact that the military in many LDCs will not remain an "a-political" force. Acceptance of this would suggest that officers should be trained as much in the developmental problems and prospects of their country as in the use of sophisticated military hardware, the methods of counter-in-

surgency warfare, and the irrelevancies of the American way of life. The Peace Corps, without too great sacrifice of its myopic attitude towards the U.S. Government establishment, can intensify its halting and fragmentary efforts of the past to dovetail its program with that of A.I.D. and to demonstrate greater appreciation of the role of its volunteers as promoters and auxiliaries of a host country's development in contrast with the value of the overseas experience to its volunteers, (however residually important for recruiting purposes that may be). U.S.I.A. can begin to utilize its expertise in the field of communication and public diplomacy to provide needed technical assistance in these areas; they can also begin to fashion overseas programs which in fact—not just in name—give priority to the transmission or dissemination of information and skills relevant to the developmental needs, desires and capacities of the people in particular countries, as opposed to explaining away our public and private foibles and proclaiming the virtues of American-style democracy and life in suburbia.

There is good reason to despair of this more systematic, integrated and long-term approach to the foreign aid process ever becoming the reality which it should. Yet many would not be in this business if they did not foresee significant reforms taking place in the near future. It is hoped by a few of these that Title IX will constitute a catalyst for these reforms, if not their principal synthesizing element.

Perhaps these reforms may not replace old myths with new realities, but only substitute new myths for old—ethnocentric myths of the universal applicability of pluralism, popular participation and certain types of democratic institutions; egocentric myths of the infallibility of our predictive power as regards the resources of—and prospects for—political development in the new states. Hopefully, however, if Title IX becomes an important energizing force within our foreign aid establishment, greater modesty will be displayed than has been the case among many economists and technicians, and greater appreciation of the necessarily marginal impact U.S. assistance has on LDC development will prevail among the American public and their Congressional representatives.<sup>2</sup> It may be too much to hope that Title IX will at once broaden our horizons and limit our aspirations. There probably are not many precedents for this; but then, again, there really are no precedents to Title IX.

<sup>2</sup> It may be suggested that Title IX arrives at a particularly inauspicious time in the history of this country. When democratic principles are being so violently abused and when institutions based upon these principles appear so incapable of coping with the domestic problems confronting this country, who are we to suggest the possible applicability of these principles and institutions to the lesser developed countries of the world? Without attempting to argue here a case for seeking to uphold the dignity of the individual in varying contexts and the author's particular faith in the general validity of democratic principles, it will only be suggested that: (a) the validity of these principles is further strengthened—not brought into question—by the institutional changes now being sought so strenuously in the United States, and (b) it is to be hoped that the United States may soon recognize that we may have as much to learn from the LDCs as we may have values and skills to impart to them. Development should be—but has been inadequately seen as—a two-way street. Title IX and its broader conception of the development process may help us to recognize this simple verity.

<sup>1</sup> Statement of William S. Gaud before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, March 20, 1968.

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posed on the Greek people. The State Department at the beginning explained that the junta was merely interested in constitutional reform—an explanation which we did not accept and which has proved to be an utter illusion.

Furthermore, the State Department had been and is tepid in asserting the political consequences involved, yielding always to a highly questionable "military" argument based upon the junta's support of NATO. One of the jokers in this argument is no matter what the regime in Greece—conservative or liberal—it has and it will support the Western alliance.

Three outstanding articles on the Greek situation have appeared in the last few days in newspapers of national prominence. They deserve the most thoughtful attention of every Member concerned with American foreign policy and the sometimes inadvertent damage done by short-term military considerations.

Two of the articles are by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak in the June 19 and June 23 issues of the Washington Post. The third, in the June 19 Christian Science Monitor analyzes the demoralization of Greece's officer corps, civil service, and diplomatic service as a result of the dictatorship.

The articles follow:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, June 19, 1969]

**GREECE FACING GRIM ALTERNATIVES: SALAZAR-TYPE RULE OR BLOODY REVOLT**  
(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

ATHENS.—The Greek military dictatorship, after two years of bland assurances to Washington about restoring democracy, intends to retain power indefinitely without free elections—posing immense danger to long-range stability in the strategic eastern Mediterranean.

If the colonels who seized power April 21, 1967, on the pretext of preventing communism here ever intended any partial return to representative government, that intention is dead. Even the few politicians who have tried to cooperate with the colonels now concede that Col. George Papadopoulos, the Premier, envisions an institutionalized tyranny modeled after Salazar's 37-year dictatorship in Portugal.

Unlike our last visit there two years ago when the freshly installed junta pledged an early return to constitutional forms, the regime now regards itself as permanent. Brig. Gen. Stylianos Pattakos, Deputy Premier and the junta's No. 2 man, bristled when we asked about popular elections. "That is an internal matter that you cannot inquire about," he said. "Go ask the people on the street. Nobody wants elections."

Indeed, all objective sources here agree that the military regime would lose badly in free elections. The colonels' "revolution," attempting by edict to transform the Greeks into work-oriented puritans, has depleted what popularity the regime enjoyed in 1967. Although past Greek governments have had excellent success in rigging elections, the military regime's popular base is so low—perhaps 10 per cent—that calling elections would be equivalent to surrendering power.

Unwilling to surrender power, the colonels have turned Greece into a huge political pressure-cooker with the true feeling of the Greeks suppressed by the local gendarmerie's watchful eye. An election today probably would show a sharp leftward swing. More ominously, after two or three additional years, the pressure-cooker may explode into

insurrection with Communists in leading roles.

These ominous prospects have their source in perhaps the tightest police state this side of Moscow. Violating the colonels' own new constitution, non-Communist potential foes of the regime—mainly army officers and intellectuals—are imprisoned without indictment or trials. Reports of torture are impossible to verify in detail, but maltreatment and brutalization of low-level political prisoners continue.

Former political leaders are watched constantly. They cannot speak their view, are denied passports to travel abroad, and have their mail and telephone calls monitored. One former Premier cannot move without a car full of police agents following him. All former cabinet members are tailed when they visit their old constituencies.

The regime's iron vise is even tighter on the academic world. So many teachers have been purged that the educational system is crippled. Distinguished professors are subject to humiliating interrogation by Col. John Ladas, hard-line secretary general of the Interior Ministry. University students, solidly against the regime, are intimidated by police agents attending their very classes. A further deterrent is formed by severe prison sentences given six young teaching assistants (two of whom later were tortured) for distributing anti-junta propaganda.

The first armed resistance against this tyranny has come from the right: clandestine supporters of exiled King Constantine. Infrequently reported in the controlled Greek press are daily bombing incidents in the heart of Athens (forcing the government court martial to change buildings). There have been unconfirmed reports that the royalist resistance was responsible for the recent deaths of three pro-junta officers.

Thus, 16 retired officers arrested recently are all royalists with anti-Communist records (two of them with service in the Korean war). The regime's contention that the arrested officers participated in a left-wing army plot is only a propaganda smokescreen.

Harassing though it may be, however, the royalist resistance is incapable of overthrowing a regime so vigilant against potential opposition. Remembering the existence of the anti-Nazi resistance in World War II, Greeks fear that the Communists—better organized than ever—will dominate if and when the resistance assumes major proportions.

That day remains relatively distant. Greek Communists, badly fragmented into rival segments, are passive. The Soviet Ambassador here is circumspect, declining to discuss Greek internal affairs during a recent two-hour luncheon with an anti-junta politician. The Communists know the time is not ripe for insurrection.

But heavy government borrowing and stagnant investment here the last two years are storm signals for the modest prosperity now enjoyed by Greece. If an economic recession and rising discontent with dictatorship intersect some years from now, the dismal alternatives may be these: an institutionalized police state along Salazar lines or a bloody insurrection with Red overtones. Before that happens, however, the colonels might yet be turned out by a strong stand against them from Washington—a prospect, even though unlikely, worthy of discussion in a later column.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, June 23, 1969]

**U.S. ACTION AGAINST GREEK JUNTA IS PREVENTED BY MILITARY NEEDS**

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

ATHENS.—The growing need by U.S. foreign policy for a tough stand against the Greek military dictatorship to avert ultimate political tragedy here is being undermined by

the Pentagon's military requirements in the eastern Mediterranean.

Indeed, Greece poses a critical dilemma in American foreign policy. A return to Greek democracy may well depend upon U.S. repudiation of the colonels and halting all military aid. But such action conceivably could deprive the U.S., in the short run at least, of naval bases and communications guidance for the 6th Fleet and Polaris submarines vital to the nuclear deterrent.

Those military considerations prevent sharp U.S. action against the junta. But the long-run cost could be immense. At worst, perpetuated dictatorship here could trigger a popular insurrection led by the Communists. At best, U.S. permissiveness toward the military regime already is building intense anti-American sentiment which will surface in any regime that replaces the colonels without Washington's help. Thus, the long-range U.S. military position in the eastern Mediterranean is becoming dependent on permanent tyranny in Athens.

Even though military needs inhibit American diplomats, relations between the Greek government and the U.S. Embassy here—so intimate for 20 years—are icy. The junta deeply resents the absence of an American ambassador since January. U.S. diplomats do not hide their displeasure with the colonels' aim of institutionalized dictatorship.

But whatever impact this official American fridity might have is counteracted by the U.S. Military Advisory Group here whose commander, Maj. Gen. Samuel Eaton and his subordinate officers have exercised little discretion in telling their Greek counterparts how they oppose the Embassy's fastidiousness about democracy.

Any psychological influence of the vacant Ambassador's chair is obliterated by constant shuttling in and out of Athens by U.S. officers assigned to NATO. Their photographs in friendly poses with Col. George Papadopoulos, the Prime Minister, almost daily adorn the controlled Greek newspapers. Most notorious was the reply to a Papadopoulos toast by Gen. Lyman Lemnitzer, retiring NATO commander, in which Lemnitzer conveniently omitted phrases about democracy and the rule of law while quoting from the NATO Treaty's preamble.

The same impression was given by President Nixon's shabby treatment of King Constantine, self-exiled in Rome since his bungled counter-coup in December, 1967. A tentative visit with the King during Mr. Nixon's visit to Rome early this year was cancelled after pressure from the junta. Constantine was denied a meeting with the President while in Washington for the Eisenhower funeral (although Brig. Gen. Stylianos Pattakos, the Deputy Prime Minister, had a few minutes with Mr. Nixon).

Moreover, the Greek colonels are expert at disregarding signs of displeasure from Washington. In an interview, Gen. Pattakos told us that the portion of military aid which has remained suspended since the coup of April 21 will be resumed soon. When we asked the basis for this forecast, Pattakos replied with a statement that simply is untrue: "President Nixon has promised it."

In fact, Pattakos's triumphant account of his Washington visit was so removed from reality that the State Department on April 24 issued a sharp statement indicating Pattakos had been urged to restore representative government and civil liberties. When we asked about that statement, Pattakos told us it did not represent the U.S. Government's position. Then who wrote it? "Some Communist," he snapped.

Summing up, a conservative Greek politician says: "Everybody I know thinks the American Government participated in the coup." Old-line politicians such as former Prime Minister Panagiotis Canelopoulos argue with friends that Washington cannot be blamed. But among the younger genera-



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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—Extensions of Remarks

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tion and particularly students, anti-American feeling is rising steadily in a land where once it was almost unknown.

Nevertheless, the United States might yet put itself on the side of democracy. The three elements whose maneuvering degraded Greek political life before the coup—the King and the two major political parties—are belatedly cooperating and ready to form an interim unity government.

Tentatively, King Constantine would return as rallying point for all Greeks with the government headed by conservative Constantine Karamanlis, who provided stability during eight years as Prime Minister and is now exiled in Paris. But neither the King nor more important, Karamanlis will return to Athens without Washington's repudiation of the junta.

Few realistic Greeks, however, believe the Nixon Administration will move decisively against the colonels. That accounts for skepticism among gloomy Greek democrats that the dictatorship can be terminated peacefully. Worse yet, they feel preoccupation with naval bases is wedding the United States to the fate of the colonels, be it a generation of tyranny or their violent overthrow and the dangerous days that would lie beyond.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, June 19, 1969]

#### NATO DOUBT: IS IRON FIST IN GREECE WEAKENING RELATIONSHIP WITH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE?

NICOSIA, CYPRUS.—The demoralization of Greece's officer corps and civil service by the authoritarian rule of Prime Minister George Papadopoulos has seriously affected Greece's role in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

It also has made it more difficult for Western European governments to supply Greece with defense equipment which NATO leaders believe Athens needs to fulfill its NATO obligations in the Mediterranean.

These are conclusions of authoritative, non-Communist and pro-Western Greek opponents of the Papadopoulos regime. They have managed to supply detailed evidence to newsmen of other countries inside and outside Greece.

The resulting picture is bleak: the Greek military establishment, government bureaucracy, and diplomatic service are reported thoroughly terrorized and weakened by the former colonels now ruling in Athens.

#### CORRUPTION CHARGED

Mr. Papadopoulos and his associates seized power April 21, 1967. They used a secret NATO plan reserved for the emergency of a Communist uprising. They said they were saving Greece from communism and strengthening its ties with NATO. They also pledged they would end favoritism, nepotism, and corruption.

Instead, their pro-NATO opponents charge, they have ruined Greece's reputation in the West and its effectiveness in NATO. Corruption, nepotism, and the other abuses they vowed to abolish now flourish, these opponents say, in their own power group.

On May 5, antigovernment tracts reached foreign correspondents in Athens. They were signed, "General Akritas, chief of the national resistance movement." Akritas is a legendary pseudonym of the sort politically minded Greeks love.

The tract called on Greek officers to "separate yourselves from power-hungry colleagues." It added, "the Greek people have begun to feel hate for the Greek uniform because of the same ambitious, small-time dictators."

Meanwhile, during May courts-martial tried scores of persons for subversive activities.

Earlier this month Mr. Papadopoulos told a news conference that 15 retired officers had

been arrested in connection with an abortive plot to overthrow his regime.

Greek opponents of the Papadopoulos regime say that it is completely false to call the regime, as Western news media frequently do, "Army backed." They say that it seized power in April, 1967, through a ruse which deceived King Constantine and the Army's highest staff officers.

They were led to believe that a Communist take-over attempt was imminent. But the junta never produced a scrap of real evidence to support this. The King and the armed forces were tricked into opening and activating sealed orders for "Operation Prometheus," a NATO plan designed to counter such an emergency.

Purges have eliminated all but two of about 40 senior officers who functioned before the coup of 1967. These two are the regent, Gen. George Zoiakakis, who was assigned the King's ceremonial functions after the King's flight, and Gen. Odysseus Angelis, chief of the defense general staff.

A number of high-ranking officers out of favor were sent to remote frontier garrisons or obscure posts. In each of these, as in every Greek embassy or mission abroad, there is an officer of KYP, the Greek Central Intelligence Agency.

Following the Soviet model, he often holds junior rank but is always the most powerful. Those of higher, equal, and lower rank flatter him and go to him for favors. "This completely disrupts the Army's traditional hierarchy and destroys morale," says one Greek close to the Army. "Greeks cannot bear to take orders from lower-rank people."

By contrast, those who cooperate with the junta are richly rewarded.

#### CIVILIAN POSTS TAKEN

Fifteen officers last year followed the example of Mr. Papadopoulos, Deputy Prime Minister Stylianos Patakos, and Coordination Minister Nicholas Makarezos. They ostentatiously resigned from the Army. Two of these were Mr. Papadopoulos brothers, Constantine and Haramboulos.

These 15 and hundreds of others who have served the junta have become general secretaries of ministries; heads of government committees; chairmen of the broad of public companies; the directors of athletic teams, theaters, and the opera.

Both their income and their influence have increased far beyond what they were as officers. Constantine Papadopoulos was named general secretary of the Prime Ministry. His brother Haramboulos became general director of the Prime Minister's political office.

Their salaries and fringe benefits are many times their former military pay.

Politics always have existed in the Greek Army, a well-known Greek historian points out. But they always were factional. They never concentrated around one leader or center of power. Posts were not distributed for nonmilitary reasons or as political plums.

#### JOSEPH P. McCAFFREY—25 YEARS OF RESPONSIBLE SERVICE

#### HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 23, 1969

Mr. CORMAN, Mr. Speaker, Joe McCaffrey this month is observing his 25th year as a Washington news commentator, and I am proud to associate myself with his many friends in congratulating him on his important, honest and dedicated service in the public interest.

There is no other newsman in Washington, to my knowledge, who reports news more accurately, precisely and factually than does Joe McCaffrey. We in the Congress are particularly fortunate that Joe has made the daily activities of the Congress his broadcasting specialty. His daily reports have been called the "Congressional Record of the Air." Joe himself has been called "the Voice of the Congress." Both titles are truly justified.

It is not easy for the public to always understand the intricacies of complex congressional action, and unless a knowledgeable, objective commentator undertakes to interpret Congress to the listening public, a great deal of misinformation is sent along the air waves.

Joe McCaffrey is an eminently responsible and enormously able reporter and commentator. His broadcasts reflect the highest standards of excellence and he is listened to with confidence.

I have known Joe personally for many years and value his friendship. He is a warm, kindly, sincere person, and his friends on the Hill are legion. Yet, friendships never stand in the way of his first duty—to report the news fairly and accurately.

His record is a worthy example of the best in broadcasting to all the members of his profession, and I hope that Joe will continue to be the "Voice of the Congress" for many, many years to come.

#### THE MISSION OF MANPOWER POLICY

#### HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 23, 1969

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin, Mr. Speaker, Prof. E. White Bakke, Sterling professor of economics at Yale University, has a long and distinguished career as a labor economist and analyst of labor market problems. In a recent publication of the Upjohn Institute entitled "The Mission of Manpower Policy," Professor Bakke demonstrates the breadth of his perspective in addressing the question of what elements must be included in a truly comprehensive manpower policy.

Because Dr. Bakke takes an unusually cosmopolitan view of what such a national manpower policy should include, and because this Upjohn Institute Bulletin raises a number of problems in relation to such a manpower policy which other critics have too often neglected, I rise today to call his remarks to your attention. The excerpts I am introducing here include Professor Bakke's definition of the mission of a positive manpower policy and his summary of what the distribution of responsibilities and tasks in such a national manpower policy should be:

EXCERPT FROM "THE MISSION OF MANPOWER POLICY"

#### VII. THE MISSION OF A POSITIVE MANPOWER POLICY

Government manpower policymakers and administrators need to have a clear concept

June 12, 1969

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rather than lessons. In most departments of the university, few if any regular classes were held.

During the course of four days, there was an average of 30 to 40 teach-ins a day. Some were led by students; others had faculty or administration speakers; and a few featured speakers from the community.

#### TEACH-INS AID COOLOFF

The radicals were not pleased with the results, but most everyone else was. With few exceptions, the discussions were good sessions—positive in tone, democratic in manner.

By the end of the week, a great deal of information had been shared and a great deal of insight had been gained.

The whole matter is now in the hands of committees, set up within the existing structure of university government.

Many of the concerns that have been causing tension on the campus over the past couple of years may soon be answered by reforms and restructurings.

The most dramatic event of the spring was still to come. It occurred on March 19, the date of Bruce Beyer's sentencing.

His friends, protesting the prison term, caused a ruckus downtown and several were arrested. The remainder trickled back to the campus, and soon things were popping there.

A mob went to the site of Project Themis—a research job for the Pentagon on undersea environment. Two construction sheds were damaged.

Then, in mid-afternoon, several hundred students advanced on Hayes Hall, where President Meyerson and most of the other administrators have their offices.

The students took over most of the building and held it through the night, roaming through the offices at will.

President Meyerson returned from an out-of-town trip during the evening and immediately plunged into the task of restoring order.

#### SITUATION IS TENSE

He did so in an atmosphere of high tension. For scores of police had lined up along Main St. and were ready to move onto the campus and clear the hall.

Meyerson spent two hours in direct confrontation with about 200 of the occupiers—and failed to budge them.

By morning he had asked for—and been granted—a court order for the students to leave the building. In the face of imminent police enforcement, the students withdrew.

Feelings remained high for some days, but eventually abated.

The Student Polity—a town-meeting type of student government that speaks for the undergraduate student body—met and voted for an endorsement of the radicals' undergraduate actions.

But the losers in that vote claimed it was not a true indication of student opinion. They petitioned for and received a campus-wide referendum. And in that referendum the students decisively voted against the radicals on nearly every issue.

Except one: The matter of black participation in the work force that will build the new university.

The students made it very clear that they want their school built by an integrated work force.

The faculty and administration took vigorous stands along the same lines.

And for a time, all work on the Amherst site was stopped.

#### ORGANIZED LABOR COOPERATES

Later, after organized labor indicated its wish to co-operate, work was resumed. And a formal agreement has been worked out to carry out integration under the auspices of the State University Construction Fund.

President Meyerson has been receiving increasing attention for his leadership. A May 6 editorial in the Modesto (Calif.) Bee is an example:

"Of all the adroit handling of student protests and rebellion, the State University of Buffalo has been, perhaps, the most astute and successful . . .

"President Meyerson for three years has withstood all efforts to intrude politics or rash police action onto the campus. At the same time he pacified disruptive elements within.

"Above all, he displayed creative approaches, which brought reform without capitulating to violence or to punitive pressures from outside . . .

"To relieve the provocation of giantism, he has created seven faculties, each with a provost, gathering related departments into separate and manageable units. He has insisted upon every member of the faculty teaching, including himself."

William Austin—the new Student Association president who formerly headed UB's Black Student Association—has said "Black students don't have to get their heads bashed in at UB . . . They're not in the mood for taking buildings . . . Right now the campus is pretty good for black people . . . Now, if you can just keep that aura of goodness . . ."

#### FACULTY SENATE REVAMPED

Dr. Mac Hammond, secretary of the Faculty senate, points out:

"This past year, the Faculty Senate, restructured so that every full-time faculty member is a senator, has made inroads in long-overdue educational reforms, a fact, I'm sure, that has helped spare the university from the tormented experiences at other universities across the country.

"When students have the feeling that their new visions of what education should be are in some ways being accommodated, they are less likely to adopt patters of disruption and destruction. For six years, the university has been preparing for the future campus at Amherst; but only in the past year has realistic planning begun to take place—and this has been partly under the supervision of the Faculty Senate."

So . . . . .  
If the integration agreement holds . . . .  
And the state can come up with the money.  
And Martin Meyerson keeps his masterful touch . . . . .

And the faculty keeps its head . . . .  
And the students follow their own aspirations, rather than emotional calls to rule or ruin . . . .

Things are really looking up.  
If things come off at their hopeful best, Buffalo can have one of the great schools in the land, in the finest new plant in the world.  
The value to our students will be immense.  
And the potential value to the community will be profound.

There will still be beards. And long hair.  
And scraggly clothes. And dirty words. And lefties. And sheer meanness. And pot.

And greatness.  
Just keep your cool, friend.

ME

#### THREAT TO PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 12, 1969

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, a little over 2 years ago, the so-called 6-day war between the State of Israel and the Arabs, which the Egyptians and their Arab allies started, ended with a crushing defeat of the Arab aggressors.

According to press reports Russia and the Communists have for the past 2 years

supplied all the Arab countries with huge quantities of Communist-made arms and weapons of war with the result that in all Arab capitals from Algiers to Adu Dhabi, hatred against the State of Israel and the free world has deepened.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the Soviets to rearm the Egyptians and the other Arab countries, the latter nations are still outclassed by Israel's defense and therefore, the likelihood of another general war breaking out in the Middle East has been reduced. All this underscores the fact that the interest of the United States and of the free world must coincide with that of the State of Israel and her desire to live in peace with her neighbors.

Because of the importance of recent events in that part of the world, the Evening Sun of Baltimore, printed an excerpt from an address by Moshe Dayan, the Israel Defense Minister concerning the Arab actions along the Suez Canal. I know that my colleagues as well as my constituents share my concern about the present threat to peace in the Middle East and I insert this article at this point in the Record for their consideration:

#### ISRAELI VIEW—ARAB PRETENSE AT SUEZ

I should like to comment upon the situation along the front lines, and particularly along the Suez Canal, the line facing Egypt. Lately this line has been "heated up." The question to be asked is what is happening there, what do they want, what are they driving at?

The Egyptians do not have the power to beat Israel, not in the autumn, not in the summer and not during this spring. And they know it.

At the moment we are witnessing a diplomatic offensive. This is the maximum that the Arabs could aspire to since the war, and finally they have succeeded in getting the Four Power meeting, with France as the initiator. The basic premises of these Four Powers, although they may not be acceptable to the Arabs, certainly accord them some sort of hope of achieving their aims—much more than they could by the use of force.

Accordingly, I do not think that the Arabs would like to disrupt this Four-Power meeting, to foil its purpose, especially when they have no chance of achieving their aims by use of their armies. Thus the United States, the Soviet Union, France and England—whether they decide to impose or not to impose any kind of solution—talk on the basis of premises that are in themselves an achievement for the Arabs.

So if the Arabs realize that they cannot defeat us by force, and if they are dependent—and they should be—on the Four Powers insofar as their requirements are concerned, why then should they "heat up" the border? Why do they open up fire along the canal?

I assume that what is now happening along the lines, and it may well get worse as the summer progresses, is the desire to provide evidence for President Nixon's assumption that the Middle East is powder keg, that the situation may deteriorate even further and this keg full of powder may explode. He assumes that it must be solved, the matter must be settled and that war may spread otherwise.

The Middle East is not on fire and the Arabs lack the power to set it ablaze. There exists no danger of American-Soviet confrontation, because there is no danger of renewal of the war, because the Arabs are unable to start one. It is true that they say they can land on the east bank of the canal

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but they cannot win a war. It is agreed that they cannot win. At this stage no one seriously evaluating the political-military situation can say truthfully that the Arabs have any chance of launching a war with prospects of victory.

The eastern front, that of Iraq, Syria and Jordan, is no longer an operative front. On the western, the Egyptian front, we have seen in the latest shooting incidents that they do not have the strength to push us back from the canal.

What is happening on the western front shows that it is not the Middle East that is burning, but that Suez is burning. That's quite a difference. If we say that the Middle East is afire, it means the possibility of total war between us and the Arabs that might deteriorate into a confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union. If we say Suez is burning, it means that Egyptian oil tanks are aflame, because of a local incident.

Their reason for shooting without regard for their losses and the great damage caused to them is to create evidence for saying that the Middle East is blazing, that a deterioration is possible. We do not have to extend them a helping hand in this scheme—neither in information nor in our conduct on the military and the political levels. We have an interest in localizing things. We have no interest in creating a distorted picture, in forming the impression that indeed we are on the verge of renewed war.

#### MAYBE TEDDY SHOULD RETURN TO ALASKA

**HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI**  
OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Thursday, June 12, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, since the entourage of the senior Senator from Massachusetts is extremely public relations conscious, I feel that an editorial in the Wednesday, June 11 Chicago Tribune merits their review:

#### MAYBE TEDDY SHOULD RETURN TO ALASKA

In April Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts led a Senate subcommittee on a safari to Alaska to discover evidence of poverty and oppression. He was equipped with a script from his staff members which note that he could dramatize "colonialism" and "economic exploitation" of native minorities of Eskimos and Indians before the TV cameras.

The memorandum advised the senator to contrast the affluence of government compounds and installations with native village life.

Now the current U.S. News & World Report publishes a compilation on where the 50 states rank in per capita income—and guess what? Alaska, with a per capita income of \$4,124 in 1968, is no worse than fourth on the list, two places ahead of Illinois and six ahead of Sen. Kennedy's home state of Massachusetts.

Alaska, where the federal hand scatters much largess, does not come off as well, it is true, as the District of Columbia, home grounds of the federal establishment, which is No. 1 in the nation, with a per capita income of \$4,516. The bureaucrats in residence, with their regular advances in payroll and allowances, may account for most of the affluence, but the level of general poverty cannot be considered high.

Perhaps Sen. Kennedy should look around him in the national capital, and perhaps a return trip to Alaska would be advisable.

#### THE MEER MAJORITY

**HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE**

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 12, 1969

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I would urge every Member of Congress, and every other concerned American, to take the opportunity to read Eric Hoffer's article, "The Meer Majority," in the Washington Daily News today, June 12. For their convenience, I include Mr. Hoffer's article in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

Mr. Hoffer has expressed far better than could I the thinking of many in Congress and throughout America as to the attitudes that should be taken regarding the techniques of violence disrupting so many institutions in America this year.

In this column, Eric Hoffer draws very relevant historical parallels between present-day tolerance of violence and startlingly similar toleration of the violent tactics of the Nazis, Fascists, and Communists in the 1920's and 1930's. This toleration without effective control and punishment of those who sought their objectives by any means—no matter how illegal or violent—encouraged the perpetrators of tactics of violence as they escalated vandalism to increasingly destructive activities—bringing the horrors of tyranny, murder of millions, genocide, and finally world war.

Undoubtedly there were those also in the 1920's and 1930's among the German intelligentsia and elsewhere, including well-meaning and intellectually superior liberals, who said of the growing violence of the Nazis in their early militant efforts "Let us tolerate or ignore this Nazi nonsense and it will come to nothing—if we attempt to repress it, the movement may become worse."

Today, a generation and millions of lives too late, Russian intellectuals and leaders decry the excesses of the Stalin regime. But these same intellectuals and leaders a generation or so ago through their tolerance, if not actual advocacy, of the Stalin group allowed it to come to power and engage in these bloody practices.

Despite allegations to the contrary, the American people has traditionally rejected violence in the American political scene. They have never long tolerated violent causes or permitted violent men to assume national power. The United States is now the world's oldest Republic operating under a written constitution. Our institutions and society are founded upon respect, perhaps even reverence, for the law, and the law has eventually triumphed in America despite adverse circumstances.

Why then are so many of our leaders, especially in the academic world, seemingly paralyzed in the face of violent tactics by student militants on our campuses? It would seem that liberal intellectual leaders disregard the lessons of history and attempt to apologize for, excuse, or even justify—if not actually encourage—acts of violence committed

by black militants because of their sympathy for victims of past racism, and that many of these members of faculties or administrators of institutions of higher education similarly refuse or fail to act to control and punish destructive and disruptive acts by militant radicals of the new left because of a liberal sympathy for radical thought.

It is questionable—indeed, improbable that these same liberals would be similarly tolerant were students who belonged to more conservative organizations to use similar means to obtain their objectives—I can well imagine the speed with which the same college administrators would call in the police and act to expel any white conservative student who used any violence or infringed on any university rules, or who even reacted against those New Left or black militants who prevented him from attending classes or obtaining full value for his tuition. Application of the double standard and of Orwellian "double-think" would immediately become the practice, I am afraid, with far too many of these administrators and faculty members, and with far too many in other American leadership circles.

Many Americans, including myself—probably the vast majority of Americans—are tired of this nonsense. The double standard should be dropped. All who participate in illegal or violent acts, disrupting institutions of higher education, should be equally punished in accordance with the rules of the institution and the applicable laws—including immediate expulsion where appropriate. If an act is illegal when committed by a white student or a conservative, it is just as illegal when committed by a black militant or a member of the New Left or SDS, and justice requires equal treatment under the law including equal punishment. I can be sympathetic to the need for reform and improvement of American institutions, but I can have absolutely no sympathy for any person no matter what his color, creed, philosophy, or age, who in the name of reform engages in illegal acts including acts of violence aimed at destroying rather than reforming those institutions.

Unless current trends of increasing disregard for law and order are reversed and those who engage in illegal activities including acts of violence are apprehended and punished, on campus and off, there is considerable danger in store for America.

I believe the overwhelming majority of Americans in both major parties, and of those termed independents or even old-fashioned Socialists, would agree with Mr. Hoffer's remarks and conclusions. We may indeed have been the meek majority, but no longer. Most Americans would agree that students and faculty members who disrupt campuses with illegal or violent acts should be expelled from the institutions and punished for their acts. The meek majority does not wish tax funds to be used to finance students and faculty members who engage in such activities, and they do not want any Federal assistance to flow to institutions whose administrators fail to comply with the law. They want Con-



for ascertaining that you are in the hands of proper and competent medical authorities.

#### SAFETY AND ACCIDENT PREVENTION

The most important consumer mission on the part of the Federal government is in the field of consumer safety and accident prevention. In 1968 Congress established the National Commission on Product Safety which is undertaking a study on hazardous household products and ways to implement programs to overcome the dangers they present to the consumer.

Aside from the problem of who is legally responsible when a consumer is injured when using an appliance or tool—there are many items of equipment that are not properly designed nor provide the necessary safeguards to reduce avoidable accidents. There are many kinds of product hazards. There are several that are of particular importance to our senior citizens. The power mower is one. This convenient household gadget can be a killer. The rotary blade on a power mower may travel at the rate of 21,000 feet per minute at its quaternmost tip or 240 miles per hour and exert a pressure of 10,000 pounds per minute. Children and pets have been killed instantly while following the older folks while cutting a lawn.

#### GLASS DOOR PANELS

Manufacturers of these panels have recently established safety standards for glass door panels and room dividers. Children as well as adults have been especially vulnerable to accidents by running into them. In this connection, I should like to point out that most of these accidents occur at home.

#### GAS-FIRED HEATERS AND APPLIANCES

In 1968, a major manufacturer called back several thousand gas fired furnaces because of defective workmanship and because of several fatalities.

#### ELECTRICAL APPLIANCES AND TELEVISION

All of you have heard of a certain well known company calling back its color television sets because of the emission of radiation to its watchers. It should be noted that the effects of such radiation take place in the front, the back and the sides of the set. While only one company has had the responsibility to recall its equipment, it is generally known that this condition pretty much exists in all color TV appliances.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare plays a significant role in the whole area of safety and consumer services as they affect the senior citizens and the health of this nation. In addition, the Medicare and Medicaid programs and Social Security programs are administered by the Food and Drug Administration, which is constantly on the vigil to improve the efficacy and safety of our foods and drugs.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has been in the process of making its consumer programs more effective in several ways:

(1) It is seeking to strengthen the Office of Consumer Services, which plays an innovative role in stimulating consumer activities in various agencies of the department. We are seeking to have each agency of the department improve not only the quality of its services but the information programs that relate to it.

(2) HEW has undertaken a newsletter called HEW Consumer Newsletter, which is being published by the Office of Consumer Services. The first issue was released in April. It is a monthly publication and will include current information on a variety of consumer educational items that should have a wide range of interest to organizations such as yours.

(3) The Food and Drug Administration is accelerating its program to evaluate the many drugs and medicines that are now on the market as to their efficacy.

#### CONSUMER PROTECTION AND ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH SERVICE (CEPHS)

CEPHS is accelerating its program relating to environmental health. The HEW Office of Consumer Services is also seeking to have all of the Model Cities programs that are being established in the inner cities of our urban areas to include consumer components as part of the activities.

I need not remind those of you who have worked so hard for consumer programs for the elderly that the job is not an easy one, nor that it is to be expected that the Federal government can do this job alone. It requires the full cooperation and partnership of all the 50 States and local governments. More importantly, it needs the help of the private sector and the courageous leadership of voluntary organizations such as yours.

The companion organizations that you represent have accepted the challenge that is involved in making this a better environment and a better life, not only for the elderly, but for all the consumers. I have seen and appreciate the excellent publications and consumer materials that are published by your associations such as *Modern Maturity*.

It is my hope that this month and this year will continue to be a memorable dedication to our senior citizens. May this be a year when each citizen in each community will seek to provide the benefits and opportunities in the community programs which will add satisfaction, dignity and security to the lives of aging Americans. It is my hope that the federal, state and local governments, in partnership with private and voluntary organizations, will join hands in bringing a better day for all older Americans.

#### GILBERT BILL TO INCREASE MINIMUM WAGE

HON. JACOB H. GILBERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, I have reintroduced a bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to increase the minimum wage to \$2 an hour.

Over the years, the minimum-wage law has proven one of the bulwarks of stability in our society. Since its beginnings, it has risen step by step and Congress made improvements in 1961 and again in 1966. I supported those increases, but we still are lagging behind. Those workers who were brought under coverage in the 1961 amendments are now receiving \$1.60 an hour. Those laborers covered for the first time under the 1966 amendments are now receiving \$1.30 an hour, and will be increased to \$1.45 in February 1970, and to \$1.60 in February 1971.

Mr. Speaker, long ago we Americans came to recognize that our prosperity depends not only on the thriving of our businesses, but on the buying power of our workers.

When the minimum wage was enacted, and each time it was increased, shortsighted spokesmen of business bitterly complained that it would drive them to ruin. Of course, that was nonsense. The minimum wage is an essential element to their salvation, because we know that the greatest market for our products is right here at home. The

minimum wage helps to keep that market active and healthy.

But more than that, it provides dignity and security to the American worker. We know that a man who receives too little to provide for himself and his family cannot be a good worker or a good citizen. He will be hungry, embittered and ashamed. The minimum wage has brought an element of equilibrium to American life.

We have heard the complaint, also, that a minimum wage violates basic economic doctrine, because it interferes with the play of supply and demand. But, in reality, what it does is raise the entire level of the economy—for poverty serves no one's end.

Mr. Speaker, it is time now for a new increase in the minimum wage. It is essential to meet the pressures of inflation. It is the next step in the general improvement of life for Americans.

You know that substandard wages hit the disadvantaged hardest. The chief victims are Negroes, as well as Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans. This bill will not only set \$2 as the new minimum hourly wage, but will abolish the painful exemptions that left so many people unprotected by the law. But the union worker making substantially more than the minimum wage has no cause for concern, for experience shows that when minimum wage goes up, so do the wages of skilled and unionized workers.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation should have been approved last year, perhaps even earlier. It is right, economically sound, and necessary. I hope the Congress will delay action on this measure no longer.

ME

#### RELATIONS WITH GREECE

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, the problem of U.S. relations with the military junta government of Greece continues after more than 2 years of broken promises from that junta. Almost everyday we read of more arrests in that troubled country and of more acts of oppression.

It is clear that the present dictatorial government of Greece does not have popular support and that its days are numbered. But it is also clear that the people of Greece, and of the nations of Europe, believe that the United States is supporting that government and its excesses. Whether the U.S. Department of State and the Department of Defense truly support the military junta is open to question. However, the public impression remains.

Decisions yet to be made by the United States are vital to whether the people of Greece regain their liberties. Military aid to the junta has been renewed on a limited basis; economic aid is being requested. The new administration is reviewing the entire Greek situation.

Under unanimous consent I submit the text of the most recent statement of the

self-medication rather than professional help. False and misleading advertising is twisting the art of healing into the art of stealing. False and deceptive advertising contains illegally promoted therapeutic and pseudo-therapeutic devices, food supplements and so-called health foods. In its most blatant form, this involves deliberately falsified scientific studies and false promotional claims for potent drugs.

In a recent action which received national publicity, Secretary Finch of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare eliminated a well known and popularly used drug by calling it off the market. It was deemed to misrepresent its efficacy and its ability to cure.

Drugs have changed even more than foods during the past 20 years. While more of our elderly citizens are taking advantage of the new medical care programs, many are still unaware of the need for their intelligent choice of medicines and medical services.

The rapid technological advances that have been made in the food industry, the automotive industry and the appliance industry, specifically in radio, television and automatic home appliances in the development of their product lines have brought about a sophistication of many of these consumer items. In fact, there are very few Americans that have the expertise or the tools or the time to repair an automatic washing machine or a television set. Some of these products have come into being since the senior citizen was already in retirement. He has only the faintest notion of how it is to be repaired and often only an elementary knowledge of how it should be maintained. Coupled with this vast array of new products, our senior citizens must learn to live with sales contracts, warranty agreements and maintenance agreements that are often part of the sales and service programs of such products. More often than not the senior citizen must rely on the neighborhood serviceman to handle his maintenance problems. To many it has become a complex and bewildering as well as expensive world even for the more affluent. As a result of all this, several state legislatures, including New York and Illinois, and some others I cannot specifically recall have recognized the problems of the consumer and are seeking to attack them through a massive program of consumer education in the local school systems.

Many of these projects are financed under programs administered by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. These programs, together with those of voluntary organizations such as yours, are seeking to address themselves to such basic consumer problems as:

#### SOUND NUTRITION

Getting the most for one's food dollar is no easy task. Those on limited or fixed incomes cannot afford to waste their resources on foods where packaging costs are more than the commodity. For many, this shopping skill must be taught. There are several food schemes that prey on those with limited incomes. One is the food freezer plan that abounds in most cities. In the long run the consumer ends up paying market prices for the food and very expensively for the freezer. He would be better off to borrow the money for the freezer if he actually needed it. Dietary food fads have also attracted many of our elderly through the pseudo-health advisers. The American Medical Association had this to say about the problem: "Unless your doctor recommends tonics, supplements, vitamins or minerals in concentrated form, no one need take them if he follows a fairly well balanced daily diet." Yet pseudo-health advisers and salesmen may suggest that standard foods are inadequate because of "over-processing," "worn out soil," "poisonous combinations" and other such nutritional nonsense. They pretend that their exotic products made from sea kelp, yogurt, yeast,

iodine, blackstrap molasses and herbs have an infinite variety of cures, will fortify your diet, steady your nerves, strengthen your bones, and enliven your blood.

#### ECONOMY OF FOOD PURCHASING

For most Americans, there are supermarkets that provide competitive prices on foods. This is not completely accurate in the lower class areas of our major cities. For many reasons, the large food chains have moved out and serve the more affluent areas leaving the inner city to be served by small, independent and often inefficient food store operators. It has been found through surveys that food is often lower in quality and higher in price in the lower class, rundown neighborhood. The tragedy is that people in these residential districts who are oftentimes literally living on social security and on fixed incomes, must pay higher prices. They are often locked in these areas because of lack of adequate transportation and the inconvenience of shopping at a distant store.

The price of food, however, is everyone's concern, because it is the basic cost of living item. There are no easy answers to the problem of inflation, except through greater efficiency, increased productivity and through honest and healthy competition in the market place.

#### Use of credit

Ours has become a credit-oriented society. Credit can be a blessing, helping to bring into every home the wonders of the American production, rich and poor alike. But credit can also become a millstone around the neck of the unwary consumer who has not learned to use it prudently and wisely. The elderly find that credit is useful and they need the facility. New concepts are required to meet the credit needs of the low income and the elderly. Financial counseling services are provided for those who overextend themselves with credit and whose job may be threatened with wage garnishments.

#### Avoidance of quackery and fraudulent products and practices

It is hard to believe from the best available estimates that American consumers in many of the older citizens are relieved of over \$500,000,000 annually by dishonest contractors in the building, roofing, siding and related trades. A favorite approach utilized by these types of contractors is the scare approach. "Lady, your oil burner is in bad shape. It might blow up on you any day." One unethical specialist finished the job in 25 minutes and charged \$105. The same day the burner broke down again and had to be replaced at an increased expenditure.

It has been estimated that over 800 different fraud and quackery and deception schemes are operating in the market place. No one in any strata of our society is immune regardless of his station in life, level of education or environment. American consumers, especially the elderly, are susceptible to being fleeced by unscrupulous operators who employ a wide assortment of tricks, devices, schemes and campaigns.

Health quackery alone is responsible for the staggering figure of \$1 billion yearly swindle. These activities are conducted under the guise of nutritional science. Doesn't almost everyone feel tired, peppy, or tense at one time or another? One of the most fertile fields of operation for the sharp dealer with a rich larceny in his blood is that of health aids.

#### WARRANTIES AND GUARANTIES

Another of the major problems on household appliances, motor vehicles, etc. has been the matter of warranties and guaranties. A Federal Task Force composed of personnel from the Departments of Labor, Commerce, and Federal Trade Commission, in cooperation with members of industry undertook to study warranties and guaranties. The study concluded that many of the consumer com-

plaints could be avoided if manufacturers of major appliances would:

- (1) Express their warranties in clear and simple language which is easy to understand and which makes the nature and extent of the obligations and benefits described therein unmistakable.
- (2) Recognize that the purchaser of their products is entitled to receive a product which is reasonably suitable for the purposes for which it is intended and which will conform to any representations by the maker with respect to its fitness for particular purposes. This requires that the implied warranties of merchantability and fitness not be disclaimed.
- (3) Not include in their warranties unnecessary exclusions and disclaimers.
- (4) Not include in their warranties provisions which purport to obligate third parties to perform any of the obligations stated therein.
- (5) Not attempt to pass on to the consumer or to the retailer a part or all of the financial burden of replacing defective parts or of correcting defects in design or manufacture.
- (6) If retailers or servicing agencies are responsible for performing any obligations stated in the guarantee, insure that such parties are provided with sufficient incentive and resources to encourage them to fulfill those obligations promptly and conscientiously, and if they fail to do so take effective remedial action.
- (7) Avoid any temptation to use a warranty as a sales gimmick by making it appear to be unusually attractive, while at the same time incorporating disclaimers, exceptions, and exclusions which eliminate these purported benefits.
- (8) Make greater efforts to inform consumers concerning the provisions of their warranties by:
  - (a) Including explanatory material in advertising and operating manuals, and
  - (b) Providing retailers with appropriate point of sale material.
- (9) Establish effective procedures for handling consumer complaints of inability to obtain warranty service, and provide adequate follow-up to insure that action is taken on those complaints.

#### FALSE ADVERTISING

Another area that is of considerable concern to those of us at the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has been false and deceptive advertising and claims, not only in drugs and medicines, but also in foods and house and automobile accessories. The most common trick that is used and that has been used by reputable business firms is the technique of "bait." The first-line product may be advertised at a low price. When the prospective consumer travels half the distance across the city to purchase the commodity, he finds upon reaching the store that they only had a limited supply and the article was all sold out. The salesman then puts the pressure on to sell other quality products at slightly higher prices.

The advertisements that claim that a drug or medication will cure a specific ailment, but in reality has no therapeutic effect is deception of the highest magnitude. While this is a complex problem, we are approaching an era when we must have accuracy and truthfulness in advertising as well as proven efficacy in drugs and medicinal products before they are placed on the market. Older people are easy prey for health hacksters. Many senior citizens suffer from chronic diseases and are swindled by those who offer quack treatment. Recent studies show that over \$200 million a year is spent on worthless remedies for arthritis alone. The American Medical Association has issued warnings to the general public and has suggested that those of you who are interested write to the national organization to secure their criteria

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Committee for Democracy in Greece for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF U.S. COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRACY IN GREECE, JUNE 9, 1969

It is now more than two years since a small clique of officers seized power in Greece. Their pledges to restore democratic government on a "purified and perfected" basis have been regularly repeated and as regularly broken. Instead, a constitution making only the most minimal concessions to popular government and human rights has been foisted on the country by that shopworn tool of dictatorships, a rigged plebiscite. And even the meager provisions which distinguish the constitution's "new order" from unchecked tyranny remain suspended.

Instead of the promised restoration of liberty, each day brings news of further mass arrests, lengthy prison sentences, and savage tortures. The civil service and the educational system have been gutted; ignoramuses and hacks, qualified only by their family or other connections with the ruling clique, have been installed in key posts throughout the government.

In the armed forces the ablest, best trained, and most experienced officers have been dismissed and often imprisoned or exiled, to be replaced by men whose only expertise is in conspiracy. Yet the United States has restored full military aid to the regime, which has thus demonstrated its unfitness to receive or to use it—except against its own people. Indeed, Greece is one of four countries which account for the bulk of all our military aid.

Soon we may expect to be asked for economic aid as well. For the incompetence of the junta, as well as the horror excited abroad by its severe repression of its opponents, have brought about a steady deterioration in the country's financial and economic position. Its balance of payments has been increasingly adverse, its reserves of foreign exchange and gold have been dissipated, and its short-term debts have skyrocketed. At the same time the rate of economic growth has fallen sharply. A significant flight of capital is already taking place; its pace may be expected to accelerate in the coming months.

We urge our government to intensify its pressures for a return to democratic norms, and to give its moral support to the country's legitimate political leaders in their consistent refusal to compromise with tyranny. And above all, we believe it is essential that the United States not only refuse any pleas for economic aid, but make it clear that no more weapons will be supplied to the junta. And we further urge that the United States fully associate itself with the international condemnation visited on Greece by such bodies as the Council of Europe, and take effective action in the United Nations and other international bodies to bring pressure for the enforcement of those commitments to human rights which the present Greek regime has so scandalously violated.

# PUCINSKI VOICE RECORDER SCORES AGAIN

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the National Transportation Safety Board announced Sunday that a jet airliner which crashed at Los Angeles last January 18, killing all 38 persons aboard, lost

all electrical power 2 minutes before its plunge.

The National Transportation Safety Board came to this conclusion, according to an Associated Press article which appeared in the Chicago Sun-Times on the basis of information recovered from the cockpit voice recorder which survived the crash.

The voice recorder showed that it stopped recording during the most crucial moments of the flight before the crash. This interruption occurred because of a power failure in the aircraft, but fortunately, pretakeoff conversations in the cockpit and recorded on the voice recorder show that the crew was aware of a generator being inoperative in engine No. 3. The tape recorder showed that discussion centered around reducing the electrical load, prior to takeoff, in the event another generator was lost after takeoff.

The tape recorder also recorded the engine fire warning horn when it went on in the cockpit shortly after takeoff and recorded the crew instituting fire shutdown procedures.

No further cockpit sounds were recorded after the electrical power to the recorder was lost, but a short time later when power was again restored for a few seconds, the voice recorder did record cockpit conversations during 9 seconds which showed urgent conversation concerned with maintaining control of the aircraft.

These invaluable messages recorded by the crew seconds before the disaster clearly demonstrate to investigating teams that a power failure caused the crash.

Perhaps even more important is the undeniable evidence on that tape recorder that the aircraft took off even though one of its generators was inoperative.

Federal Aviation Administration regulations permit takeoff under such conditions and in my judgment these regulations ought to be now reconsidered for the unexpected fire and the engine propelling the remaining generator created a situation which led to the tragedy.

We probably would not know these facts if the Pucinski voice recorder had not been operating in that cockpit.

I remember well the intensive struggle I have watched in this Congress for almost 7 years to get voice recorders into the cockpits of commercial aircraft. I remember well how all the special interests fought me on this issue and placed roadblock after roadblock to thwart this project.

Mr. Speaker, nothing will bring back the 38 victims of this crash but it is my hope that this telltale recording will bring about urgently needed reforms in operational procedures.

There are those who would like to blame the pilots who flew this aircraft, or the mechanics who maintained it. This would be an injustice to their memory.

The blame lies squarely with those who permit an aircraft to depart when the crew and the maintenance personnel and the tower are fully apprised that there is a breakdown in one of the component parts—one of the generators.

It is quite obvious that expediency and

meeting connecting schedules are more important to the airlines than the delay which would be necessary to replace the faulty generator.

I believe the fault for this tragedy does not lie with the pilots or the maintenance personnel. The Pucinski voice recorder clearly fixes the fault, and that is with those who approve regulations permitting departure under the conditions which I have cited above.

We are now beginning to build a substantial catalog of evidence on what causes air disasters, thanks to the efficiency of the Pucinski voice recorder, and I say, Mr. Speaker, that if I never did anything else as a Member of Congress, the wealth of satisfaction I receive in knowing that we are finally able to take much of the agonizing speculation out of the causes of air disasters with the use of these Pucinski voice recorders, makes my service in Congress a source of great satisfaction to me.

Our experience with these voice recorders shows the need for continued determination. It would have been easy to be deterred by all the special interests who tried to tell us during the long battle to get voice recorders installed that they would not work, but time is now proving otherwise.

The AP story follows:

## ELECTRIC POWER LOST IN JET CRASH KILLING 38

WASHINGTON.—A jet airliner that crashed at Los Angeles last Jan. 18, killing all 38 persons aboard, lost all electrical power two minutes before its plunge, the National Transportation Safety Board announced Sunday.

Since an airliner requires electricity for operation of its flight controls, hydraulic system, instrument panels and cockpit lighting, a complete power loss at night would have left the crew in utter darkness, unable to observe instruments, unable to check the horizon, unable to exert the required controls.

### INOPERATIVE 3 DAYS

The United Air Lines Boeing 727 had been inoperative for three days before the accident. During that inoperative period, the plane had been flown 41 hours with only two functioning generators, the NTSB said.

Two minutes after an apparently normal 6:21 p.m. takeoff from Los Angeles International airport on a planned flight to Denver and Milwaukee, the crew reported to the airport departure control station:

"We've had a fire warning on No. 1 engine. We shut down. We'd like to come back."

That was the last radio contact with the flight. Shortly after it, the plane's secondary radar target disappeared from the ground traffic controller's scope. That meant that the transponder, or radar identification beacon, on the plane had stopped operating.

A minute later the primary radar target—reflections of radio energy from the aircraft's surfaces—disappeared just after the plane was observed starting a left turn. It later was determined that the plane crashed into the Pacific Ocean in water 1,000 feet deep, 11 miles west of the airport, four minutes after takeoff.

With the left engine shut down because of the fire warning, and the generator for the right engine inoperative, the plane would have had to rely on the middle engine.

As required on airliners, the plane carried two tape-record devices, one to record operational data such as speed, direction and altitude, and the other providing a constant voice record of cockpit comment by the crew.

Both were recovered from the wreckage in fair condition. But because of the power



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less they were not recording during the most crucial moments of the flight.

## KNEW ABOUT GENERATOR

"Pre-takeoff conversation indicates that the crew was aware of the No. 3 generator's being inoperative," the board said. "The discussion centered around reducing the electrical load, prior to takeoff, in the event another generator was lost after takeoff."

"Normal cockpit conversation was evident on the tape from takeoff until . . . the No. 1 engine fire warning sounded. At that time, the fire shutdown procedures were initiated."

"No further cockpit sounds were recorded after . . . the electrical power to the recorder was lost, until later when power was again available to the voice recorder for about nine seconds. The cockpit conversation during that latter period was urgent in nature and concerned maintaining control of the aircraft."

"No radio transmissions or crash sounds were recorded during this period," the NTSB said.

The three engines and 60 to 70 per cent of the aircraft wreckage were recovered from Santa Monica Bay. The safety board said there was no evidence of an overheated condition on either the interior or exterior of the No. 1 engine.

## ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY COUNCIL

## HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1969

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, last week President Nixon focused public attention upon the need for coordinated consideration of environmental problems by creating the Environmental Quality Council. The urgent need for this focus had been agreed upon in formal policy statements by both legislative and executive leaders. Several bills proposing coordinated action to conserve and improve the quality of our environment presently are pending in the Congress.

One of the most significant contributions toward clarifying public policy in this area was a joint Senate-House colloquium, convened last summer by Senator HENRY JACKSON, chairman of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and my California colleague, Representative GEORGE P. MILLER, chairman of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics. The agreed-upon statement of "A National Policy for the Environment" was announced to the Congress by our colleague from Connecticut, Representative EMILIO DADDARIO, chairman of the House Science and Astronautics Subcommittee on Science, Research and Development. As reported in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on May 20, at page H3854, this statement of policy was endorsed by the Committee on Environmental Quality of the Federal Council for Science and Technology, predecessor of the newly announced Environmental Quality Council.

Agreement on this general statement policy is important, for it represents a major step toward improving and expanding our traditional resources planning programs.

There still remains, however, the all-important problem of how best to implement this policy, and on that score there still is considerable diversity of opinion. The size and composition of the responsible agency, the tenure of its membership, its location within the Government, the scope of its activities and responsibilities—all these are vitally important to the successful implementation of an announced national policy.

President Nixon's appointment of the Environmental Quality Council testifies to his awareness of the problem; but an interdepartmental advisory council is not a substitute for an agency with statutory authority and responsibility for reporting regularly to the Congress and to the public an overview of environmental conditions and needs.

The Congress, in hearings on a number of bills, is giving its careful attention to finding the most effective methods of authorizing such an agency and of protecting the environment which all men share.

A very valuable analysis of this entire subject was given recently by Mr. Michael McCloskey, now chief of staff of the Sierra Club, in testimony before the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs on S. 1075, introduced by Senators JACKSON and STEVENS.

Mr. Speaker, I insert Mr. McCloskey's statement in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks, and I call special attention to his very cogent suggestions for the actual organization, responsibility, and operation of what he calls an institutional focus for drawing together environmental information.

I think that Mr. McCloskey's statement will be most helpful as we prepare to legislate in this vitally important area.

The statement follows:

## STATEMENT OF MICHAEL MCCLOSKEY FOR THE SIERRA CLUB, APRIL 16, 1969

Mr. Chairman, I am Michael McCloskey. I serve as Conservation Director of the Sierra Club and am speaking for it here today. We are pleased to offer our strong support for S. 1075 which would establish a Council of Environmental Advisors and provide for ecological surveys.

The Sierra Club, which is a national conservation organization of 75,000 members, traditionally has been preoccupied with saving especially unique and scenic wildlands. We still are working at this task. However, this work is being outflanked by the general deterioration in man's habitat and the outright destruction of the habitat for so much other life on this planet. Recently we expressed our alarm over these facts in a full page advertisement that we ran in a national newspaper. We thought the time had come to communicate our anguish to a broad audience, and did so in these words:

"I. THE MOON, MARS, SATURN . . . NICE PLACES TO VISIT, BUT YOU WOULDN'T WANT TO LIVE THERE

"Any moment now, Man will find himself hurtling around in an Outer Space so enormous that descriptions of its size only boggle the mind. (One attempt has put it this way: The size of the Earth is to the size of the known Universe as a germ is to our entire solar system.)

"Yet, we already hear excited talk of locating, out there, a planet that duplicates the natural environment on Earth, i.e., trees, flowers, water, air, people; you get our meaning.

"The fact is that if we do find such a duplicate Earth out there, it may be some

thousands of years from today. Until then, the only place in the Universe that will feel like home in Earth, unless your idea of home life could include setting up house on space platforms, or the Moon, or taking your evening walk with oxygen helmet and space suit.

"We haven't got used to thinking about it this way yet, but, as Astronaut Borman pointed out—for us people, Earth is a kind of inhabitable oasis in an unimaginably vast desert.

"Also, Earth is a strange sort of oasis, in that quite apart from providing us what we need to live—water, air, sustenance, companionship—this oasis actually grew us and every other life form. We are all related.

"Darwin, during his famous Galapagos journey, found all life on Earth—from plankton to people—to be part of an incredibly complex interwoven and interdependent blanket spread around the globe. There is no loosening one thread in the blanket without changing the stresses on every other thread, or worse, unraveling it.

"So then, if it is life on Earth that most of us are stuck with for the next little while, we had better consider the consequences of what has recently been going on here.

## "II. TOWARD A MORE MOON-LIKE EARTH

"There was not always enough oxygen to support the existence of Man. It wasn't until green plants and certain ocean plankton had evolved that the natural process was begun by which oxygen is maintained in the atmosphere: photosynthesis.

"Man, one would think, has a stake in assuring that this process continues. Consider them, these bits of news:

"In the U.S. alone, oxygen-producing greenery is being paved over at a rate of one million acres per year and the rate is increasing. Also, paving is contagious. Other countries are following suit.

"The oceans have become the dumping ground for as many as a half million substances, few of which are tested to see if the plankton we need can survive them.

"New factories, autos, homes, and jet airplanes have incredibly increased the rate at which combustion takes place—i.e., at which oxygen is used and replaced in our atmosphere by carbon dioxide and carbon monoxide.

"The result is a kind of Russian roulette with the oxygen supply. Dr. Lamont C. Cole, ecologist, Cornell University, New York, has said this:

"When and if we reach the point where the rate of combustion exceeds the rate of photosynthesis, the oxygen content of the atmosphere will decrease. Indeed there is evidence that it may already have begun to decline around our largest cities."

"There is a bright side: If we should continue what we're doing, overpopulation will cease to be a problem.

## "Sterile

"In only 25 years, traces of DDT have found their way into the average American to the extent of eleven parts per million. They are also found in animals, birds, fish and recently, in notable quantity, in the fatty tissues of Antarctic penguins. (If you wonder about the consequences, similar pesticides have already made sterile a species of hawk and owl in England. Here is the way it works: Insects eat sprayed plants, small birds eat them, and then big birds eat them. By that time, the insecticide has been concentrated many-fold and the big birds are in big trouble. Now, if we humans were in the habit of eating owls and hawks . . .)

"Aside from the toxic effects on Man and other animals, pesticides like DDT and newer more vicious chemicals eliminate whole populations of certain bacteria and pest organisms.

May 28, 1969

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postal service for the needs of all Americans.

Responsibility for the management of the postal service will be in a board of directors, seven members to be appointed by the President, subject to Senate confirmation, and two, the top full-time managers of the service, to be selected by the remainder of the board. The board will have the authority to go with its responsibility for providing efficient postal service at reasonable rates. The postal service will be able to hire and promote employees solely on the basis of merit. It will be able to borrow on the open market for necessary capital investments. It will be able to bargain collectively with employee representatives on wages and working conditions. And the board will be responsible to the Congress and to the American people for the exercise of this authority.

In the discharge of its duties the postal service will at all times be bound by policies established by the Congress. In addition, in the important area of maintaining the best possible rate structure, postal rates will be subject to examination by a panel of expert rate commissioners acting on a public record to insure compliance with the policies which the Congress has established by statute. And before any change in rates becomes final it must be reported to the Congress, which may disapprove the change by concurrent resolution. At every step the public interest will be protected.

The bill that I introduce represents major change; but major change is needed—and needed now—if the Post Office is to give the American people the postal service they deserve. The postal service bill has been designed to keep what is best in the Post Office: The honest, devoted work of thousands of loyal men and women at all levels of postal operations, men and women whose lot will be improved as efficiencies and modernization bring the service into line with other enterprises; the historic tradition of integrity of the mails; and the universality of service which makes the mails the most important of our communications networks.

The bill has also been designed to improve the Post Office where improvement is needed: There will be continuity of professional management; badly needed capital resources will be available; postal rates and postal services will be responsive to the needs and demands of postal users; and postal employees will have a real voice in determining their wages and conditions of employment.

Mr. Speaker, I endorse the President's recommendations that this legislation be promptly considered and promptly enacted.

My friend from Arizona (Mr. UDALL) spoke a moment ago about the introduction of a bill to reform the Post Office Department. We have been working on this legislation for a long time. The Post Office Department is in one big mess, and it is not due to any particular administration, and it is not due to any particular Postmaster General. I have served under six of the Postmasters General, and one goes off in one direction and one

goes off in another, and there are all kinds of new people who come in every time a new Postmaster General is selected.

Something has to be done about reforming the Post Office Department or we are going to have a complete breakdown—as a matter of fact, it is almost broken down now.

Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today two bills identical—but because we can only have a certain number of Members gathered together on one bill, and we have so much interest in this legislation—the bills will be the same, but the names will be different.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that the American people are very much concerned about the postal system and the mess that it is in. I again repeat that this is not due to any one administration, it has just not been taken care of by continuity of management. It has been political, but it should be operated like any other private business, and that is all we hope to accomplish with the bill that I am introducing today.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Nebraska yield?

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Nebraska for yielding.

I believe that the gentleman from Nebraska has succinctly laid on the table the critical problem we face with the present situation in the Post Office Department. I am glad to have joined with the gentleman in sponsoring the legislation the gentleman is introducing today.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. I thank the minority leader.

ME

#### THE ARAB STATES AND THE "DECLARATION FOR PEACE"

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Mr. FARBERSTEIN) is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. FARBERSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, on April 28 the names of 226 Members of Congress appeared on the "Declaration for Peace in the Middle East on the Occasion of Israel's 21st Birthday."

That document expressed the sincere desire of the signers that a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict could take place. It urged Israel and the Arab States to meet face to face to discuss their differences with the hope of ending the conflict which has led to suffering by Israelis and Arabs alike.

The declaration said in part:

We believe that the issues which divide Israel and the Arab states can be resolved in the spirit and service of peace, if the leaders of the Arab states would agree to meet with Israelis in face-to-face negotiations. There is no effective substitute for the procedure. The parties to the conflict must be parties to the settlement. We oppose any attempts by outside powers to impose halfway measures not conducive to a permanent peace. Achieving peace, Israel and the Arab states will be in a position to settle the problems which confront them.

I regret that this appeal by many of the most distinguished Members of the

House and Senate of the United States has fallen on deaf ears. It has unfortunately evoked from the Arab States neither reason nor an attempt at understanding of the issues that divide them from Israel. It has only evoked antagonism and dogma.

The following exchange of correspondence between Mr. Roshad Mourad, permanent observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations, and myself, documents this:

MAY 27, 1969.

Mr. RASHAD MOURAD,  
Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations, Arab States Delegations Office, New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. MOURAD: I regret that you have rejected the call to peace embodied in our Congressional Declaration, just as the Arab states have rejected all calls to peace for the past 21 years.

I regret that, as Israel celebrates her 21st anniversary, the Arabs are marking the 21st anniversary of their war against Israel. Twenty-one years ago, in defiance of the UN partition resolution and the UN Charter, the armies of the Arab states invaded Palestine/ and seized East Jerusalem and what was to have been the Palestinian Arab state. The world community, through the United Nations, had offered self-determination to both the Arabs and the Jews in the area. It was the Arab states which deprived the Palestinian Arabs of their right to self-determination then, and it is the Arab states which still refuse to recognize the right of Israel—a member state of the United Nations—to self-determination.

I regret the plight of the Arab refugees, who left their homes at the behest of the Arab states with the understanding that their departure would be temporary and intended only to facilitate the onslaught of the Arab armies against Israel. I regret, too, that the Arab states, after failing to make good their promise, have refused to take the refugees into their own homes and permit them to lead productive lives, but have instead used their Arab brothers as just one more weapon in their war against Israel.

I regret, finally, that you imply that I, the Congress of the United States, and the American people are shirking our responsibility regarding the achievement of an Arab-Israeli peace.

We believe, however, that an Arab-Israeli peace should be just that—an Arab-Israeli peace. I feel that by trying to bring about Arab-Israeli peace negotiations, we are living up to our responsibilities. I look forward to the day when the Arab states will do the same.

Sincerely yours,

LEONARD FARBERSTEIN,  
Member of Congress.

ARAB STATES DELEGATIONS OFFICE,  
New York, N.Y., May 15, 1969.

Hon. LEONARD FARBERSTEIN,  
House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: The declaration bearing your signature and published in the form of an advertisement in the New York Times on Sunday, May 11, has prompted me to write you in an effort to present the under publicized version of the tragic Arab-Israeli dispute which is daily assuming alarming proportions.

Sir, while Israel is celebrating her 21st anniversary, allow me to draw your attention to part of the cost resulting from the establishment of this state: the creation of over 1,350,000 Arab refugees; the deprivation of the Arab people of their property rights in Palestine; the reduction to a state of poverty

and misery of the indigenous population; the eradication from the area of Arab culture and civilization and the substitution of a garrison state ruthlessly bent on exploiting her friends and foes alike.

On this 21st anniversary marking the eviction of the Palestinian Arabs, we express our concern at the fact that the Arabs of Palestine are still being denied their fundamental right of self-determination enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Likewise, we regret that after waging three futile and costly wars, the Israelis have not realized that the only path to peace lies in the restoration of Arab rights.

We sincerely believe that the issue which divides Jews and Arabs can be resolved if the Israeli leaders are willing to forgo their annexationist and expansionist designs. There is no substitute for a just and lasting peace other than Israel's withdrawal from occupied Arab territories. Peace, dear sir, cannot be achieved by the imposition of the will of the conqueror on that of the conquered.

The condemnation by the United Nations peace-keeping bodies of Israeli acts of aggression is a contribution by the United Nations to the establishment of an international order based on the rule of law in the area; Israel has not abided by any United Nations resolution.

Finally, I would like to emphasize that Israel, which presently occupies territories three times its original size, owes whatever progress she has achieved to the billions of tax-free American dollars which continue to pour into this state. We appeal to you in the name of justice and peace to approach the Arab-Israeli dispute in an even-handed manner bearing in mind the true interests of the American people.

Respectfully yours,

RAEHAD MOURAD,  
Permanent Observer of the League of  
Arab States to the United Nations.

#### AMERICA'S MILLIONS OF LEARNING DISABLED YOUNGSTERS WOULD BE HELPED BY H.R. 8660

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. PUCINSKI) is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, a very long time ago, a wise man observed:

We cannot stand pointing our finger to the heights we want our children to scale. We must start climbing and they will follow.

I recall that advice as I stand here urging passage of legislation which I have introduced to help millions of American children with learning disabilities.

Less than 100 years ago, children were considered of little value.

Youngsters without parents were allowed to wander homeless in the streets.

Nine and 10-year-olds could be executed for crimes as minor as stealing food.

Children of 7 and 8 were sent to work in mills, mines, and factories—places which stunted their growth, destroyed their health, and killed them off anonymously, in tens of thousands.

To poor families, a child's birth was often a calamity. He became merely another mouth to feed. Unless that child could find means to support himself from a very early age, he was often cast out or allowed to die.

In this brutalized world, sheer survival consumed the energy, the health, and the lives of millions.

Late in the 19th century and in the early decades of the 20th century, this horror and cruelty began to end.

Through the efforts of writers, humanists, and missionaries from all walks of life, the conscience of the western world was moved to change the old order of things.

Gradually, the individual child became the focal point of man's hopes for a better future. The terror and disease that had blunted the lives of so many began to recede through legislation and through medicine, and, perhaps most important—through education.

Now we approach the end of the 20th century. Increasingly, man is concerned with unlocking the secrets of his uniqueness and his humanity.

The study of man as a special being—and the development of his potential for intellectual growth—are engaging the interest of people in dozens of inter-related professions—from economics to psycho-pathology.

We know, all of us, that a large measure of cognitive human development takes place in the classroom.

Children are taught to learn and, through learning, are impelled to carve a unique place for themselves in our complex and competitive society.

Significantly, in the sheer weight of numbers of students added to our classrooms each fall, we have encountered a phenomenon that multiplies more rapidly than we have thus far been able to prevent it—the phenomenon of the learning-disabled child.

There was a time when children who had difficulty learning were swept aside or described as "incorrigible" by teachers and parents.

Teachers devoted their time to good students. Anyone not classified as "good"—which usually meant submissive and capable of rote memorization—was dismissed as mentally defective or a discipline problem. We will never know the devastation these ignorant judgments made on the lives of children who were unable to defend themselves.

Nowadays, with our evolving sensitivity to the countless factors which determine human growth, the child who is having difficulty learning is no longer often written off as lazy, stupid, or merely defiant.

We now know that his inability to learn may be related to a variety of perplexing maladies.

His brain may have been slightly injured at birth, causing real—but often minimal—interference with his ability to perceive letters, colors, and figures as other children do.

He may have impediments to speech and to sight—impediments so slight they may go undetected for years, but which nevertheless prevent his participating to the full extent of his actual intellectual ability.

These handicapping disabilities have a variety of names. Names like dyslexia, a term used to describe any or all forms of reading disorders. Names like aphasia, which describes the impairment of the power to use or understand speech. Names like minimal brain dysfunction or MBD, as it is commonly used, which

means a slight irregularity of the brain's ability to function.

These, and other terms, describe the plight of the children affected, but techniques and solutions to combat the disabilities successfully have not yet been put into nation-wide use.

More and more, however, educators, physicians, psychologists, therapists, social workers—and parents—are becoming involved in discovering ways of helping the learning-disabled child.

And it is because legislators are also now involved in bringing this national problem into the light of public discussion and providing funds to help solve it that I am privileged to speak to you tonight.

The Federal Government, to state the obvious, exists for the people of the United States. All of them.

In recent years it has not been fashionable to hear the Government referred to as either relevant or responsive, but it can be—and usually is—both of these.

When I was first elected to Congress in 1958, the annual education budget of the United States—covering all forms of education—was \$1,081,000,000.

In 1969, the figure was \$7,165,000,000—an increase of more than 600 percent.

Money for elementary and secondary education has increased from \$259 million in 1959 to \$2,182,000,000 this year.

This assistance has provided increased funds for construction, for special materials, for teacher training, for library books and technical facilities, for grants and projects, and demonstrations and programs; all of them designed in cooperation with the individual States to reach as many children as possible with as much talent and technology as could be made available.

I believe most of us are familiar with title VI of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. This title provides special assistance to the 50 States for the education of handicapped and exceptional children.

These are children who may be mentally retarded; children who are deaf or hard of hearing; those with speech impairments and visual handicaps; those who are seriously emotionally disturbed, crippled, or afflicted with health problems that require exceptional facilities.

When we were writing this title into the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, we had hoped to reach most students with special problems and to assist their teachers, not only to recognize the unique needs of their pupils, but to help the children to develop and to learn.

Recent studies now being published and evaluated indicate there is an even greater need today—the need to reach children with learning disabilities.

Their needs are not being met to any significant extent. Not on a national level, and surely not on a local level.

Learning disabilities may be slight or overwhelming, but they can no longer be merely consigned to the skill, temperament, or the time of the individual teacher in a classroom.

The statistics on the extent of the problem, although incomplete, are nonetheless startling.



ments of the university community. Once it does the community, almost by definition, ceases to be a university."

Our government cannot force the universities to be free, but from the universities has started the eradication of freedom in our country. Academic self-government can sustain the inner and outer life of an academic community: In a microcosmic way each entity moves according to its own laws as part of a finite system that is exposed to extinction. The system and each of its components have a margin of freedom but, as has happened in a number of academic communities, when freedom is extinguished then the resulting condition is one of national emergency.

"The Federal Government," the President said, "cannot, should not—must not—enforce" the principle of intellectual freedom, which, he had already stated, "is in danger in America. . . . Violence—physical violence, physical intimidation—is seemingly on its way to becoming an accepted, or at all events a normal and not to be avoided element in the clash of opinion within university confines. . . . Anyone with the least understanding of the history of freedom will know that this has invariably meant not only political disaster to those nations that have submitted to such forces of obfuscation and repression, but cultural calamity as well. It is not too strong a statement to declare that this is the way civilizations begin to die." But the Federal Government, according to the President, can do nothing. Yet he knows that he is not the Federal Government but only its Chief Executive.

Congress is not patient and is constantly exposed to the dangers of hasty or wrong legislation. For the right conduct of government, the President cannot disassociate himself from Congress. Indeed, one should hope that he is exerting a wise, harmonizing influence on the several Senate or House committees engaged in preparing legislation on campus or racial disorders.

He or his office can also urge the local or state authorities to act. We all remember the picture of James A. Perkins, president of Cornell, beaming with the leaders of the SDS and the Afro-American Society, after the faculty voted to support black students' demands, as if all were saying, "cheese, cheese." The Harvard students who threw the nine deans out of University Hall have not been suspended or expelled. Can Cornell and Harvard be called free institutions? Of the faculties the least said the better for the time being. When a community ceases to be a university, then the Attorney General should find a way to put it into receivership. Let's not forget that, whether Governor Faubus liked it or not, Dwight Eisenhower sent detachments of the 101st Airborne Division to Little Rock.

#### MR. TRUMAN'S MOTTO

Harry Truman kept a motto on his desk: **THE BUCK STOPS HERE.** Even the buck of a university headed by a weak man may end on that desk in the Oval Room.

The New York Times, the most authoritative organ of woolly thinking in our country, has adopted the position that to appease the students and the other riotous groups we need to settle the war in Vietnam.

Yet the President can be sure that the domestic Viet Cong will never make peace, even after Ho Chi Minh enters Saigon, and every single GI is back from Vietnam. President Nixon should keep the example of Abraham Lincoln constantly in mind. No one of Mr. Nixon's predecessors ever took such liberties with the laws of the land as did Abe Lincoln, but he saved the Union. President Nixon faces an even harder task, for he must save the Union not from a civil but a guerrilla war.

## ME THE CLOCK IS RUNNING OUT IN GREECE

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 27, 1969

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, now living in Washington is an exiled Greek political editor, Elias P. Demetracopoulos. Mr. Demetracopoulos has access to considerable information about what is happening in his native country. A few days after the second anniversary of the April 21, 1967, military coup in Greece, Mr. Demetracopoulos sounded a pertinent warning and offered some sound advice to the United States in a speech at the George Washington University. The text of his remarks follows:

#### GREECE—A NEW VIETNAM?

Tonight I would like to discuss the situation in Greece; a situation which I believe not only denies the Greek people basic democratic rights but is also harmful to the national interests of the United States and contains the seeds of another "Vietnam." The element of time is terribly important in this connection. An attempt will be made to show that the dangers posed by the current Greek situation leave little time for constructive action by the United States. In other words, I believe the clock is running out in Greece, and unless some major changes are forthcoming in American policy, both the U.S. and NATO are apt to be faced with the reality rather than the potential of explosive political, military, and economic developments on NATO's Southern Flank.

U.S. foreign policy in Greece, inherited by the Nixon Administration, is based on the hypothesis that the present dictatorial regime provides sufficient military, political and economic stability to satisfy America's strategic interests in the area—the kind of stability, supposedly, which could not be guaranteed by any realistic alternative. In support of this hypothesis ex-Defense Secretary Clark M. Clifford, in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last May said, "I believe that the obligation upon us as a member of NATO is such that I place that as a more important consideration than I do the present government of Greece. I believe that we deal with a highly imperfect world, and if we were to confine our help to our Allies on the basis of our approving completely the different types of governments that existed then, I believe that NATO would disintegrate, and I believe that would be a calamity."

If that were true—if indeed the regime offered the only reasonable hope of stability in Greece—it would be possible for me to understand Mr. Clifford's position, even though both as a Greek and as a supporter of free democratic systems of government as a matter of moral and political principle, I am strongly opposed to dictatorship in any form. In my opinion, however, the premise that the Junta has or can bring stability to Greece is false. On the contrary, not only has the current junta failed to provide stability in spite of dictatorial and ruthlessly repressive tactics; it has actually created instability, uncertainty and the very real risk of civil war in Greece.

First, let us begin with the premise that the junta has brought military stability. Both the Pentagon and other senior U.S. officials claim that the Greek armed forces and terrain, as well as the U.S. and NATO bases in Greece, are necessary to maintain

control of the Eastern Mediterranean, to deter direct communist aggression from the North, and to provide a vital link with Turkey which would otherwise not be a viable military ally. In addition they cite increased Soviet Naval strength in the Mediterranean to strengthen their argument. I agree with their assessment as to the importance of a strong and stable Greece as far as NATO is concerned. The key question then is: Have the colonels indeed provided this stability?

The Greek armed forces today are far less effective than they were prior to the coup. They are mainly an internal security force in which the Junta-controlled elements watch not only potential civilian opponents but also the very real latent opposition in the armed forces themselves. To this effect the continuing purges of the Greek military establishment two whole years after the April 21, 1967 coup are a key indicator.

The Junta has systematically removed from the armed forces an alarming number of the officers they consider unreliable. These hundreds of officers were trained at enormous American expense in the U.S., other NATO countries and Greece, since the Truman Doctrine of 1947. The officers purged were not and could not possibly be Communist, considering the nature of the recruiting process and the close ties between the Greek Armed Forces and the U.S. military and intelligence apparatuses. Indeed many of these officers fought against the communists in the Greek guerrilla war. On the contrary, the officers purged by the junta were generally considered by Washington, the NATO authorities and the Joint U.S. Military Aid Group to Greece to represent the elite of the Greek officer corps. Their only sin was to have opposed the illegal seizure of power by a relatively small group of officers. These usurpers who seized power two years ago are reliably reported to number no more than 300, with a good percentage of them having intelligence and security training and background.

The purging of the cream of the Greek officer corps and a preoccupation with the internal security duties make the combat effectiveness of the Greek armed forces in time of full mobilization of the reserves an agonizingly open question mark for NATO planners. Thus the illegal seizure of power by the Junta and its subsequent actions have not only seriously weakened the combat capabilities of Greek armed forces; they have also undermined Greece's political and moral ability to fulfill its NATO commitments. For any crisis which required full mobilization would in all probability lead to the speedy overthrow of the Junta. This really explains why the Junta thought it wise to "defuse" the Cyprus crisis in November 1967. The armed forces have become mostly a police force which, under the new constitution, are also charged with preserving the "existing Social Order." The same reasoning applies to the U.S., NATO bases and other American listening posts and propaganda machinery operating on Greek territory. These bases are important. Yet in view of the climate in which they exist today it is a real question how much long-range strategy in the area can be built around them.

In view of the Soviet naval build-up in the Mediterranean, the Middle East crisis, the events in Czechoslovakia and the outflanking of Greece and Turkey by the Soviet Union's rapid strategic deployment along North Africa's coastline and the Middle East, it is indeed tragic that the Johnson administration should have used these events as reasons for supporting the Junta whose action has weakened the military capabilities and stability of the Greek armed forces.

All groups, right and left, angered or satisfied, must remember that one of the great attributes of the democratic system is the implicit commitment not to push other people around. Any would-be reformer who seriously believes that he can gather public support in this country for human rights, academic freedom, an attack upon poverty and hunger, a more intelligent foreign policy, and even for campus reform by throwing bricks or carrying guns on campus is engaging in a tragic misreading of both history and the American character, and we may all pay the consequences for that error. And any person who seriously believes he can eliminate violent dissent by ignoring its root causes or by attributing it solely to "communist conspirators" is committing an error just as tragic.

It is terribly important for Congress, state legislators and the American people to avoid a massive, thoughtless repression of legitimate, honorable and peaceful dissent, but disregard of the traditions of fair play and tolerance on the part of extremists on either side of the political or social spectrum are, I am afraid, making that repression more nearly an inevitability.

If this repression is to be avoided and if the public clamor for it is to be diminished and if we are to successfully preserve the principles of freedom of thought, speech and dissent which have made this country something special, we must avoid the emotional and psychological polarization of our people. And that can be accomplished only if we can, to a much greater degree than has been the case up until now, involved constructive liberals in the struggle not only to reform our campuses, but also to reform public habits which have allowed the poor to go hungry, the ill untreated, and the deprived uneducated.

Liberals must re-dedicate themselves to the opposition of violence wherever they find it—whether it be the violence practiced by the campus revolutionary or the more subtle violence practiced by society against the deprived and the under-privileged.

Each is equally corrosive of the values which unite a democratic and humane people.

Unless constructive liberals re-dedicate their time and re-double their efforts to achieve the reforms needed in our society itself we will condemn the liberal movement to the stagnation of pious comfort and we will abandon reform to the embittered few. And the resulting polarization of our people will paralyze the nation with tragic consequences for Bill of Rights freedoms as we know them.

#### CAMPUS RIOTS AND U.S. GOVERNMENT

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 27, 1969

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, when the Reporter magazine ceased publishing, I was most disturbed by the thought that Mr. Max Ascoli's views and observations would no longer appear in print. Mr. Ascoli, in his role of editor and publisher of the Reporter, gave it stature and authority far beyond many of those which still survive today.

I was very pleased to see him appear in print, again, in the Wall Street Journal for May 27, 1969, writing on a topic that concerns us all. Mr. Ascoli, in his usual solid reasoning and impeccable style, has done a superb job. The article follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, May 27, 1969]  
CAMPUS RIOTS AND THE U.S. GOVERNMENT  
(By Max Ascoli)

Why could it happen, and why did it happen here? A number of eminent people, the President first of all, have asked. The key word is *it*: A succession of conflagrations and racial disruptions centered or converging on the campuses of the nation that only too recently had found itself playing the role of example to the world. There is little sense in comparing our turbulent four and a half years from Berkeley on to the uprising at the Sorbonne.

Among the whys it could happen here, one is this nation's inexperience with revolution. The revolution to which the United States owes its birth is something else again, for it secured the centuries and freedoms of the Mother Country that the Founding Fathers codified according to the needs of the newborn nation. France and England have repeatedly gone through chaos, and then emerged from it. In the Old World—Russia, Italy or Spain—they have had their troubles with anarchic uprisings. America had to deal with individual anarchists either of the bucolic Thoreau type or with showy mimics of overseas nihilism.

#### MAINTAINING AN IMMUNITY

The principle became ingrained here that vastity and complexity had immunized our country from the sweep of ideological revolution or totalitarian dictatorship. In the universities the social sciences and allied disciplines did their best to maintain this immunity by neglecting ideologies and practicing birth control of ideas. Only facts counted, as if they had all been born free and equal, and the dusty leftovers of happenings called facts were assiduously piled up by scholars.

No wonder many college students were bored, and enterprising professors who had obtained tenure went after remunerative government or foundation assignments. No wonder also that in a large number of academic institutions there was a lack of contact between students and teachers. By and large, there was a superabundance of students and only infrequently could the leavening influence of teachers be effective. The substance of culture prepared for mass consumption in the multiversities and universities, turned thinner and thinner, and ideas, or even their ersatz, were carefully pasteurized.

In 1964, on the largest campus of the largest multiversity, a substitute for ideas was accidentally discovered: *Loquor ego sum* (I talk, therefore I exist). It is strange that it had not happened before or on some other campuses. At Berkeley, there was a group of students who during the summer had trained themselves to take chances by going South. The new chance they took proved immensely rewarding. They practiced participatory democracy before rediscovering the old notion. The *loquor ego sum* principle took the name of Free Speech Movement. The meaning was that the more one talks, the more of a man he is; the more people yell in unison without letting anyone utter a single antagonistic word, the more power they get. The Berkeley rebels celebrated in their own way their freedom from thinking, and gained notoriety in intellectual communities all over the world. Thinking is not easy, while anybody can talk and yell. From those 1964 days on, the exaltation of dissent started. Dissent you must. It's no longer a right, it's a duty.

Marlo Savio, leader of the Berkeley movement delivered at Sproul Hall an address that later was used in an article entitled "An End to History." He did not appear to find much satisfaction in his success. "This free speech fight points up a fascinating aspect of contemporary campus life. Students are permitted to talk all they want so long as their speech has no consequences." This statement is echoed by Professor Herbert Marcuse, of the University of California at San Diego. In his Political Preface, 1966, to *Eros and Civil-*

ization, he wrote: "In and against the deadly efficient organization of the affluent society, not only radical protest, but even the attempt to formulate, to articulate, to give word to protest, assume a childlike, ridiculous immaturity. Thus it is ridiculous and perhaps 'logical' that the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley terminated in the row caused by the appearance of a sign with the four-letter word."

Unbridled, massive loquacity having been authoritatively hailed as identical to freedom of speech, it could be turned against other targets. And so it was: In 1965, the teach-ins started. There on the campuses, antiwar students were joined and supported by many a youngster emeritus from the faculties. Even those who held qualified opinions against the Vietnam war had an exceedingly hard time trying to argue against the mobs who wanted the war stopped—right now. This unreflective quality is characteristic of the movements a la Berkeley. Just as "free speech" came to mean four-letter speech, so the peace advocated at the teach-ins was not related to our times and to our opponent: It meant just peace at any price—now. Yet it is remarkable how many people, worthy of their high repute, for quite some time have not been able to mention the war in Vietnam without calling it immoral or criminal—a war that, for our own good, should end in our defeat.

#### A DISCONCERTING PHENOMENON

The exaltation of youth for its own sake, the disdain for anybody over 30, is disconcerting for a man like this writer who had to leave his native country at the time of "Giovinezza, Giovinezza." The Negroes, too, follow the same self-seeking trend: Superior education or at least a diploma must be provided for all the young black just because they are black. The place in society black power wants must be granted, and this demand is not negotiable. All these extreme aims have one thing in common: Each is to be reached for the hell of it.

In the universities the drives for student power, youth power, black power, meet and, as far as one can see, do not collide. Rather they pretend to have separate but equal status, and only occasionally do they give a hand to each other as, for instance the SDS and the Negroes in favor of negritude.

American culture, like America itself, is part of the western world and, until now, a fantastically successful outgrowth of it. One of the characteristics of western culture has been the ease with which it has given cultural citizenship to men from every part of the world, while becoming enriched in the process. The universities in this country cannot become centers of cultural fragmentation on a racial basis without becoming responsible for the ultimate fragmentation of the country. They do not belong to the trustees or to the faculties or to the students. They belong to history—a history that this country has in largest part inherited—and are entrusted in various degrees to different groups of pro tem curators and beneficiaries. Each fragment of this historical heritage can be irretrievably wasted away.

The answer, it has been said, is academic self-government. Within limits this is true, provided we are clear that academic self-government does not mean sovereignty or, as Attorney General Mitchell once put it, extra territoriality. The inner strength of a university and the position it establishes for itself in the cultural community are a large-scale reproduction of man's destiny: A balance between inner and outer world reflecting the role man plays in the various collective entities he comes to belong to. Man's freedom does not exempt him from spiritual or economic bankruptcy. And of course not from death. The same is true for the universities. President Nixon said it: "... violence or the threat of violence may never be permitted to influence the actions or judg-

May 27, 1969

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — Extensions of Remarks

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Let us now turn to the key question of political stability which many supporters of the 1967 coup—including the Junta itself—cite as one of the prime benefits of the current Greek dictatorship. Measuring political stability is not easy when there is martial law and press censorship, when no opposition is permitted, and when violence, although on the increase, is still sporadic. The Junta alleges that they stepped in to save the country from the danger of Communism—yet even Greek Conservative leaders emphasize the fact that the danger of Communism was non-existent in Greece. They overthrew a Conservative Government.

Those who place too great an emphasis on the confused political situation in Greece as a justification for the Colonel's coup must remember that Greece fought a hard and dirty war against a foreign dominated and supported Communist aggression at the peak of the "Cold War" in Europe. The victory, although assisted greatly by U.S. material help and advice, was finally wrested with Greek, and only Greek, blood. If Greece was able to win this victory under a parliamentary government with basic democratic institutions functioning it is inconceivable that the current military dictatorship is necessary to correct alleged political instability.

There are some who argue that there was no political stability prior to the Junta and that the present arrangement is at least an improvement. This argument is superficial and needs a detailed recording of the events and the overall background that preceded the coup.

The fact is that political stability was damaged in the 1965-67 period by the intervention of the Greek Monarchy and its military establishment in the political process, thus perverting the institution of parliament and the mechanism of achieving political stability which had worked well until then. This was done by repeatedly denying the use of the best safety valve available to real democracies—Free elections.

In 1963 and early 1964, the eight years of conservative (ERE) rule under Prime Minister C. Caramanlis, ended at the polls with the largest majority in modern times for the Center Union Party led by the late George Papandreu. The peaceful transfer of power was accomplished in the middle of the Cyprus crisis involving the threat of a shooting war with Turkey, following years of impressive aggressive aggregate growth and financial stability. It was, to be sure, a growth in which many did not share; few reforms in education had been accomplished and not enough employment opportunities had been opened up, as indicated by the thousands who had to seek work abroad.

As Richard Westebbe of the World Bank, formerly senior foreign economic adviser to the Greek government said in 1963 in a penetrating report, "Greece's long-run structural problems concern deficiencies in the structure of production, in public administration, in education, in financial institutions, and in the distribution of income."

The victors promised a better distribution of income, a more rapid modernization of Greece to enable it to enter the Common Market, and a reform of Greece's institutions which, amongst other things, implied the paying of fair taxes by certain privileged classes and a reduced role of the Crown in controlling the Armed Forces and the political processes. In short, a return to the intent of the constitution which would have the King "reign, not rule." In foreign policy, Greece was to become a fully equal member of the NATO Alliance, with a real voice in determining its own destiny. In pursuing these goals there is no question that the Papandreu Government committed a number of mistakes and lost many opportunities.

The Center Union Party was soon faced with the violent and growing opposition of the Crown, the Armed Forces leadership, and the economic oligarchy—an opposition

which was enjoying the support of a large part of the official American establishment in Athens. The story can be picked up with the elections of 1961 in which the Army, through the so-called "Pericles Plan," unnecessarily rigged the result to ensure a Caramanlis victory, when the real unadulterated result would have given his party a narrower victory or, at the very worst, would have forced it into a coalition with the Center. The election-rigging gave the liberal forces their cause and they exploited it until their ultimate victory at the next elections. When it was decided to bring down the Papandreu Government, a "treason plot" called "Aspida" was concocted and ascribed to the Prime Minister's son. The charge has never been proven and even the junta, four years later, has been unable to produce any evidence. The Papandreu Government retaliated by resurrecting the Pericles charges and conducting a formal investigation. The Generals panicked and persuaded the King of an imminent plot to seize power by unnamed leftist groups tolerated or led by Prime Minister Papandreu. The result was the overthrow of the elected government and a series of almost comic opera attempts to make parliamentary rump-governments from mid-1965 through Christmas 1966.

The agreement of the conservative and Center Union Parties to hold elections in 1967 in order to restore real parliamentary government, and thus political stability led directly to the Colonels' coup, only a few weeks before the elections were to be held under the Conservative Government of Mr. P. Canellopoulos. By the way he has spent a good part of the last two years under strict house arrest. The Athens colonels have since persecuted the leaders of all of Greece's major political groupings, i.e., the conservatives, the royalists, the Center Union—among whom were several of America's best friends—as well as the left and the extreme left. They have resorted to systematic torture of opponents, as was shown at the recent Strasbourg hearings of the European Human Rights Commission and as has been publicly condemned by leaders of the British, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Dutch and Italian governments, among others.

On March 27, 1969, Secretary of State William P. Rogers, in his first major presentation to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said he shared the "concern" of Senator Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.), "not only for the torture phase" of Greece's new military regime, "but for other civil liberty" infringements. The Nixon Administration has made an encouraging start on the explosive issue of Greece's military dictatorship, through this statement of Secretary Rogers, who went well beyond any comments of his predecessor.

Senator Pell, speaking in the Senate on October 3, 1968, and January 31, 1969, said: "Over the past months I have become increasingly concerned with one of the more heinous characteristics of the Greek dictatorship. I refer to the brutal behavior of this regime in the treatment of its own citizens." . . . "I said in a speech to this body in May 1967 that I deplored the illegal military seizure and that I deplored, moreover, the lack of any kind of strong, public reaction or expression of disapproval from the United States." . . . "It seems to me that the inescapable conclusion can only be that the revitalization of democracy in Greece is as much in our own interest as it is in the interests of the people of Greece. We should, therefore, do everything we can to encourage its prompt evolution."

Many senior U.S. government officials, at the time of the colonels' coup, argued that there was little the U.S. could have done because the coup took the U.S. by surprise and once it was successfully carried out the U.S. was faced with a fait accompli. This is untrue as the threat of dictatorship in Greece was

spotted early and this threat greatly disturbed politically prominent Americans well before the actual coup took place.

As early as September 4, 1962, and again on October 13, 1963, Senator Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) in published interviews with this speaker stated: "I am particularly concerned about the political developments in that country (Greece) and I do believe that careful investigation should be carried out on those accusations against our U.S. Embassy role in Athens in the last Greek elections." And in 1963 he said: "I am against the establishment of a dictator any place. That is why I strongly attacked the suggestion made that the establishment of dictatorship in Greece would be an effective solution to Greece's problems. Oh, Lord, No. Greece is the most sophisticated, civilized country in the world. Our democratic way of government came from Greece. It would be tragic if Greece, where democracy itself was first founded, were to go back to a dictatorship. I can't even imagine the Greeks thinking about it."

And in the summer of 1966 a galaxy of highly placed and influential U.S. personalities, covering the spectrum of the American political life, condemned publicly, very strongly and in no uncertain terms, the possibility of a military dictatorship of any kind in Greece, under whatever pretext. They also urged the Johnson Administration to take all necessary steps to ensure that such a catastrophic development for the American interests will not occur.

Their names are: The Speaker of the House of Representatives J. McCormack, Senators V. Hartke, S. Thurmond, E. McCarthy, J. Javits, W. Morse and E. Kennedy. The Chairmen of the House Judiciary, Armed Services and Agriculture Committees, Congressmen E. Celler, M. Rivers and H. Cooley. The former Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral A. Burke and the former Supreme NATO Commander in Europe, General L. Norstad. And the then Governor of California E. Brown.

They spelled out their views to me in question-answer format, taped, typed and unofficially signed press interviews, which received wide coverage both in Europe and America. In short, there were numerous, early and authoritative warnings given to Washington, but to no avail.

Since 1947, America has played a decisive role in Greece, and, beginning in 1959 with Ambassador Ellis Briggs—now a strong advocate of the Athens' colonels—America has pursued disastrous, contradictory and vacillating policies—policies largely influenced by inter-service and personality rivalries. Should these policies be continued the communists will have an opportunity to organize and lead a liberation movement in Greece, for the first time since the late 1940's, with wide support and backing from non-communist elements in both Greece and Western Europe. Such a movement, even if led by communists, would ironically be formed under the banner of returning democracy to Greece. Thus, the tragic makings of a new Vietnam in Greece are all there.

It is very important for Americans to understand that there is widespread belief in non-communist Europe that Washington was involved, either by commission or omission, in the April 21, 1967 coup and is responsible for keeping the Athens colonels in power. While the substance of the more extreme forms of these theories has not been proven yet, the U.S. should realize that these beliefs have done much more than the criticism of the Vietnam War or the DeGaulle policies to undermine basic U.S. positions and interests in this vital area. This point, in many ways the most telling, is supported by such a personality as Mrs. Helen Vlachou-Loundras, well known publisher of the most influential conservative Greek newspapers, who was forced into exile in London,



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when, after the Junta seized power, she bravely refused to publish under censorship. (Her husband—wartime hero conservative Navy Captain Costas Loundras—was sentenced to eighteen months imprisonment after he was kept by the Junta in solitary confinement for fifty days). Mrs. Vlachou-Loundras spoke about the Greek régime in London on October 17, 1968:

"So the moment of truth is approaching, and the first brand new European dictatorship since the war is about to emerge, born of the Pentagon by the CIA, reared by NATO, surrounded by doting businessmen. It is no use criticizing the Americans, divided as they are between those who would like to chase the junta but can not do it, and those who can, and will not."

The European reaction to the Greek coup can be gleaned in the following statements: West German Socialist Deputy, Klaus Schultz, said recently, "It was 36 years ago that Hitler took power in my country. And he did it under conditions far more democratic than those imposed by the Greek colonels." British Laborite Bob Edwards, during the debate whether to expel Greece from the Council of Europe for violating the 18-nation organization's statutes on human rights, said: "I am amazed at some of these speeches. We heard them between the wars—Franco was going to hold elections. Hitler was no dictator and Mussolini made the trains run on time."

In a futile attempt to improve their international image, to buy desperately needed time and to overcome the stubborn refusal of Greeks of prestige and ability to work for the regime, the junta announced a referendum on a new constitution in September 1968. This document, which received the private blessing of some American officials, in fact, makes the Armed Forces the sole final source of power, the guardian of the status quo and the dispenser of civil liberties in Greece. Thus the constitution in effect gives the wolves the responsibility for guarding the lamb by giving the Athens Junta full power to "protect" the liberties they had already seized from the Greek people. The subsequent referendum on the colonel's constitution resulted in a Soviet style vote of 92.2% and was carried out under conditions of martial law. The really free sentiments of the Greeks became manifest a few weeks later when over 300,000 people in Athens spontaneously demonstrated against the regime and for democracy on the occasion of the funeral for George Papandreou, the last elected Prime Minister. On March 29, 1969, the influential London Economist wrote: "Mr. Papadopoulos (the head of the junta) has clearly reconsidered his views about a regrouping of political forces, which would eventually produce a satisfactory alternative to the present regime. He now argues that the constitution cannot be brought fully into force, and normal parliamentary democracy allowed to function, until the Greeks have acquired the necessary political maturity."

"The slowness with which the authorities are completing some of the legal formalities needed to make the provisions of the constitution operative, suggests that Mr. Papadopoulos is trying to keep all his options open. About a quarter of the constitution is still not even theoretically in force, including the provision for the creation of a constitutional tribunal, which the regime considers essential for the proper functioning of democracy. Nor has the prime minister yet fulfilled his pledge to introduce a law to allow the regime to ease or tighten martial law as it thinks fit, so that the Greeks can show how well they can behave under conditions of relative, or disciplined, freedom. All this deliberate slow motion is justified by the argument that the Greeks need time to acquire enough political maturity to decide who should govern them—although last Septem-

ber they were apparently sufficiently mature to decide in a plebiscite how they should be governed."

On the eve of the NATO Ministerial meeting in Washington, earlier this month, the Junta feeling the weakness of its position—both domestically and internationally—announced a series of supposed "liberalization" measures, under the new constitution. These measures, however, would be applied only after appropriate legislation is drafted and promulgated. According to Mr. Papadopoulos, this will take at least six months. But he did not explain how these two constitutional freedoms of assembly and of association could be reinstated under martial law, even if the legislation required to make them operative were to be enacted. What a mockery! Thus, the aim of his move is quite transparent; a typically flatfooted gesture on his part to forestall several NATO countries pressure for an early restoration of democracy in Greece.

Finally, let us turn to the alleged economic stability which the Junta pledged to bring to Greece. I believe that as a result of the coup, Greece is far more likely to be faced with a serious economic crisis, instead of stable growth.

The rate of growth of the Greek economy which averaged close to 8% a year in the period of 1960-66 was reduced to about half this figure in 1967, when good crops and an illusory increase in services offset a sharp fall in industrial investment leading to stagnation in manufacturing output. In 1968 manufacturing recovered somewhat but low crops held the growth rate to about 4%. Admittedly, the building boom had already leveled off by April 1967. However, the collapse of confidence following the coup led to a sharp fall in business investment and consumer purchasing. Imports into Greece stopped rising, and people hoarded money. The reaction of the Government was to stimulate demand and buy popularity. A massive give-away took place when all farm debts amounting to some \$280 million to the U.S. financed Agricultural Bank were written off. This not only penalized farmers who had paid their debts but probably convinced all farmers, who constitute some 45% of the total population, that there is no point in paying future loans. What is perhaps worse is that the immense resources distributed in this way have not been directed towards raising farm productivity and bringing about the long needed structural reform of Greek Agriculture.

Bank credit and Government spending programs were greatly expanded. The money supply increased at an annual rate of 20% in 1967, and although the growth in money has decelerated since, it has not been matched by comparable increases in output. The recovery of consumer demand in 1968 has already led to a renewed import growth and some pressure on prices. Exports barely rose in 1968 and tourist earnings declined for the second year in a row, since the Junta took over. Another mainstay, emigrants' remittances, are stagnant. The result is a worsening balance of payments position. This has been partly shielded by drawings on the secret gold sovereign reserve and partly by a number of short term loans concluded with U.S. and European banks which are reliably reported to be secured by the nation's gold and hard currency reserves.

In the past, Greece's basic current trade imbalances were offset by rapidly growing tourist, emigrants and shipping remittances. These were increasingly augmented by capital inflow, mainly on private account from abroad. The prospect of maintaining balance of payments equilibrium at the present exchange rate and with free imports lay in a hoped for rapid rise in industrial and agricultural productivity. Unfortunately, with low growth rates and a sharp fall in private investments the outlook is for controls and/or devaluation, including rescheduling of all recently contracted short term foreign debt.

Further the mammoth spending programs have created a large inflationary potential which could lead to crisis conditions in a short time.

A confidential 12-page report prepared in March 1968 on Greece's Economic and Financial Developments by the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company of New York, states that:

"The regime has, however, displayed an increasing number of signs that it intends pursuing a 130-style authoritarian course. On the one hand, it has been intensely, nationalistic, having called repeatedly for a regeneration of Greek life. On the other, it has taken a number of steps designed to appeal to the lowest socio-economic groups: freeing prices; raising some incomes; and providing working girls with dowries. All this has taken place against a background of increasingly restrictive measures. Nevertheless, the combination has thus far been successful. Some of the reform introduced by the Papadopoulos government—especially those relating to the bureaucracy—have been to an extent necessary and desirable. The constitution, which the government was supposed to introduce in response to pressures from Western Europe, and has to be made public. However, any constitution which the drafters might develop would be meaningless because the regime does not intend that there be any return to democracy."

"Since the coup, Greek economic activity has slowed down; GNP growth rate is officially estimated to have been 5% in 1967—and privately put nearer to 3%—compared with 7.4% in 1966. Much of this has been due to a slowdown in investment, especially of the private sector. However, in 1967 the trend toward more rapid growth of industrial than agricultural production was reversed—agricultural production grew faster than industrial, largely due to the rapid growth of the latter in 1966. Prices have been stable due to a price freeze. Wages, on the other hand, have been allowed to rise rather rapidly. The overall government budget deficit for 1968 will again be large—mostly due to the rising government investment budget."

At the end of March 1969, in a series of speeches to merchants, industrialists and others, Mr. Papadopoulos tried to undo the damage caused to the economy by the crippling uncertainty over the regime's intentions. He was not particularly successful. He insisted that the regime had achieved the political stability needed to expand economic activity. But his claim that it was not a dictatorship, but only a "parenthesis . . ." that was necessary to put things straight, was contradicted by his further assertion that "whether you like it or not, the revolution is a reality and you cannot get rid of us."

The Government made numerous appeals to attract foreign capital. Its most publicized achievement for political, propaganda and lobbying reasons, was the signing of a lucrative contract with Litton Industries (a few weeks after coming to power) which guarantees the latter a handsome annual fee as well as a commission on all investments it induces to come to Crete and the Western Peloponnese. It is of interest to note that Litton withdrew its proposals prior to the coup, due to overwhelming parliamentary opposition. To date Litton has produced some studies and very small-sized investments coming mainly from the Litton group companies. It would seem that even their corporate name has not been sufficient to overcome the doubts of those who might have put their money in Greece. That's why, according to reliable information, both the Junta and Litton, at this very moment, are mutually dissatisfied with each other's performance. In addition, Litton was unhappy when last year the U.S. Department of Justice disclosed that it had launched an inquiry to determine whether Litton has en-

gaged in activities which require it to register as a foreign agent. Although most foreign investors found pre-Junta Greece a favorable spot for private enterprise, a difficulty did arise in the case of the Esso-Pappas refining, petrochemical and steel complex. This contract was strongly criticized by the Center Union before it came to power and was renegotiated to Greece's advantage while they were in power. Oddly enough, Pappas has since then managed to avoid, with Junta approval most of the less profitable investments he was supposed to undertake and he has emerged as one of the most influential and vocal backers of the Junta in the U.S.

Finally, much has been made of a recent agreement of the Junta with Onassis to establish a new refinery, aluminum plant and tourist investments totaling some \$400 million over fifteen years. Specific features, according to reports from Athens, include his right to supply crude oil, in this case Russian, shipped in his own tankers, as well as guaranteed employment for part of his tanker fleet. Further, the prospect of another aluminum plant is far from an unmixed blessing. There is no cheap power left in Greece. Onassis proposed to produce high cost power with his oil in his own thermal plants. He would charge himself an artificially low power rate in order to produce aluminum and would force all other Greek consumers of power to pay a much higher rate for the excess power he would produce. It is significant that the Onassis effort to build the alumina-aluminum plant in partnership with the U.S. Reynolds Metals Company has fallen through and on March 17, 1969, the latter announced that it had ended talks with Onassis.

In summary, instead of bringing about stable economic growth the Junta has presided over a tragic misuse and waste of national resources, in an attempt to buy acceptance and some semblance of legitimacy. The resulting "gold rush" to extract favorable concessions from the Athens Colonels in return for supporting their dictatorship has resulted in the sacrifice of important Greek economic resources and interests which no parliamentary government could have undertaken and remain in office.

Alfred Friendly writes in the Washington Post of April 5, 1969, from Athens:

"The battle of the Greek tycoons, the former brothers-in-law, Aristotle Onassis and Stavros Niarchos, over which one will operate the proposed new \$400 to \$500 million investment program for a new oil refinery, aluminum plants and several tourist projects raised for the first time the suspicion of corruption with the junta.

"The government's off-again, on-again, handling of the intricate affair may have been merely clumsy or shabby, testifying only to its administrative incompetence. But on its face, the Niarchos proposal, which was ultimately rejected, seemed so much more advantageous to the country than that of Onassis as to suggest bad faith by the regime.

"One would have supposed that, once the suspicion arose, the government would have taken elaborate pains to demonstrate clean hands. After all, one of the Junta's most loudly proclaimed justifications for its coup two years ago was the promise that it would end the notorious corruption of previous governments. If it is subject to the same failing, it loses a principal excuse for its existence.

"Suspected of sticky fingers, the regime's logical response would have been to lay out the proposals in detail, argue them and supply a complete explanation of its final choice. Instead, after a few weeks of pulling and hauling, the junta clamped complete censorship over the whole matter. Nothing more may be printed about it in the Greek press. The consequence was obvious; what

was once a smoldering rumor is now a wild-fire scandal."

The political anomaly of a banana republic dictatorship in present day non-Communist Europe has led to a suspension of some \$55 million of European Bank loans to Greece under the Treaty of Association with the Common Market. The long run future of Greece's association with the Common Market, the first of its kind, is in fact in doubt. As Greece's chief Common Market negotiator John Pezmatzoglou, then Deputy Governor of the Central Bank, said in a 1966 Bank of Greece message, the economic union of Greece with the EEC was based, on the mutually agreed, basic objective of an ultimate political union of Greece with its European partners.

Since then the Governor of the Central Bank, Professor X. Zolotas, an internationally respected central banker, and the equally prominent Professor J. Pezmatzoglou have resigned in protest over the Junta and its policies. In fact, the great bulk of Greece's trained professionals have refused to participate in the Government, a phenomenon which has seriously hindered efforts at rational economic policy formulation and implementation. Last year, during a Congressional investigation conducted by the House Subcommittee on International Finance, on the proposed first World Bank loan to Greece, its influential Chairman, Congressman Henry S. Reuss of Wisconsin, criticized strongly the World Bank and the Johnson Administration for the proposed loan. He even criticized some of the new so-called "non-corrupt" leadership of Greece's economy when he identified the new Deputy Governor of the Bank of Greece, a Mr. Constantine A. Thanos, as having plagiarized his doctoral dissertation and other works and whose proposed appointment to the faculty of the University of Athens, in 1963, was vetoed because of these affairs. Reuss also questioned whether Greece, governed by such people and under these conditions, could be considered creditworthy for international public lending.

In conclusion I believe that it is imperative for the Nixon Administration, which is in the advantageous position of having no responsibility for the events and policies of the last few years, to conduct a basic and urgent review of US policy towards Greece on the following grounds:

A. The assumption that the current military regime in Athens has or can bring stability is incorrect.

B. The Junta has greatly weakened Greece's military capability and political ability to fulfill its NATO commitments.

C. The situation in Greece is potentially dangerous.

If present policies are continued, a new Vietnam could result.

D. The widespread belief in Europe that the U.S. is responsible for the coup and for keeping the colonels in power is seriously damaging to America's position in Europe.

E. The existence of a military dictatorship in Greece is morally and politically repugnant especially to the extent that it appears that the United States is supporting this regime.

In considering U.S. policy towards Greece I would like to here make several points directed primarily to American conservatives. It has been a tragedy that many American opinions and actions concerning Greece have been viewed as a political issue between conservatives and liberals. As a result of the opposition to the Greek junta by many prominent American liberals, all too many American conservatives have not realized the true nature and intent of the current Greek regime. While Greek political liberals have suffered as a result of the coup, as many Greek conservatives with well-known anti-communist credentials have been suppressed, imprisoned, and driven into exile by

the junta. In fact, many of the most severe critics of the coup and the current regime could be described as conservatives. In the light of the Athens colonels' past and continued repression of anti-communist Greek conservatives and the often-forgotten fact that the colonels seized power from a conservative government, I would ask some American conservatives who have either largely remained neutral or have supported the current Greek regime to reconsider their positions. For the situation in Greece cannot be described or understood along American political lines. In this case both American liberals and conservatives, perhaps for different but compatible reasons, should oppose the authoritarian dictatorship imposed on the people of Greece by a small group of colonels in Athens.

Thus, in reviewing U.S. policy towards Greece I would suggest that the following specific changes in the policies inherited by the Nixon Administration would be both in the interest of the United States and the Greek people.

#### ACTION

1. A Clear-cut public condemnation of the Greek Junta by the new administration and real efforts of disassociation from the Johnson Administration policies, attitudes and methods used in dealing with Greece.

2. Delay the appointment or appoint, but do not dispatch, to Athens a new U.S. Ambassador and make clear to the junta and the NATO Allies the real reasons for such a delay.

3. Terminate immediately and completely all U.S. military aid to the Athens regime and reverse the disastrous decision taken on October 21, 1968, during the dying gasps of the previous Administration, to resume delivery of major U.S. military equipment to the Athens Colonels. Such a decision, under those circumstances, gave in effect official public U.S. government approval to the Athens military dictatorship.

With the U.S. presidential elections only two weeks away, the Congress adjourned, and three weeks after a rigged "referendum," conducted by the Greek Junta under martial law, the Johnson Administration felt that it was safe and advisable to go ahead with a decision that was strongly debated and shelved repeatedly by the same Administration in the past.

4. Take the initiative for joint NATO action against the Junta by exercising maximum diplomatic, economic and military aid pressure, on a well coordinated basis, in behalf of the Atlantic Alliance. Such an American initiative will take options away from Moscow policy-makers and will build up U.S. influence in NATO and among the European liberals, intellectuals and youth. Such a U.S. initiative would have worldwide favorable repercussions and Washington will be in a better position to exploit existing turmoil among Moscow's Eastern European Communist satellites, non-satellites and the Communist parties in non-Communist Europe.

5. Give full U.S. support to the efforts of the Common Market and the Council of Europe to isolate morally, politically and economically the Athens Colonels.

6. Find other appropriate ways and means to support actively and effectively all anti-junta, anti-communist elements who represent the vast majority of the Greek people.

7. Strong efforts should be made to dispel the belief of U.S. involvement and support of the Greek Junta in Greece and the rest of Europe, including the use of the Voice of America. Such efforts are essential to forestall violent anti-American backlash in Greece, which otherwise is a virtual certainty.

8. As a last resort, taking up a line already gaining ground in NATO, particularly in Denmark, Norway, The Netherlands and Italy, and moving to expel Greece from the Alliance.

May 27, 1969

## POINTS

A. All the above peaceful measures are sufficient if used effectively, in my opinion, to overthrow the Greek dictatorship without bloodshed, and without risking American lives, as you do in Vietnam today, or you did in Korea, Lebanon and in the Dominican Republic. The Nixon Administration must have learned some very valuable lessons recently with the events in Pakistan, the crisis in Peru and the negotiations over the Spanish bases. These events proved the grave risks inherent in dealing with anti-Communist military dictatorships and should help dispel the myth that such regimes serve effectively the U.S. interests.

B. If the Junta is overthrown by these peaceful measures proposed to the Nixon Administration, Washington will be in a much better position to deal also with the Middle East crisis, having the full support and cooperation of the liberated (with American support) Greek people, and the U.S. and NATO bases presently in Greece will not any longer be surrounded, as is the case today, by an increasingly hostile population, which makes their value presently, in case of emergency, at least doubtful.

C. More than 100,000 hard-core Greek Communists live in various parts of the Eastern European communist world, including the thousands of young children abducted by the retreating Greek Communist guerilla forces in 1949. These children are now completely trained militarily and indoctrinated. Greece has very extended and rugged mountain frontiers with her northern Communist neighbors. These facts may represent, at a given moment, an ace in the hands of Moscow and Peking.

D. Greece's unique geographical position places her athwart the crossroads of Europe, Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. The Middle East and Africa are two areas where the Greeks for centuries have maintained the closest ties and interests. On the northern borders of Greece is a kaleidoscope of three different kinds of communism: The Peking style in Albania (where more than 2,000 Chinese advisors are stationed in this first Chinese beachhead in Europe), the Moscow style in Bulgaria, and the Tito style in Yugoslavia. This fact itself makes Greece a very good western "window", and ideal listening and influence post for the Southeastern European area. But it also makes Greece far more exposed to external communist and Slavic chauvinistic pressures now greatly complicated by the current Sino-Soviet confrontation.

E. The U.S. record over the last decade clearly shows a very benign attitude toward right-wing military coups while registering great alarm over left-wing ones. The so-called Schwartz doctrine (former State Department policy planner and top Pentagon authority on international security affairs) makes clear the U.S. will not interfere with extra-constitutional, totalitarian rule by anti-Communist governments. This double standard justified accusations all over the world and naturally Greece.

We were all dismayed at the ruthless crushing with Soviet military power of the modest liberal reforms which were taking place in Czechoslovakia. No satellite could be allowed to sway that far from orthodoxy and control in the minds of Warsaw Pact hard liners. Moscow paid a heavy price in terms of world condemnation and the discrediting of hard core Czech Communists. To many, the parallel of the U.S. position in Greece is disquieting. And Moscow's diplomats and propagandists are counter-attacking criticism aimed at their Czechoslovakian action by pointing to the U.S. role in Greece since April 1967. For the coup against the prospect of a liberal, but pro-NATO government was carried out by people closely connected with the U.S. military, intelligence

and financial complex, with U.S. weapons and using a top-secret emergency NATO plan. All in the name of anti-Communism, the preservation of the orthodoxy of Greece in the Western Alliance and protecting the Monarchy, which the Junta forced into exile eight months later. Moscow intervened with Soviet troops to crush what she considered dangerous Czechoslovak liberation tendencies. While I do not believe that the use of U.S. troops to protect the freedom of the Greek people was or is necessary, it is a tragedy that the Johnson Administration played the role of Pontius Pilatus while U.S.-supplied tanks were used to crush Greek democracy even though ample warnings about the impending coup existed. That the Johnson Administration, on many occasions, has given the impression of supporting the dictatorship of the Athens Colonels, is doubly disquieting, considering that the freedom of the Greek people was guaranteed by NATO which Greece freely joined as a free nation in 1952.

In the process the U.S.'s best friends were systematically destroyed. In the end the Greeks will force their oppressors out of power. The process could be bloody and might well involve the U.S. in another Vietnam type situation. It is, therefore, legitimate to ask why long-term U.S. interests are being sacrificed in Greece for the sake of a ephemeral appearance of security and stability and whether it is wise to continue along this road to disaster much longer.

## ANATOMY OF A ROAD

HON. JACK H. McDONALD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 27, 1969

Mr. McDONALD of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, on Monday I was privileged to join with highway officials and representatives of industries deeply involved in highway safety in previewing a film, "Anatomy of a Road."

This is a 27-minute, 16-millimeter color film produced by CBS Productions in Detroit. It will be distributed through General Motors film libraries and Modern Nation.

Its aim is to foster public appreciation of the value of good roads by helping the layman to understand what is involved in roadbuilding.

As "Anatomy of a Road" makes abundantly clear, roadbuilding is a complex, difficult process requiring substantial capital investment, legislative action, legal due process, engineering skill and hard work. It is easy to see why roadbuilding takes time.

Many people today are appalled at the cost of modern highways and many have even wondered whether they are worth that cost. "Anatomy of a Road" endeavors to set that record straight by showing the public where its tax dollars go.

The film also covers such controversial areas as funding, land acquisition and beautification.

"Anatomy of a Road" explains and illustrates each of the major steps in highway construction from preliminary planning through completion and maintenance.

Mr. Speaker, this is a most informative and important film. I am hopeful every

Member of this body will have the opportunity of viewing it. I am also hopeful each Member will advise schools, service clubs, and television stations in his district of its availability.

## THE NATIONAL DEFENDER

HON. PATSY T. MINK

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 27, 1969

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, one of society's greatest concerns is the crime rate, which has been increasing in recent years to an unprecedented level. All of us are looking for solutions, and among many aspects worthy of attention is improvement in the judicial system.

I have long felt that we should provide a Defender General to rank equally with the Attorney General in our judicial systems. At the various judicial levels, the Defender General would help insure that each defendant received his full legal rights.

Such a system was acted on by the Hawaii Legislature this year, with prospects that it could become a model for public defender systems in other States. Significantly, Gen. Charles L. Decker, director of the National Defender Project, predicted that Hawaii's plan could "reduce the crime rate 15 percent in the first year."

General Decker's remarks, "A Look Ahead," were made before the National Legal Aid and Defender Association in Washington, D.C., on May 16, 1969. Because of their timely application to today's crime problem, I insert them at this point in the Record:

## A LOOK AHEAD

(Remarks of Charles L. Decker, director, National Defender Project)

After over five years of lending assistance throughout the country to States, counties and cities in striving to provide equal justice in criminal trials we can take stock of the lessons learned from the National Defender Project. Then we can look ahead.

When this project started, we kept an open mind as to the best kind of organization to provide defender services in the communities throughout the country, one conclusion was definite before we had been in operation a year—providing defense to those who cannot afford a lawyer is not a job to be accomplished at the last minute by the random assignment of counsel. In every State there should be an organization worked out so that counsel are provided efficiently, so that court calendars are not delayed, so that defense counsel is competent in representation.

We suggest to you that the proceedings at this conference have made it clear that every State should have an organization at the State level—and the Nation at the national level as well—which would be headed by a man whose title would be that of defender general or director of defense. The old statement that a rose would smell as sweet by any other name may be true. However, in governmental organization, names and titles do have significance. The title given to the man who is responsible for the representation of defendants should be equivalent to the title given to the man who is responsible for prosecutions. The title public defender is associated with defense of the poor individual cases. The



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I had thought that the group was of sufficient importance and prominence to merit at least a courtesy call from the American embassies. They were ignored.

In Rio de Janeiro, I talked with an embassy aide, a career man in the service. He was a pleasant person, but entirely cold to the idea that any group of visitors from home should be given any attention by the embassy.

Americans go through every day, he explained. Also, he added, the embassy doesn't have the staff to contact visitors.

The Ohio group traveled by Trans International Airways charter.

On leaving Quito, Ecuador, the group was told by the tour leader that the plane could not land in Buenos Aires. It seems that the Argentine government has withdrawn landing privileges from certain American lines.

Such companies land their planes in Montevideo, Uruguay. Passengers then are transferred to smaller Argentine airlines planes for the 40-minute flight to Buenos Aires. Leaving Buenos Aires, the same procedure is followed.

The result is tremendous inconvenience to the tourists. Because of a hitch or a breakdown in communications as well as unavailability of the needed three Argentine planes, the group, of which I was part, didn't reach Buenos Aires until 3 a.m.

Incidentally, the plane, after leaving Quito, had to stop at Lima, Peru, to refuel. But during the two-hour layover, no one was allowed to leave the airport. Everyone had to remain in an isolated area.

There were there, however, plenty of stands selling things to attract American dollars. They did a thriving business. One didn't need Peruvian money. American dollars and travelers checks were gladly taken, even for stamps.

The Buenos Aires matter was purely a diplomatic caper. It was, an embassy aide told me, a matter between the airline and the Argentine government. It would, he said, be quickly adjusted when the transportation minister got back to his desk after an illness.

The embassy attitude was that this was none of their concern, although every day American planes were not allowed to land in the Argentine capital.

There was a bit more to it than this, I found. Involved was a request by the Argentine government to land a couple more of its planes weekly at Los Angeles. This had been refused by American officials on the grounds that the air above California was too crowded.

It seemed to me that the embassy regarded this as one of those problems that, if ignored long enough, it would eventually go away.

#### CORRECTION OF VOTE

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker on rollcall No. 60 I am recorded as not voting. I was present and voted "yea." I ask unanimous consent that the permanent Record and Journal be corrected accordingly.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

#### ME

#### THE TRUTH ABOUT GREECE

(Mr. PUCINSKI asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in its May 27 issue, Look magazine carries an

article titled: "Greece: Government by Torture" which I believe does an injustice to the people of Greece and more seriously, presents a grave threat to relations between the United States and Greece at a time when America needs all of her NATO allies to deal with the growing menace of Soviet influence in the Mediterranean and the Middle East.

The Look magazine article about alleged tortures in Greece approximates similar charges made by Amnesty International 2 years ago and subsequently totally demolished as untrue after on-site inspections by the International Red Cross and a British Inter-Party Committee conducted at the request of the caretaker government of Greece.

Shortly after the April 21, 1967, coup by the Greek military, Amnesty International made serious charges of tortures and brutality in Greece. The subsequent investigations conducted by the International Red Cross and by the British Inter-Party Committee concluded there was no basis for the accusations. I am today calling to the attention of my colleagues a report issued by the Greek caretaker government which summarizes the findings and conclusions of the two separate investigations.

I have recently visited Greece myself and have spoken to some of the most respected leaders of that country who are in no way affiliated with the caretaker government nor do they owe any particular allegiance to the present government. In not a single instance did these impartial observers report any such tortures and brutalities as reported in Look's article.

Furthermore, we have in Chicago thousands of American citizens of Greek ancestry who visit their native Greece frequently. Some visit the big cities while others visit the small villages widely scattered throughout Greece. I have talked to many of these people upon their return from Greece to see if any of their relatives have mentioned the alleged tortures or brutalities. In not a single instance have we received any evidence that would substantiate the Look magazine charges.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, 6 months after the April 21 takeover, I personally visited the Island of Yaros—off the coast of Greece—where several thousand Greek political prisoners allegedly were suffering great tortures. Amnesty International—like the Look article—charged that political prisoners on this island were undergoing great tortures.

Mr. Speaker, I emphasize, I personally visited Yaros and I took along my own Greek interpreter so there would be no chance for misinterpreting what the prisoners were telling me. After interviewing several hundred prisoners, it was my conclusion that charges of torture and brutality were totally untrue and a complete fabrication. Many of the prisoners frankly told me they were Communists and would refuse stubbornly to issue any assurance they would not conspire against the government in their efforts to overthrow the new regime.

I believe I am the only American ever permitted to visit Yaros. I insisted on visiting the prison island because I

wanted to see for myself if the charges of tortures were true.

A few weeks ago I spoke here about progress made in Greece by the caretaker government and I said at that time that the United States must continue to apply pressure for restoration of complete parliamentary government—selected freely by the Greek people. I said then that the Greek regime cannot postpone indefinitely return of complete constitutional rule to Greece. I shall continue to press for these reforms but I believe we do a disservice to the cause of freedom when we permit misleading articles about tortures in Greece to go unchallenged.

Mr. Speaker, I have the highest regard for Look magazine. It is one of the Nation's most respected publications. That is why I consider the Look article most unfortunate.

Look magazine could have performed a noble service by showing the progress that has been made in Greece during the past 2 years; by showing how Greece has been saved from a takeover by the Communists, and then join the rest of us in continuing to insist that the caretaker government's mission cannot be completed until parliamentary government is restored to Greece and her people have restored to them their historic right of self-determination.

Mr. Speaker, the pamphlet prepared by the Greek Government summarizing the two investigations conducted into charges of tortures and brutality follows:

[A publication of the Press and Information Department of the Ministry to the Prime Minister]

#### THE TRUTH ABOUT GREECE—THE TRUTH REGARDING THE DEPORTED COMMUNISTS AND THE ALLEGED TORTURES

(Reports of the International Red Cross Committee and a statement of the Inter-Party Committee of British M.P.s.)

(NOTE.—This statement has no other aim than to present Truth about Greece, as witnessed by authoritative, honest and objective investigators.)

(It deals with organized slander about horrible tortures allegedly inflicted by the Greek government on arrested communists.)

(The reply to this slander is not given by the Greek government, but the official reports of the International Red Cross and the statements of the British five-member, inter-party Parliamentary Committee.)

(The reader of this pamphlet may draw his own conclusions objectively.)

International communism launched on the morrow of the Revolution of April 21, 1967 an unprecedented vile attack about alleged torturing of political prisoners and their inhuman living conditions. These communist charges were comprised in a report of Amnesty International whose two representatives, Messrs. Anthony Mareko and James Becket, visited Greece from December 30, 1967 to January 26, 1968, following permission of the Greek government.

Messrs. Mareko and Becket came into contact, freely, only with detained communists or their families. Their report contained two kinds of charges: (a) Torturing of prisoners and, (b) their inhuman living conditions. Having adopted the communist views without any investigation of the charges, Amnesty International drafted a report stressing the following inter alia:

"Use of tortures has been made deliberately and officially. The places where the most serious ones were reported were Gen-

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Recently the establishment of INA MEND Institute was announced by Mr. Viscardi and Bradford Smith, Jr., chairman of Insurance Company of North America. The institute is a research and education center for studies in the field of rehabilitation and loss prevention. It will conduct research, seminars and vocational evaluation and will provide library services in the areas of rehabilitation accident prevention and the problems of the disabled worker.

The research of the INA MEND Institute at Human Resources Center can make a major contribution through its studies and can influence new developments in the rehabilitation of disabled persons.

In tribute to extraordinary courage and in gratitude for the abundant energies expended on behalf of others, AMVETS presents its Rehabilitation Award to Henry Viscardi, Jr.

## UNIVERSITY-INDUSTRIAL-PEACE COMPLEX

(Mr. DORN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I repeat here excerpts of my remarks last night to a student assembly at Virginia Tech University, Blacksburg, Va.

The moon orbit tonight of Apollo 10 is a result of the university-industrial-peace complex—a complex of the American academic community, industry, and Government cooperating in the cause of peace and human progress. This complex is pledged to making America first in space. Should the United States lead in the exploration of space, it will be for peace and the security of free peoples of the world. This complex is devoted to the future of mankind, it is dedicated to tomorrow. They hold the key that unlocks the door to a billion secrets. They will add 7 million miles of space to the free world's new frontier. It is a frontier without horizons and without limitations.

Two hundred American universities and colleges are today engaged in research for our space program. Thousands of men and women with Ph. D.'s are working on this project. Four hundred thousand skilled technicians are employed. From knowledge gained in space research have come computers, inflammable materials, electronics, and batteries which open up an entirely new era in the progress of mankind.

To remain first in space for peace will challenge the imagination, creative ability, and positive thinking of the university community as never before. A successful effort to eliminate poverty and disease will largely depend upon our success in space. The American people will not permit this fantastic achievement of the university industrial complex to be destroyed by a few who seek anarchy and chaos.

Those who resort to force and violence are inviting the military onto the campus. This is their objective. They want airborne troops, the National Guard, and law enforcement to occupy and patrol the campus. This militant minority, dedicated to anarchy, is seeking to destroy higher education. They seek to prevent the majority from a higher education in a highly competitive age. They know a resort to force will invite a counterforce. They are trained for this sinister job.

This is the greatest stumbling block in America today, to peace, understanding, and brotherhood. The American people are anxiously hoping that this crisis can be solved by administrators and responsible student leaders. The Congress, and States legislative assemblies throughout the Nation, much prefer to see the academic community led by administrators, students, and academicians, trained and devoted and dedicated to higher education. But I must warn that the Congress and State assemblies, as a last resort, will not permit those who resort to force to destroy the academic community and jeopardize national security and that of the free nations of the world.

Every young American is entitled to a fair chance at education. That education cannot be maintained with book-burnings, rifles and clubs in the hands of those trained in the art of anarchy. As night follows the day, dictatorship will follow anarchy.

Our Bill of Rights should include an amendment guaranteeing not only freedom of the press and freedom of assembly, but the right to an education free of unlawful, illegal, and violent interference.

## REMARKS OF POPE PAUL VI ON APOLLO 10 SPACE FLIGHT

(Mr. MILLER of California asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, in this morning's Washington Post there appeared a very short story on the remarks of Pope Paul VI, yesterday on the Apollo 10 space flight. His words are worth repeating here in this Record because they underscore the unlimited opportunity Apollo 10 has given to people of this country and to the free world to demonstrate the soaring spirit, courage, and intuitive sense of destiny of mankind. This could be, in our times of cynicism toward almost every moral value, the most important benefit of the future that we can derive from the national space program. His Holiness' remarks are as follows:

POPE MARVELS AT APOLLO FEAT BY MERE MAN  
VATICAN CITY, May 21—Pope Paul VI praised the Apollo 10 space flight today and expressed his wonder how man, "so limited and vulnerable," could accomplish such feats.

The Pope, who spoke to thousands during his weekly general audience at St. Peter's Basilica, said: "More than the moon's face, man's face shines before us. No other being whom we know, no other animal, even stronger and most perfect in its vital instincts, can be compared with the prodigious being which we, men, are. There is something in man that surpasses man . . ."

## RICHARD L. MAHER REPORTS ON VISITS TO FOUR SOUTH AMERICAN COUNTRIES

(Mr. FEIGHAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, Richard L. Maher, political editor of the Cleve-

land Press, is considered the most astute political analyst in the State of Ohio.

Mr. Maher recently completed a 2-week visit to four countries in South America; namely, Ecuador, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil.

Mr. Maher has written four articles which appeared in the Cleveland Press, and under unanimous consent I am including the first article in my remarks. Later I will insert the other three articles. I commend most highly the reading of these articles by my colleagues and members of the Department of State.

[From the Cleveland Press, Apr. 7, 1969]

## UNITED STATES SEEN "LOSING" SOUTH AMERICA

(By Richard L. Maher)

The United States is losing South America. The American image is at its lowest point of recent years in our neighboring countries to the south. American prestige and influence, heightened under the late President John F. Kennedy, sank to a deep low under President Johnson.

President Nixon faces an immediate and difficult job in re-establishing friendly relations with South American republics.

The United States is in trouble in Peru, Argentina, Venezuela and other Latin American nations.

That trouble is on a high diplomatic level. Despite billions of dollars in aid, despite the efforts of the Alliance for Progress, we have made few friends.

We have paid far less attention to South America than to Europe, given much less aid. But the result has been the same: You don't buy friendship with money, with hand-outs.

That antipathy to the United States exists only at the top level; not among the people, the average citizen. Generally speaking, the people in the streets, the shopkeepers, are friendly. They like the United States. They also like the American dollars that tourists spend.

A Kennedy half-dollar still is pretty good for smoothing the way. In most countries south of the border, Kennedy is well remembered, fondly revered. Streets have been named for him. Stamps have been issued in his honor.

These observations are the results of a two-week visit to South America during which I visited four countries—Ecuador, Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil. (A year ago I visited Mexico and earlier had been in Colombia and in Panama just before the 1964 trouble.)

If one can put a finger on the cause of declining U.S. influence in South America, it would be touch the State Department and, particularly, our embassies in the individual countries.

I found a certain aloof, chilly attitude in most of them. I gathered there is little respect for American diplomats—among South Americans or among American visitors.

I found a sort of "don't bother us and we won't bother you" attitude surrounding our diplomatic people. Only in Mexico City and in Ecuador did I find what I consider an understanding atmosphere.

I went to South America with a group that included 165 Northern Ohio residents and numbering some of this city's most prominent physicians. Among them was Dr. John Grady, president of the Academy of Medicine; Dr. Gary Bassett, health commissioner of Lakewood; and Dr. John J. McCarthy, one of the best known West Side physicians and an inventor as well as a doctor.

In each country (excepting Uruguay), the doctors in the group held meetings with the nation's medical men, exchanging ideas, listening to papers on medical problems, then visiting local hospitals.

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eral Security on Bouboulinas street, Military Hospital 401 and the Camp at Dionysos. The usual initial torture is the so-called 'phalanga'. The prisoner is tied to a bench and the soles of his feet are beaten with a stick or pipe. Numerous incidents of sexually-oriented torture were reported. Very often cases of gagging were reported, as well as beating on the head with sandbags and beating the naked flesh with a whip.

"Pulling-out nails and use of electric shock.

"The prisoners were hung for long periods. Rubbing sensitive parts of the body, with pepper. Jumping 'on the stomach'."

In the face of these unprecedented and unfounded slanders of international communism and the fellow-travelers as well as of Amnesty International, the Greek government has accepted that successive missions of distinguished International Red Cross representatives visit Greece and ascertain whether the charges were founded or not. In fact, from May 1967 to March 1968 four visits of representatives of the International Committee of Red Cross were made. These representatives proceeded to a long and free investigation of the alleged torturing and living conditions of political prisoners at Yaros, Leros, the prisons, as well as the different hospitals where they were treated.

In parallel, on April 15, a British five-member inter-party committee composed of Messrs. Gordon Bagler (Labour Party), Russell Johnston (Liberal Party), Anthony Beck and David Webster (Conservative Party) and Ted Garret (Labour Party) visited Greece in order to ascertain the living conditions of political prisoners. On the other hand another objective investigator, Mr. Francis Noël Baker, Labour M.P., has not hesitated to stigmatise in the British Parliament the lying and slandering campaign against the Greek government as regards the question of political prisoners.

## SMASHING REPLY

The reply to the vile falsehoods of Amnesty International which is influenced by communism, has been really smashing. The slander was of two kinds: (a) Tortures of satanic inspiration at the General Security in Bouboulinas street, at Military Hospital 401 and at Dionysos, and (b) inhuman living conditions of persons under administrative deportation.

## 1. Torturing

On the first score of the slanders, that is to say on torturing, there are three authoritative and serious investigators who reject the charges after a careful and completely free investigation. These are: (a) The Committee of the International Red Cross

(b) the report of the inter-party British Parliamentary Committee and

(c) the distinguished British politician of international prestige, the Labour M.P., Mr. Francis Noël Baker.

## THE REPORTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS

The reports of the International Committee of Red Cross, in substance, rejected the charges about torturing prisoners. They refused to take a stand, but they also denied the testimonies about alleged torturing in the building of the General Security. The International Red Cross Committee composed of distinguished personalities, in order to reach their conclusions, reported only narratives of political prisoners, all communists, in the prison of Aegina. Those displaced in the islands made no charges about tortures. The prisoners claimed that the greatest part of the alleged tortures were inflicted on them on the terrace of the central police building in Bouboulinas street. This view is rejected by the International Red Cross in its report which says verbatim: "The roof and the entire building correspond with the description of the prisoners who, however, do not mention that it is surrounded on three sides by inhabited buildings which are higher by two or three storeys". All the prisoners, how-

ever, according to the International Red Cross report, have assured that they have heard no cry coming from the roof and that they ignored that torturing was being inflicted. Also the fact that the slander about tortures and the myths about inquisition with the hair-raising descriptions of the famous Amnesty Committee are confined in some charges, made by some prisoners, to the torture of the "phalanga", even which is not proved, constitutes the most eloquent proof of truth.

The findings of the inter-party Committee of British MPs.

The report of British MPs on the subject of tortures is equally smashing for the slanders of Greece. On April 22, 1968 the five British MPs Messrs. Antony Beck and David Webster (Conservative Party), Ted Garret and Gordon Bagler (Labour Party) and Russell Johnston (Liberal Party) made an announcement to the Greek and foreign journalists at the Grande Bretagne Hotel, stressing: "The claims of the foreign press that tortures were inflicted on political prisoners at the police headquarters are ridiculous. No political detainees could be tortured in the police headquarters in Athens in full view of the people. Maybe there have been isolated cases but even here it is difficult to distinguish between facts and propaganda. At all events, we believe that no instructions from above have been given about brutality and torturing and we have assurances that any case of excessive zeal on the part of subaltern police members shall be punished severely." Similarly, two of the British MPs in question (Gordon Bagler and R. Johnston) in another interview with Greek and foreign journalists on April 26, 1968 stressed:

"No claim whatever about ill-treatment of prisoners on Leros has been made. Glezos is in excellent health and did not complain of brutality. It is true that one of the deportees, Mr. Abatiellos, had a scar on his foot but, we are not in a position to say categorically whether it was caused by ill-treatment. In no circle did we find anyone, even in the camp, who was ready to accuse the rulers of Greece of conducting any brutality or cruelty to deportees. Citizens accept the government positively and say that it is a good government. Part of the foreign press is not objective. We believe that presentation of things by the Western press has been biased in one direction."

Mr. Francis Noël Baker.

Finally, the slanderers of Greece have received a heavy blow from the Labour M.P., Mr. Francis Noël Baker, as regards the alleged tortures.

In the course of a debate on Greece in the House of Commons on April 11, 1968, Mr. Francis Noël Baker gave the assurance that a friend of his, a former EDA deputy, had confided to him that the treatment he had while he was detained was exemplary. He said that the laws on the strength of which individuals are detained in Greece, had been voted by previous governments. Those who applied the law were the same persons as before. Everybody hates tortures. But it is indispensable to check facts so that there should be no doubt. The last report of Amnesty International does not fulfill these prerequisites. It appears that Mr. Mareko has strong political views and so restricted contacts in Greece that it is impossible for him to make an objective appreciation of things. He does not speak Greek and does not know the country. Finally, Mr. Baker in a statement to the press on April 8, 1968, stressed that reports about torturing of political prisoners in Greece had been inflated to a superlative degree. Also, in another statement, when he returned from Greece, Mr. Baker said characteristically: "In view of the conclusions reached by a really responsible organization, like the International Red Cross, I consider that the charges about brutal actions on the part of Greek police officers are being magnified in advance."

## 2. Living conditions in camps, hospitals, prisons

On the second score of the slanders, that is to say on the alleged inhuman living conditions of deportees on the islands of Leros and Yaros as well as of political prisoners in hospitals, there are four reports from an equal number of visits made by representatives of the International Red Cross in Greece from May 1967 to March 1968. In all four reports and particularly in the third and fourth, the common finding is that political prisoners live under satisfactory conditions. In particular:

The first report refers to the findings of M. J. Collandon, who visited the islands of Yaros and Leros, the gendarmerie station of N. Heraklion and different hospitals in July 1967.

The second report refers to the findings of Messrs. de Chastonay and Chatillon, who, as representatives of the International Red Cross, visited the places where political prisoners were held, between October 16 and 31, 1967.

The third report refers to the findings of Mr. Charles Amman, Assistant director and Mr. Laurent Marti, representative of the International Committee of Red Cross, who visited the island of Yaros and several other places of detention in January and February 1968.

The fourth report, which is characterised as a general report on the visits of International Red Cross representatives, refers to the findings of all the missions of the International Committee of Red Cross.

An identity of findings in connection with the living conditions of the so-called political prisoners results, from the reports.

In particular, the following points are reported:

## YAROS—LEROS

## Sojourn

Third report—Tent camps have been abolished completely. Kerosine stoves have been installed in women's quarters.

Fourth report—The arrangements in the building suggested by the International Red Cross representatives at an earlier visit are already being made, a special credit having been approved for this purpose.

It is stressed in the report that the prisoners have numerous indoor and outdoor games. Bathing in the sea is allowed in the summer. A space of some 1500 square metres surrounded by barbed wire is at the disposal of prisoners at certain hours.

Latrines, shower baths, and wash basins are suitably arranged. Living conditions have improved since last summer.

## Nourishment

Fourth report—The daily portion of food corresponds to 2800–3000 calories with sufficient proteins and vitamins. The International Red Cross Committee reports that none of the prisoners seemed undernourished. On the contrary, those suffering from diabetes were entitled to a special diet. An additional expenditure of 8 drachmas for those suffering from this disease is added to the usual 17 drachmas allotted daily per capita. Drinking water is no longer the object of complaints.

In addition, the report states that the prisoners may obtain cigarettes or various personal toilet articles at the canteen.

The money sent by their families amounts to drachmas 500 per month.

## Medical care-hygiene

Third report—The medical personnel is composed of four doctors, three nurses (male), one Samaritan of the Greek Red Cross and three military nurses. A dispensary of thirty beds has been arranged in an independent building. The installations include 1 kitchen, 1 room for small operations, 1 room for X-rays and 1 small laboratory.

The laundry functions smoothly, soap is not scarce, the beds are generally comfortable.



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Fourth report—Every evening, between 18 and 19.30 hours, a doctor visits the bedrooms. Monday, Wednesday and Friday are medical visit days. On Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday medical visits in the dormitories are made. In case a patient is in a serious condition the military doctor may order his transport to Athens. According to the International Red Cross doctors, the sick enjoy good care in most of the available installations.

Their nourishment and complexion are satisfactory in general. No patient seems seriously affected. The prisoners live in many large halls which have electric light and the sanitary installations have been considered as acceptable. The prisoners cook alone and, as in the other camps, receive an allowance of 17 drachmas per capita. Both medical equipment and medicines are sufficient. No epidemic has been marked among the prisoners at Yaros and Leros.

## Hospitals

Third report—Referring to the living conditions of prisoners in the various hospitals, the report makes the following remarks:

(a) Luminous and well aired spaces: Prisoners under treatment receive the same food as the other patients.

(b) The doctors make no distinction between ordinary patients and prisoners. The latter express but praise.

(c) Convalescents may take small walks.

(d) International Red Cross representatives gathered the best impressions from the hospitals of Syros, the General Hospital of Athens and "Sotiria" Sanatorium.

Fourth report—Sick prisoners are treated in the following hospitals of Athens: General Hospital, Aghios Pavlos Hospital (Averoff prison), "Sotiria" Sanatorium, Aghios Savvas Hospital.

On visiting the hospitals in question, the International Red Cross representatives have ascertained that residence, hygiene, food as well as medical care were satisfactory and did not differ from what is offered to non-prisoner patients. In particular, the member of the International Red Cross Committee, Dr. Jacques Chatillon, says: "The general condition of all prisoners is satisfactory. The patients admitted that medical care was excellent. Recreation the same as for other patients."

## Treatment

Third report—The camp commander did not complain about the attitude of prisoners. No disciplinary penalty has been imposed. The detention room has remained closed.

Fourth report—No complaint on the part of the authorities of the camp or of the prisoners has been formulated to the International Red Cross Committee. The report states that during their last visit on March 10, 1968, they talked in private and without witnesses with 95 prisoners, having devoted six minutes to each one of them on an average. The presence of an interpreter has been necessary. At all events it is stated that 13 prisoners speaking English or French have been heard on that day without witnesses.

## CONCLUSIONS

There has been slander on two scores: A) Inquisition-like tortures of political prisoners and B) Inhuman living conditions of deportees on Yaros-Leros.

The charges had two sources: 1) Communist and fellow-travelling whispering propaganda and 2) The report of [Amnesty International] attempting to confirm communist slander.

On the other hand, there have been a) responsible statements by representatives of the Greek government at various times denying the slanders with concrete data, b) The reports of the International Red Cross, c) the statements of the British inter-party Committee of MPs who visited the places of detention of deportees, and d) the statement

of the British Labour M.P., Mr. Francis Noël Baker, president of the British-Hellenic League.

The texts of the reports both of the British MPs and the International Red Cross Committee and particularly of the latter—owing to unquestionable prestige and well-known objectivity—refuted the slanders one by one and proved:

(1) That no tortures have been inflicted.

(2) That living conditions of deportees are satisfactory.

Of course, during the first weeks of the Revolution, living conditions on Yaros were in no way comfortable. No one has maintained the contrary. The Revolution had to face urgent problems at that time. At all events, from the reports of the International Red Cross Committee, the clear conclusion may be drawn that the living conditions of deportees have never been as described by communist propaganda.

As regards tortures, it has been ascertained by objective investigators, but also by those who made the charges themselves that, in substance, there have been no tortures in any of the places where it has been denounced that these had been inflicted. In addition, it has been proved that, instead of the revolting details mentioned in the report of Amnesty International, the tortures were confined by the allegedly tortured, only to the torment of "phalanga," which has been proved in no case. Moreover, by curious coincidence, the few who have denounced to the International Red Cross that they have been tortured were all active communists with a heavy criminal past.

## TRAGEDY AND VIOLENCE AT BERKELEY

(Mr. BROWN of California asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, fortunately the confrontations have begun to ease between demonstrators and authorities in Berkeley, Calif. Over the past week, this tragic episode has resulted in one death, injuring and gassing of many other persons. Martial law grips the city, and activities there and on the University of California campus are disrupted.

I am shocked that the predominant response by authorities in Berkeley—at both the State and local level—has been one of condoning extreme violence in attempting to halt demonstrations.

I do not condone the irresponsible acts undertaken by some demonstrators, but nevertheless I am appalled by the apparent lack of concern shown by authorities as evidenced by the means utilized to quell the turmoil.

As I understand the situation, I question any need to resort to firearms; yet, the initial move by authorities was to allow police to use shotguns to disperse the crowd. Indeed, police did more than just break up the gathering; one news story—which I shall place below in the Record—tells of police chasing one person and taking careful aim before firing.

Tuesday's indiscriminate tear-gassing of the university's central plaza by a National Guard helicopter commanded by the county sheriff also appears to be gross over-reaction as the gas later drifted over parts of the campus not involved in the disturbance and then into the city itself.

These type responses—shootings, gas-

sings—do not seem to be effective in preventing further trouble and further alienation. Instead, force was being met with force, and some demonstrators, egged on by a very small contingent, began to assume guerrilla tactics against the authorities, the campus, and the city. I can only foresee a bloody final battle in the streets if both sides continue ram-paging along these clashing paths.

Such a battle must be prevented, and progressive steps to strengthen the de-escalation undertaken at once. Only a relatively minor incident may trigger off mass killing and destruction, and the longer the situation festers and disintegrates, the more chances grow that such an incident might occur.

At present, actions initiated to cool the Berkeley violence are being done at the State and local level—and have not required Federal intervention.

But, I see no more than an uneasy truce at best, and I urge further sensible actions by both demonstrators and authorities. As one starter, I would recommend that Governor Reagan might temper the tone of his criticisms of demonstrators—as were reported in Wednesday's Los Angeles Times, and which I also insert below into the Record—and instead look for some effective way to ease the crisis. Up to now, Mr. Reagan appears more interested in reaping political hay by blaming only demonstrators for all the problems that have arisen this past week—a tactic not new for the Governor since it was his overtly slanted attacks on students and campus disorders which helped him get elected in 1966.

Again, I deplore the unjust and often silly moves by demonstrators who resort to equally authoritarian tactics against the city of Berkeley and the University of California. But these tactics are fanned on by statements such as those made this week by Governor Reagan. And while the extremists on both sides fight, those caught in the middle—Berkeley residents, the university community—suffer.

I am joining my colleague from the Berkeley area, Mr. COHELAN, in taking the following steps to help avert further disruption. I am asking the Attorney General to use his powers in title X of the 1964 Civil Rights Act to assist conciliation through the Community Relations Service, and I am requesting study of the Berkeley situation by the President's National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence.

Mr. Speaker, I include the following articles describing the Berkeley disorders in the Record at this point:

[From the New York Times, May 18, 1969]  
SHOTGUNS AND TEAR GAS DISPERSE RIOTERS  
NEAR THE BERKELEY CAMPUS

(By Lawrence E. Davies)

BERKELEY, CALIF., May 15.—Policemen with shotguns and National Guardsmen with tear gas opened fire on rioters along Telegraph Avenue near the University of California here this afternoon, incapacitating dozens of persons. The rioting began in protest against the university's taking over "People's Park," a tract of land owned by the institution but improved in recent weeks by hippies, yuppies, nonstudents and others as a playground and gathering place. The seriousness of most of

"Left unchecked, the trend toward the combining of banking and business could lead to the formation of a relatively small number of power centers dominating the American economy. This must not be permitted to happen; it would be bad for banking, bad for business, and bad for borrowers and consumers."

William McChesney Martin, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board has expressed similar concern. He is of the view that the rapid increase in one-bank holding companies, if unchecked "could affect the whole economic system of the United States."<sup>1</sup>

Secretary of the Treasury Kennedy also sees pervasive changes. Unless the merging of banking and commerce are stopped, he says:

"Our economy could shift from one where commercial and financial power is now separated and dispersed into a structure dominated by huge centers of economic and financial power. Each would consist of a corporate conglomerate controlling a large bank, or a multi-billion dollar bank controlling a large nonfinancial conglomerate."

There is another side to this story. Spokesmen for the banking industry point out that the move to one-bank holding companies is in response to a squeeze play against banks by well organized commercial and financial groups. Henry Harfield, an eminent authority on banking law and a partner in the law firm of Shearman and Sterling, told the Bank Counsel Seminar on April 26, 1968:<sup>2</sup>

"The banking industry is in a squeeze today. The pressure is applied at many points and in many ways . . .

"The right of a national bank to sell insurance has been judicially denied in a Federal court in Georgia. The right of a national bank to provide travel services is under judicial attack in a Federal court in Massachusetts. The ability of national banks to underwrite revenue bonds has been judicially denied by a Federal court in the District of Columbia. The right of a national bank to perform fiduciary services for its customers through a commingled investment account has been challenged, so far successfully, in the Federal court in the District of Columbia. The right of national banks to perform computer services for their customers is under attack in Federal courts in Minnesota and in Rhode Island. This is the squeeze on the business of banking.

"The common denominator is the effort of organized commercial and financial groups to protect their profitable areas by compressing the permissible area of banking."

These statements make it clear that the Government officials with banking responsibilities have a wide area of agreement that prompt action is needed to regulate and control this threat. This change in industry condition has been so swift and so basic that it will not permit much delay in corrective legislation. As usual, in anything that directly affects both political and financial interests, there is wide divergence in viewpoint on the appropriate method to protect the public interest.

These differences, particularly differences about selection of the regulatory body to be responsible for supervision of bank holding companies, and differences about the extent and type of new nonbank financial services to be permitted bank holding companies, are fundamental. The decisions that must soon be made on these questions will shape the course of the banking industry, industrial growth, and Government effectiveness for years to come. The magnitude of the changes now underway is a measure of the importance of these differences.

<sup>1</sup> Statement, April 18, 1969, House Banking and Currency Committee, Hearings on H.R. 6778.

<sup>2</sup> *Why Banks Leave Home*, Bank Stock Quarterly, Sept. 1968.

This Country has had its full share of bitter experience with abuses that flow from efforts by bankers to pursue business ventures that are not closely related to banking. No man can serve two masters. Bank regulation since the Civil War basically has been an attempt to keep bankers and banking (the suppliers of money) separate from commerce and industry (the users of money).

We have had the Pujo investigation in 1913. We have had the Pecora investigation in 1934. These investigations produced mountains of evidence on the evils, both business and political, that flow when bank managers dilute their interests and become oriented toward different objectives in other businesses. As a people, we know from experience that when banking institutions are permitted to take on nonfinancial interests some bankers become infected with a speculative fever and undertake practices and transactions that have the direct consequences for the public.

It is no matter that the great majority of banks and bankers throughout these periods have comported themselves with honor and with dignity in dealing with nonfinancing interests. Nearly all regulatory laws, in any field, is forced not by the conduct of the majority but from the misbehavior of the few.

The record of corporate holding companies in the United States is full of examples of unlawful securities manipulation, corruption of public officials and abuse of economic power. For years after the 1920's the term "holding company" was synonymous with scandal. We have but to recall the excesses in utilities empire building and the securities manipulation of some investment bankers to recognize the necessity to keep financial management interests separate from industrial management interests.

The record shows there is a constant threat that the management of the holding company may become more interested in securing additional funds for expansion than in the efficient operation of his subsidiaries. The lure of short term savings in current stock prices all too often lead to operations that injure or destroy long run profitability.

It is to the credit of the Federal Reserve Board that the holding companies it regulates under the Bank Holding Company Act have not been permitted to engage in these misleading practices. There has been no pyramiding or watering of stock to weaken financial stability. For this reason it is argued that the Federal Reserve Board's surveillance should be extended to the one-bank holding company, and that its record is good. On the other hand, as is provided in the Administration amendment to the Bank Holding Company Act, regulation lies with a troika, namely the Federal Reserve Board, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation and the Comptroller of the Currency. All regulatory orders must be with the unanimous consent of all three agencies. That means any agency would have the right of veto. Personally I believe if all three agencies are to be involved unanimity of all three is impracticable.

The Nixon Administration has recommended amendments that would permit all bank holding companies—not just one-bank holding companies—to undertake activities that would not meet the test of being "closely related to the business of banking."

At the present time, the Bank Holding Company Act permits registered bank holding companies to acquire "shares of any company, all the activities of which are financial, fiduciary, or insurance nature and which the [Federal Reserve] Board . . . has determined to be so closely related to the business of banking . . . as to be proper incident thereto . . ."

The Administration would amend Section 4(c) 8 to permit registered bank holding com-

panies—both one-bank and multi-bank—to acquire shares in any company engaged exclusively in activities which have been determined by unanimous agreement of the Comptroller of the Currency, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and the Board "(1) to be financial or related to finance in nature of a fiduciary or insurance nature, and (2) to be in the public interest when offered by a bank holding company or its subsidiaries."

This language is somewhat vague and should be clarified by amendment or the report on the bill by the Committee or the legislative history of the bill as revealed in debate must make crystal clear the Congressional intent of the words used. This is certain, purely business operations must be excluded.

What is needed, if the test "closely related to the business of banking" is not used, is for Congress to define with a fair degree of precision the list of nonbanking activities that affiliates of holding companies will not be permitted to undertake. Congress cannot take the chance that banks will be permitted to expand into all manner of services that are not directly related to the banking business.

If an amendment is needed for permissible areas of holding company activity, Congress should define a list of permissible nonbanking businesses. Congress should not assign this task to the limbo of a regulatory committee. We have had all too much experience with symbiosis between the regulators and the regulated.

Both of the bills now being considered by the Banking and Currency Committee contain a number of additional changes in bank holding company regulation. Although such questions as the "grandfather clause," additional prohibitions against interlocking directorates, application of a "size" test in acquisitions, to mention only a few, are important, they are overshadowed by the pressing need to close the one-bank loophole itself, and to provide a way to delimit permissible nonbanking activities of holding companies. The hearings and report of the Banking and Currency Committee will furnish a much more substantial basis for final decision on these ancillary matters.

## CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

### HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 21, 1969

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, an outstanding and pertinent analysis of the developing crisis in the Middle East has been made by Congressman HAMILTON FISH, Jr. I believe that Congressman FISH's observations are of such merit that they should be studied by all Members of the Congress. Accordingly, I am inserting them in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

In view of the dangerous situation in the Middle East, I feel we would be well advised to heed the timely and important questions raised by Congressman FISH. These questions reflect both wisdom and propriety with respect to the development of American policy.

We have every right to be concerned about the unwillingness of the Arabs to make a real peace with Israel, the Arab resolution of the pattern of violence and the pressures exerted on behalf of the Arabs by the Soviet Union and the other Communist states. I commend Congress-

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banking industry and the role of Federal banking regulation.

Banking in the United States has developed differently from other industrial countries. The concept of "unit banking" has been our keystone. Locally oriented, independent, banks have been relied upon to provide facilities and services to people of particular areas. Other industrial countries, Great Britain, Germany, and France, for example, have centralized banking systems that reduce to a minimum local and regional influences.

The unit banking system has played a key role in our economic development. It assures the fullest application of competitive forces. It provides opportunity to realize local community objectives, and in so doing provides stability to the political base.

Because of its unique relationship to nearly all other business activity, and because it is an essential part of the Nation's fiscal and monetary system, the banking business long has had special attention from the Federal Government. Special laws and regulations over banking have existed almost from the beginning of the Country.

During this century, Government regulation has been preoccupied with the effort to find methods to arrest or control the steady increase in bank concentration. With very few exceptions, since the Depression, when 4,000 banks suspended operations in 1934, the number of banks in the United States has steadily declined. This loss of independent banks, from 15,940 in December 1935 to 13,693 in March 1969, in large part has resulted from mergers and consolidations. The House Antitrust Subcommittee in 1955 reported that bank mergers had resulted in a net loss of 850 banks in the period 1950 to 1955. The 1965 report on "Interlocks in Corporate Management," notes that in the period 1950-1959, 1,503 banks were absorbed by merger, against 887 new bank charters.

Not only has the number of banks decreased, at the same time the volume of business has increased, and in most of the metropolitan areas a few large banks have most of the added business. In 1952, the 14,046 commercial banks in the United States had deposits of \$172.9 billion and loans of \$64.1 billion. By March 1969, the number of commercial banks had declined 473 (to 13,673), while deposits had increased 82 percent (to \$402.4 billion), and loans had more than tripled (to \$264.4 billion).

Now, in the United States, the typical metropolitan area is one in which assets are heavily concentrated in a few large banks, with a small remaining share diffused among a substantial number of small units. A 1962 study shows that the 4 largest banks had more than 90 percent of the assets in 5 of our principal financial cities (Providence, Pittsburgh, Boston, Atlanta and Richmond), and in 6 other centers the 4 largest banks had more than 80 percent (Minneapolis, Cleveland, Detroit, Dallas, Baltimore and Washington).

The persistent and powerful trend toward increased concentration has overshadowed Government regulation of banking throughout the post World War II period. Government antitrust officers and bank supervisory officials alike sought legislation to stem or to direct the bank merger tide. After the enactment of the Celler-Kefauver Act in 1950, I proposed an amendment to the antitrust laws that would reach bank mergers that were accomplished through asset acquisitions. In 1960, this effort was suspended when enactment of the Bank Merger Act required the banking agencies to take into consideration antitrust standards when they passed on bank mergers.

Additional legislative controls over bank concentration were obtained in 1956 on enactment of the comprehensive regulations in the Bank Holding Company Act. That Act vested power in the Federal Reserve Board

to control the growth of bank holding companies and to restrict their activities to those that were closely related to banking so that the abuses and the anticompetitive results of concentrated economic power could be avoided.

During the 1950's and early 1960's, the Government's attitude about bank mergers and banking concentration was one of concern. In 1968, startling changes occurred that changed this attitude to one of alarm. The rapidity and extent of these changes threaten to overwhelm the customary process of continuing adjustment and accommodation between industry's private motivations and the Government's public responsibilities.

Statistics on the one-bank loophole in the Bank Holding Company Act illustrate the problem. In 1956, Congress exempted from regulation a holding company that controlled only one bank. At that time, there were 117 one-bank holding companies which controlled deposits of \$11.8 billions.

The one-bank exemption was granted to protect and foster local ownership of small unit banks in communities that otherwise might not be able to support a bank. Some were old operations where a commercial enterprise acquired or opened and operated a bank. Coca Cola Co., for example, acquired Atlanta Trust. The overwhelming majority of one-bank holding companies owned small banks, however, which were combined with even smaller interests in nonbanking activities. Although the one-bank exemption was a minor exception to a general rule, throughout this period, for uniformity and equality of treatment the Federal Reserve Board sought to close this loophole. All one-bank holding companies would have been required to register and would be limited to fields closely related to banking.

For a decade the one-bank loophole did not create much concern. With about 40 new one-bank holding companies formed each year, in most cases by small banks, by 1965, there were 550 with deposits of \$15.1 billion. Even as late as September 1969, 85 percent of the existing one-bank holding companies had deposits of less than \$30 million each.

In 1965, the Boston Safe Deposit and Trust Company pioneered the use of the one-bank holding company exemption to diversify into nonbanking fields. From one subsidiary in 1965 it has grown to 15. Together they furnish a wide variety of financial services—from the management of pension funds to consultation on oil ventures.

In the Fall of 1967, Union Bank of Los Angeles organized as a one-bank holding company, Union Bancorp., to acquire a mortgage brokerage concern. It has since moved into insurance brokerage, and through subsidiaries has become a property and casualty insurer.

Union Bancorp.'s move started the stampede to financial congeners. Some banks have turned to the loophole to go into nonbanking business. By December 1968, 34 of the largest commercial banks, with deposits over \$100 billion had announced expansions into fields oft times unrelated to banking.

The assets of one-bank holding companies that have been formed or proposed now exceed those of the banks covered by the Act. In June 1968, there were 106 registered bank holding companies under the Act, and they had deposits of \$48.9 billion. On September 1, 1968, there were 684 unregistered one-bank holding companies, and they had total deposits of \$17.8 billion. By December 31, 1968, the one-bank holding companies exempted by the loophole had grown to 783 existing or announced companies, and their deposits amounted to \$108.2 billion. In summary, the one-bank loophole exempts 7 times the number of banks subject to holding company regulation, and these exempt banks control more than double the deposits of the holding companies that are subject to Fed-

eral Reserve Board regulation. Nearly one-third of the deposits of the Nation's banking system are in institutions that are free to diversify into nonbanking activities that are beyond the scope of banking supervision.

The nonbanking business of one-bank holding companies is substantial and extensive. In September 1968, one-bank holding companies engaged in as many as 99 different types of nonfinancial businesses. These activities ranged from farming to electronics manufacture, from radio and television broadcasting to motion picture production. They include transportation services, retail sales and real estate builders.

This sudden surge in the rate of concentration in 1968 is not limited to the explosion in bank holding companies. Although in the last half of 1968, 34 of the 100 largest commercial banks became occupied with one-bank holding company organization problems, the normal type of bank mergers continued at a high level. There were 87 bank mergers in 1968, 84 in 1967, 75 in 1966, and 76 in 1965.

In the industrial sector of the economy, a similar acceleration occurred. In 1967, there were 169 acquisitions of companies with assets of \$10 million or more, with total assets of \$8.2 billion. This was more than double the \$4.1 billion of acquired assets in such acquisitions in 1966. The rate quickened to \$12.6 billion acquired assets in 1968, and the Federal Trade Commission reports first quarter 1969 figures indicate an annual rate of \$18 billion for 1969.

In 1968 there were 4,462 merger announcements, and this was a 50 percent increase from the 2,975 announcements in 1967. There were 2,442 manufacturing and mining mergers consummated in 1968, which was 1½ times the 1967 level and 3 times the 1960 level. According to the Federal Trade Commission, 82 percent of the mergers in 1968 fell into their conglomerate categories.

What is the cause of this dramatic surge into higher concentration in 1967-1968? Why should some bankers feel the need to expand into nonbank businesses? What has occurred that focuses so much effort on acquisitions in a multitude of seemingly unrelated markets?

The answers are not clear. The House Antitrust Subcommittee now is collecting information in an effort to evaluate the industrial conglomerate merger movement. More will be known when this information is analyzed.

One thing does seem to be present. There has been a revolution in business fact-handling techniques. The computer and automatic data processing permits retrieval and application of mountains of facts. This has brought new dimensions to business management. Ready access to facts and the ability to retrieve and to use vast areas of experience heretofore unavailable because of lack of time has expanded our ability to control the business environment. In financial areas, these new tools have facilitated the drive into broader fields than those traditional for banking.

Whatever the cause, the results are clear. Government officials on all sides are concerned that these changes threaten the basic structure of the American industrial system. The one-bank loophole could be a vehicle to link together major financial and industrial interests in an alliance beyond the power of effective regulation. On all sides there is a conviction that something must be done quickly. The House Banking and Currency Committee held hearings on this problem as early as September 1968, and on February 11, 1969 published a detailed staff report on the "Growth of Unregistered Bank Holding Companies." Representative Patman introduced his bill to close the one-bank loophole on February 17, 1969.

President Nixon on March 24, 1969, requested legislation to deal with one-bank holding companies. He stated:



man Fish's remarks to the attention of my colleagues:

#### CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

It is a pleasure to be here tonight and to be able to report to you that many members of the Congress share with me the conviction that the fate of the State of Israel is directly related to the security interests of NATO, the United States, and the Free World.

As indicative of this position, I was joined by 63 other members of the Congress in a Sense of Congress Resolution early in January, opposing the one-sided condemnation of Israel by the United Nations, and which opened with the statement, "The United States must continue the pursuit of an honorable Arab-Israeli peace in her highest national interest."

More recently, to commemorate the 21st birthday of the State of Israel, I joined with more than half the members of the Congress in signing a Declaration for a Middle East Peace, in which we reaffirmed our conviction that peace can only come through direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab belligerents.

Tonight, I believe, we would all be well advised to observe the unfolding of what I consider ominous developments in the Middle East. Some of these actions I will touch on are old, with only a change in intensity. Some of them are new. Added together, I believe, they spell a building to crisis in that troubled area, that soon will be, if it is not already, beyond any control.

I believe we are all aware of the unrelenting pressures being exerted upon the mid-East and Mediterranean by the Soviet Union. Russian ships crowd the Mediterranean. Russian arms flow to the Arab states—and to the terrorist and guerilla bands that have become a power unto themselves. Russian advisors and technicians are in Egypt, with the numbers reported as high as six to eight thousand. It is also reliably reported that Soviet Army artillery officers are supervising the massive Egyptian artillery batteries that threaten to erupt into another full-scale war.

Arab Terrorist movements have harassed the State of Israel, sowing fear and discord in the Middle East for a generation. Today, supported by Soviet arms, and fed by nationalist hate, they have grown in power until they threaten even the pro-western government of Lebanon. King Hussein has been forced to appease these extremists within his Kingdom to a degree that the Jordanian Government seems no longer its own master.

And although all this is troubling enough, new dangers loom in that deteriorating arena. A delegation of military officers have reportedly left Syria—the most radical of the Arab states—and gone to Communist China. It is reliably reported that Peking has promised to send ground-to-ground missiles and Chinese technical advisors to Syria to escalate the present so-called "War of National Liberation". With such armament, Tel Aviv and Jerusalem could easily become the Saigon and Hue (Way) of the Middle East.

Against this background, it is well to know that President Nixon has pledged that Israel's vital interests will be preserved—that the present Big Four talks will not lead to a sell-out of Israel.

Our Administration policy is that withdrawal of Israeli occupied Arab lands must occur only with the mutual consent of the parties directly involved, based upon a face-to-face settlement involving recognized, definable and just boundaries. These are the peace aims of the United States.

Knowing the unrelenting hostility toward Israel by the Arab nations—recognizing that unchecked terrorist harassment is based in Arab nations—proud of our country's stated position on peace aims in that area—I must admit that I am somewhat puzzled by certain policies of our government, initiated during the last Administration, and which linger on today.

I refer to the continued shipment of U.S. arms to Jordan and the training of Jordanian forces in the United States. A squadron of F-104 jets is to be delivered to Jordan in the very near future, with another squadron to be shipped soon thereafter. Artillery, radar, and other arms are also being shipped.

Yet, at the same time, we are training Israeli military personnel—especially pilots—in this country. These pilots are being trained to fly the 50 phantom jets scheduled for delivery before the end of this year.

As I stated on the Floor of the Congress on March 26, I strongly question the wisdom of arming and training both sides. I question the wisdom of adding our armament to the side already being heavily stocked by the Soviet Union and the Communist Chinese. It seems to me such actions run directly counter to our announced policy in the Middle East. To add to the aggressive capacity of the Arab nations while proclaiming that we will not attempt to purchase a Soviet accord at the expense of Israel—is to state the case charitably a contradictory policy.

It would seem only wise that any military assistance offered Jordan be conditioned on strict observance by that state of the cease-fire agreement. If that had been done, Jordan's conduct during the past months is such that all contracts would have been suspended.

The Joint Congressional Declaration, which specified that the United States should not impose upon Israel a premature withdrawal from the cease-fire line, coupled with the Administration's position, clearly argues against a dual armament policy.

I can appreciate at least part of the problem. Mail in my office is heavy with letters opposing our Vietnam involvement. But the tragic situation in Vietnam must not so preoccupy us, or so weaken our spirit, that we lose sight of the historic and strategic importance of the Middle East. It is unfortunate—but understandable to a student of history—that the Middle East is developing into the prime point of confrontation between the Free and the Communist world. It is a fact. Our resolve must not be weakened.

Miscalculation of U.S. interest by Russia, or China, or the fanatical forces they are exploiting in the Arab nations today, must be prevented. I believe the United States should make it unmistakably clear to the world that we hold Israel's Arab neighbors responsible for terrorist activity operating from their countries. We should remind the world that retaliation for continued harassment against one's homeland is no sin, firmly rejecting one-sided condemnations. We should underscore the justice on our side by continuing our assistance to Israel.

The United States is heavily charged to make it unmistakably clear that we seek a settlement of the tensions in that area through direct negotiations between the combatants. Genuine peace in the Middle East is a major goal of American policy.

Thank you.

#### WHAT EVERY EMPLOYER SHOULD KNOW ABOUT HANDICAPPED WORKERS

HON. DANIEL E. BUTTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 21, 1969

Mr. BUTTON. Mr. Speaker, earlier this month the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped held its annual meeting here in Washington. Through the auspices of the State of New York AFL-CIO, the winner of an

essay contest on "Ability Counts," sponsored by the Governor's committee on employment of the handicapped came to Washington to take part in that meeting.

I am pleased that the winner from New York is a resident of my congressional district. Judith Cohn, of Albany, N.Y., is a remarkable young lady for her insight into the problems of the handicapped.

It is an honor for me to share with my colleagues Miss Cohn's perspicacious essay:

#### WHAT EVERY EMPLOYER SHOULD KNOW ABOUT HANDICAPPED WORKERS

The majority of the roads to rehabilitation and employment of handicapped workers are blocked by barriers of apathy, caution and ignorance on the part of potential employers. We can help to prevent these barriers from forming by informing all employers of the many abilities of the handicapped populace.

What should every employer know about handicapped workers? The handicapped, as a majority, have been found to be dedicated employees with excellent records in attendance, productivity and job adjustment. Miss Walsh, who is in charge of Recruiting and Placement in the Veterans Administration Hospital in Albany, offered this interesting statement, "Impaired workers are not handicapped when employed in the right jobs in your business."

Upon speaking with Miss Murray, the Associate for Staff Development of the State Division of Vocational Rehabilitation Administration in Albany, I gained knowledge on this topic by her interesting replies to my interview. She informed me that, "It is good business to hire the handicapped because they are reliable, able, and productive workers who are ready and willing to do the job correctly. They have the same wide range of skills, abilities, and interests as other people."

Records also show that impaired workers have fewer disabling injuries than unimpaired ones when exposed to the same work hazards. Placement of the handicapped in your business is much more than a humane gesture, it is a sound business investment today and a step toward tomorrow's profit and production.

Through my interviews I've learned that there is much misinformation concerning casualty insurance programs and the handicapped worker.

There is no provision in workman's compensation insurance policies or rates that penalizes an employer for hiring handicapped workers. Employers who have such ideas have simply been "hoodwinked" by "scuttlebutt" rumors that are easily circulated because of their sensationalism. When placed at the proper jobs, the handicapped have an accident experience that is as good as that of their able-bodied fellow workers—and is often superior. So then, the possibility for an increase in an employer's compensation insurance costs is nullified.

The Federal-State program which supports vocational rehabilitation of the mentally retarded has brought about many advances. Many agencies throughout the country have training programs for the retarded. They are given comprehensive job training in a simulated work atmosphere. Their "graduates" are far more carefully screened than the average applicant for employment. The retarded worker is usually stable and takes pride in his job. He does not become easily bored by repetition. "Jobs calling for simple skills, repeated acts, and established routines are often done better by the retarded." This opinion was voiced by Miss Walsh of the Veterans Administration Hospital in Albany.

Mr. Edmond McCann, manager of the Blind Association in Albany, helped to acquaint

me with many facts that every employer should know about blind workers. He said, "When a blind person has decided, with the help of his counselor, what sort of job he is fitted to do, and would like to do, the next step is the special education and training to enable him to do it. When the client is trained and ready to go to work, the counselor will aid him in finding a suitable job."

After my visit to the Blind Association, I decided to interview employees who had hired the handicapped and I was overwhelmed by their praise of these handicapped individuals. I interviewed a shop foreman about a blind operator of a screw machine, and he stated, "Since Frank has been with us, the morale of our group has hit a new high—and so has our production." I also interviewed a training manager of a large department store about a blind packer in the distributing department. The manager smiled after my question and said, "Her fellow employees have never regarded her as a burden. As a matter of fact, they are proud of her performance and independence."

Above all, I think what every employer should remember about handicapped workers is: "It's not the disability, but the ability, that counts."

### THE ROAD TO THE TOP IS THROUGH HIGHER EDUCATION—NOT BLACK STUDIES

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 21, 1969

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article:

THE ROAD TO THE TOP IS THROUGH HIGHER  
EDUCATION—NOT BLACK STUDIES

(By W. Arthur Lewis)

When a friend suggested that, since I had spent all my adult life in black-power movements and in universities, I might make some comments on the highly topical subject of black power in the American university, it did not at first seem to be a good idea. Now that I have come to grips with it I am even more conscious of my folly in tackling so difficult and controversial a subject.

I am also very conscious that my credentials are inadequate, since the black-power movements in the countries with which I am familiar differ fundamentally from black power in the United States. My stamping grounds are the West Indies, where I was born, and Africa, where I have worked, and which I shall be visiting for the 14th time next month. But in both those places blacks are the great majority of the people—97 per cent in Jamaica, 99 per cent in Nigeria. The objective of the political movements was therefore to capture the central legislature, and the executive and judicial powers. In the United States, in contrast, blacks are only 11 per cent of the population, and have neither claim to nor prospect of capturing the Congress, the executive branch, or the Supreme Court for themselves alone. The objectives have to be different, and the strategy must also be different. Comparison between the colonial situation and the position of blacks in America is bound to mislead if it is suggested as a basis for deciding political strategy.

The fact of the matter is that the struggle of the blacks in America is a unique experience, with no parallel in Africa. And since it is unique, the appropriate strategies are likely to be forged only by trial and error. We are all finding the process a great trial, and since our leaders are going off in all direc-

tions at once, a great deal of error is also inevitable. I myself, in venturing onto this ground, claim the protection of the First Amendment, but do not aspire to wear the cloak of Papal infallibility.

The goals and tactics of black power in America have to be adjusted to the reality of America. Take the issue of segregation. Everywhere in the black world, except among a small minority of American blacks, the fight against segregation has been in the foreground of black-power movements. This goes without saying in countries where blacks are the great majority; yet there are situations where a minority may strengthen itself by temporary self-segregation of a limited kind.

All American minorities have passed through a stage of temporary self-segregation, not just the Afro-Americans. Foreigners speak of the United States as a "melting pot" and it may one day be that; but for the present America is really not a melting pot but a welding shop. It is a country in which many different groups of people live and work together side by side, without coalescing. There are Poles, and Irish, and Chinese, and Jews, and Germans, and many other ethnic groups.

But their way of living together is set by the clock: there is integration between 7 o'clock in the morning and 5 o'clock at night, when all mingle and work together in the center of the city, in the banks and factories, department stores and universities. But after 5 o'clock each ethnic group returns to its own neighborhood. There it has its own separate social life. There Poles do not marry Italians, even though they are both white Catholics. The neighborhood has its own schools, its own little shops, its own doctors, and its own celebrations. Integration by day is accompanied by segregation by night.

It is important to note that this self-segregation is voluntary and not imposed by law. An Italian can buy a house in an Irish neighborhood if he wishes to do so, can marry an Irish girl, and can go to an Irish Catholic Church. Many people also insist that this voluntary segregation is only a temporary phase in the acculturation of ethnic groups. They live together until they have found their feet on the American way of life, after which they disperse. The immigrants from Germany and Scandinavia have for the most part already moved out of segregated neighborhoods. The Irish and the Jews are just in the process, and sooner or later the Poles, the Chinese and even the Afro-Americans may disperse. But in the meantime this voluntary self-segregation shelters those who are not yet ready to lose themselves completely in the American mainstream. Other people believe that there will always be cultural pluralism in America, and that this may even be a source of strength. Whether or not they are right about the long run, there is no disputing that voluntary social self-segregation is the current norm.

The black-power movement is therefore fully in the American tradition in recognizing that certain neighborhoods are essentially black neighborhoods, where the black politician, the black doctor, the black teacher, the black grocer and the black clergyman are going to be able to play roles which are not open to them, *de facto*, in other neighborhoods. Many Southern Negroes claim vigorously that blacks are better off in the South than in the North precisely because the Southern white philosophy has reserved a place for a black middle class in the black neighborhoods—for the black preacher or doctor or grocer.

Essentially, what black power is now saying in the North is that the North, too, should recognize that the middle-class occupations in the black neighborhoods belong to blacks, who are not permitted to hold such jobs in Italian, Polish, or other ethnic neighborhoods. The issue is phrased in terms of com-

munity power—that is to say, of giving to each neighborhood control over its own institutions—but this is tied inextricably to the distribution of middle-class jobs inside the neighborhood. It is unquestionably part of the American tradition that members of each ethnic group should be trained for the middle-class occupations in their neighborhoods, and that, given the training, they should have preference in employment in their own neighborhoods.

This kind of voluntary self-segregation has nothing in common with the compulsory segregation of other countries. An American neighborhood is not a ghetto. A ghetto is an area where members of an ethnic group are forced by law to live, and from which it is a criminal offense to emerge without the license of the oppressing power. This is what apartheid means in the Union of South Africa. An American neighborhood is not a place where members of an ethnic group are required by law to live; they may in the first instance have been forced to live there by circumstances, but it is soon transmuted, ideally, into a place where members of the group choose to live, and from which, ideally, anybody can emerge at any time that he wishes to do so. To confuse this neighborhood concept with apartheid is an egregious error.

The fundamental difference between apartheid and the American neighborhood comes out most clearly when one turns from what happens after 5 P.M. to what happens during the daytime. A neighborhood is a work place for less than half the community. The teachers, the doctors, the police, the grocers—these work where they live. But these people are supported by the labors of those who work in the factories and in other basic occupations outside the neighborhood. Some 50 to 60 per cent of the labor force moves out of the neighborhood every morning to work in the country's basic industries.

So a black strategy which concentrated exclusively on building up the black neighborhoods would be dealing with less than half the black man's economic problems. The neighborhood itself will not flourish unless the man who goes out of it in the morning brings back into it from the outside world an income adequate to support its institutions.

I wrote earlier that the American pattern is segregation in social life after 5 P.M. but integration in the economic life of the country during the day. American economic life is dominated by a few large corporations which do the greater part of the country's business; indeed, in manufacturing, half the assets of the entire country are owned by just 100 corporations. The world of these big corporations is an integrated world. There will be black grocery shops in black neighborhoods, but in your lifetime and mine there isn't going to be a black General Motors, a black Union Carbide, a black Penn-Central Railroad, or a black Standard Oil Company. These great corporations serve all ethnic groups and employ all ethnic groups. American economic life is inconceivable except on an integrated basis.

The majority of Afro-Americans work not in their neighborhoods but for one of the non-neighborhood corporations or employers, and so it shall be for as far ahead as we can see. The black problem is that while we are 11 per cent of the population, we have only 2 per cent of the jobs at the top, 4 per cent of the jobs in the middle, and are forced into 16 per cent of the jobs at the bottom—indeed into as much as 40 per cent of some of the jobs at the very bottom. Clearly, our minimum objective must be to capture 11 per cent of the jobs in the middle, and 11 per cent of the jobs at the top. Or, for those of us who have a pride in ourselves, it could even be an objective to have 15 per cent of the jobs at the top and in the middle, and only 8 per cent of those at the bottom, leav-

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port drafted by The President's Commission on Postal Organization, headed up by Frederick R. Kappel, retired chairman of the Board of directors of American Telephone & Telegraph.

The Kappel Commission, after a year-long study, warned darkly that a complete collapse in postal service could occur at any time in any part of the country. In fact, the Commission pointed out, such breakdowns already have occurred in Chicago and other cities.

"The United States Post Office," the Commission declared, "faces a crisis. Each year it slips further behind the rest of the economy in service, in efficiency and in meeting its responsibilities as an employer. Each year it operates at a huge financial loss. No one realizes the magnitude of this crisis more than the postal managers and employees who daily bear the staggering burden of moving the nation's mail. The remedy lies beyond their control."

The main reason that the Post Office has failed to do its job, the Commission said, is that under its present organization the nominal managers of the postal service—particularly the district directors and postmasters—just do not have the authority they need to do their job. Managers are bound by a hodgepodge of postal laws, some dating back 200 years. These laws go so far as to specify what material the Postmaster General may dispose of as waste paper ("unneeded files") and how a file clerk should maintain his files ("in an up-to-date condition").

The Post Office, the Commission pointed out, is operated as if it were an ordinary government agency, with Congress making most of its managerial decisions, including where new post offices will be built.

In what it does, however, the Post Office is a business: Its customers purchase its services, its employees work in a service-industry environment, and it is a means by which much of the nation's business is conducted.

If the Post Office is a business, then why not run it like one? To do this, the Post Office's present organizational structure would have to be altered. And that's just what the Commission recommended.

It proposed that the government set up and operate a Postal Corporation that would support itself completely from its revenues. Operating efficiencies and a "sound" rate structure would be expected, in time, to eliminate the postal deficit, which has been running at \$1 billion a year.

The Postal Corporation, not Congress, would establish postal rates (but subject to congressional veto) and wage levels, choose postmasters (on a non-partisan basis) and generally make its own management decisions.

Responsibility for managing the Postal Corporation would be vested with a board of directors. These directors "would be charged with providing the nation with a superb mail system, offering universal service at fair rates, paying fair wages to postal employees and giving full consideration to the public welfare."

In recommending the Postal Corporation, the Kappel Commission has come up with a pretty good idea . . . one that could end the spiral of increased postal charges without an increase in service.

A corporate structure just might give the Post Office the flexibility it needs to provide better mail service and to enable it to respond quickly to customer and employee needs.

Although the Kappel Commission report was a product of a Democratic Administration, we hope the present Administration will seriously consider its recommendations.

## PESSIMISTIC INSIGHTS OF AN EXILED GREEK LEADER

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 21, 1969

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, earlier this month Andreas Papandreou visited the United States and spent a few days in Washington. Papandreou, who now lives in exile, is a leader of the Greek Center Union Party and head of the Panhellenic Liberation Movement, an organization dedicated to overthrowing the military junta that has ruled Greece since the coup of April 1967.

While in Washington, Mr. Papandreou was a guest of Metromedia's "Evans-Novak Report" on WWTG-TV. Mr. Papandreou's answers to the questions of journalists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak produced many insightful comments about recent developments inside and outside Greece. Of particular interest, I thought, were his remarks concerning U.S. relations with the regime and his pessimistic projections of what the future might hold for the Greek people unless the present American policy is altered.

I include the transcript of the program in its entirety:

Mr. NOVAK. A month ago in Athens there was a celebration marking the second anniversary of the military coup of April 21, 1967. Two years after that event the Greek military dictatorship seems firmly entrenched in power, with no foreseeable return to parliamentary democracy. The attitude of the United States is ambivalent toward the Greek military regime. But, U.S. military aid to the Greek government as shown in these films has been resumed, an attitude sharply criticized by Greek exile leaders. Best known of these leaders is Andreas Papandreou, formerly a naturalized U.S. citizen and economics professor at the University of California, who several years ago returned to his native Greece and became one of its most tempestuous left-of-center politicians.

Mr. Papandreou, now fighting the military junta from exile in Europe, is here on a visit.

Mr. Papandreou, do you see any change in the U.S. government's attitude towards Greece with the change in Administration in Washington?

Mr. PAPANDREOU. There is a possibility of a change, since this Administration does not share in any of the responsibilities of the Johnson Administration. Secretary Rogers did make a statement in answering a question of Senator Pell which suggests that there is some kind of review. But how far this review will go or what the direction it may take will be, we do not know.

Mr. EVANS. Mr. Papandreou, a very imminent American citizen, the Vice President of the United States, Spiro Agnew, said last fall during the campaign that you were "totally identified with the Communist movement." Is this a fair statement?

Mr. PAPANDREOU. Well, not only is it not fair, it is entirely incorrect, and I would say beyond the exception that a Vice President of the United States could be so badly briefed.

Mr. EVANS. He was campaigning, he was not the Vice President. He was the nominee. But does this not indicate a certain lack of sympathy for the point of view that you, as

one of the leading exiles of the country of Greece?

Mr. PAPANDREOU. Well, it does. As a matter of fact, the cause that I represent is fundamentally one of freedom, human dignity, democracy. If this cause is not understood by a Vice Presidential nominee, then something is very seriously wrong.

Mr. EVANS. Let me ask you this, Mr. Papandreou. The Greek Embassy, here, with which you, of course, have no affiliation of any kind, today—it represents the junta in Athens—made a statement a few days ago saying that the coup by the junta, the take-over by the military regime "avoided a third communist round."

Is that statement accurate?

Mr. PAPANDREOU. No. This is part of a myth that by now is obviously shot to pieces, for the Communist party of Greece has no more than ten or eleven percent popular support, as the last elections in Greece proved. We represent the Center Party, which had 53 percent, and the balance of this is the right, with about 35 percent.

Now, the only way the Communists could have really won in Greece is through arms, but not a single arms cache was found by the Greek junta in two years of effort. So an unarmed, divided and small Communist Party posed a challenge to stability in Greece? And should democracy have died for this mythical challenge? When I remind you that in 1947-48 when the Truman Doctrine was proclaimed and a military mission went to Greece, the Communists really were a danger in Greece, then. They were practically outside Athens, and yet democracy functioned, parliament functioned, and the Americans supported that.

Mr. NOVAK. Mr. Papandreou, I think the point my partner was making was that if the Vice President of the United States, even as a campaigner was that antagonistic toward you, is it very realistic to expect an improvement in the attitude of his Administration toward your cause?

Mr. PAPANDREOU. Well, allow me to say that I do not believe that the policy of the United States depends on one man. There is Congress, there is the Administration, there is the President, there are the Secretaries.

As for Vice President Agnew, it is well known that he has associated intimately with Tom Pappas, Esso Pappas in Greece, a businessman who has been behind the junta all along, and who by his own statement to a Greek paper in 1968 admitted that he had been working for the CIA.

Mr. NOVAK. You say Tom Pappas has been working for the CIA?

Mr. PAPANDREOU. Tom Pappas has said, in an interview, a very well known interview, in 1968 in the month of July in Greece, that he is proud to have been working for the CIA.

Mr. NOVAK. Mr. Papandreou, in this visit to Washington, have you visited any officials of the Administration, in the White House, in the Pentagon, in the State Department?

Mr. PAPANDREOU. I am sorry to say I did not, but not because I did not wish to.

Mr. NOVAK. You attempted to?

Mr. PAPANDREOU. My representative in Washington did raise the question, and there was no favorable response. In sharp contrast, Congressional leaders did see me.

Mr. NOVAK. What was the reason given for refusing to see you?

Mr. PAPANDREOU. No reason was given.

Mr. EVANS. Mr. Papandreou, following up Mr. Novak on that, supposing President Nixon had invited you into the oval office for a little chat and asked you for your opinion on what the United States should do. What would your answer have been?

Mr. PAPANDREOU. It is a very good question.



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About a year ago I had the opportunity to meet with Senator Robert Kennedy. He asked me exactly that question, and I did give him an answer: To cut off military aid to Greece, because it is the one thing that holds the junta together. It has no popular support. It does not even command the loyalty of the Army, for Papadopoulos is no Greek Eisenhower. He is a desk man without a record. The only thing that holds it together is the notion that the Greek Army has—unfortunately a valid one—that the U.S. military and the Pentagon are willing to back it up as the instrument of security and stability in that part of the country. So my request would be very simple: Cut off aid.

Mr. EVANS. Mr. Papandreou, supposing Mr. Nixon agreed with you on that and cut off aid. What would the junta do to replace the vanished American military aid?

Mr. PAPANDREOU. The junta would not do anything. It would be deposed by the Greek Army, and the military aid would be resumed thereafter under a new, hopefully democratic government.

Mr. EVANS. Deposed by the Greek Army?

Mr. PAPANDREOU. By the Greek Army.

Mr. EVANS. I thought the junta, though, in effect, was a representative, or came out of the Army.

Mr. PAPANDREOU. It does come out of the Army, but it comes out of the Army and has today the loyalty of the Army for only one reason, that the Greek officers believe the junta to be the chosen instrument of NATO and the Pentagon. If for a moment they didn't think so, they would depose them. Papadopoulos has no more than 300 officers that are loyal to him. He has had to fight 2,000 senior officers in order to maintain stability within the Greek Army.

Mr. NOVAK. If that is so, Mr. Papandreou, why is it that the Army did not depose the junta in the first days, after the coup, when we had cut off aid to the Greek government?

Mr. PAPANDREOU. You never cut off aid to the Greek junta. You cut off—you reduced the heavy equipment stuff, but the pipeline, which is the fundamental thing for internal purposes, which means gasoline of a certain kind, spare parts, instruction, all of this went on.

To them it didn't matter if you cut off the tanks or the airplanes for purposes of internal occupation of the country.

Mr. NOVAK. Now the Greek government recently put out a statement saying it was "making essential preparations for a parliamentary democracy."

Do you think that the junta will ever transform itself into a parliamentary democracy with free elections?

Mr. PAPANDREOU. No, I think not. And not only do they not intend it now, but I believe even in the future, if they are not interfered with, either by the Greek people or from abroad in one fashion or another, that they intend to do so.

Of course, they have a constitution. They imposed the constitution last September, September '68, and it is a constitution which is as totalitarian as any that exists in the world today. It makes out of the Army a fourth constitutional force, quite independent of civilian control. So that, under no circumstances, can be called a democracy.

Mr. EVANS. Isn't there, however, Mr. Papandreou, a definite limit to the extent of American influence in a country such as yours? We certainly discovered there is a limit to our influence in Vietnam; and can't you understand perhaps the thinking of the Johnson and Nixon Administrations, they do not want to get involved to that degree in the internal affairs of Greece?

Mr. PAPANDREOU. You know, it is exactly the opposite. We are asking, in fact, the Pentagon and the CIA to stop intervening, for, in fact, this regime would never have taken place in Greece were it not for a green light that was received from appropriate quarters;

were it not for the fact that the NATO elaborated plan called Prometheus was used in the take-over of the country; were it not for the fact that the whole public atmosphere of the U.S. Embassy had been hostile to the Center Party when in government.

Mr. EVANS. Let me pose what you might regard as a kind of hobgoblin question. Suppose we did reduce or cut off all our aid? Is there any chance at all that the junta would approach Moscow and the Soviet Union?

Mr. PAPANDREOU. It is a good question, because it has been asked of me by many European politicians. And the answer is no, it is not; because the Greek Army has been selected over the years, the officers, from families who have had personal history in the civil war. That have lost a father, or a mother, or a brother in the civil war against the Communists. If there is an ideological commitment of this junta, or of the Greek Army, in fact, as a whole, it is anti-Communism, anti-Slavism and anti-Communism. It is inconceivable that the Greek officers would ever put up with a pro-Russian tendency on the part of the political leadership in Greece.

Mr. NOVAK. Mr. Papandreou, State Department officials have told me on a background basis that they feel that the junta has brought stability to Greece, and to prove their point, they say there has been no uprising, there have been no demonstrations. How do you explain that?

Mr. PAPANDREOU. Two points: Stability in totalitarian regimes is rather characteristic and standard. The more totalitarian the regime, the more stability it has. But there has been a very spectacular one which has not been noted adequately. On November 3rd, the funeral of my father took place, George Papandreou. On that occasion, by American reports, American accounts, better than 300,000 Athenians poured through the streets of Athens and demonstrated openly against the government, when the penalties for them could have been life sentence, or even life, itself. This was a very spectacular demonstration, a very spontaneous and explosive thing, which must have finished the myth, I think, forever, that the Greek people are with the junta or apathetic to the question of freedom and democracy.

Mr. NOVAK. Mr. Papandreou, as an exiled leader what are you doing? Are you trying to establish an insurrection, or have a sabotage, or to drum up support abroad, or just what?

Mr. PAPANDREOU. Since I am abroad, my activities are primarily oriented to the political activities abroad. And it is my daily work and nightly work to inform public opinion, to point out, especially to Western governments, including the United States, that democracy in Greece died as a result of the rising militarism of this period, the security orientation which cannot put up with dissent in democratic procedures, especially in small allies that have not a full voice in the Alliance.

I am trying to create, in other words, an understanding of the implications of the death of democracy in Greece for the West, hoping that I can move the West toward an isolation of the junta military and moral isolation of the junta, which would lead to a very early and decisive collapse of this regime, and would open the way to democratic life, again.

Mr. EVANS. In view of what you have already said, and in view of the Vice President's point of view and the fact that you haven't been able to see anybody in the Administration, the United States does not appear to be lending itself to that program.

Let's take Europe. You spoke of NATO. I understand that \$55 million worth of loans were cut off from European banks, European bank loans for Greece, under the Treaty of Association with the Common Market. Could you go from there to the Council of Europe

and get some kind of a blackball of the present regime in Greece?

Mr. PAPANDREOU. Yes. But allow me to make only one comment, that the American position is not monolithic. I was invited yesterday by Senator Kennedy to lunch in a bipartisan meeting. I saw Senator Fulbright. Today I met with Don Fraser in Congress. It is not a united view nor a monolithic one, and I am still hopeful. But with respect to Europe, which is your question, I would say yes, there is hope. There are a number of countries in Europe, in the European Council, and I mention them: Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Italy, Belgium, possibly Switzerland, possibly some other countries that are very active on this question of Greece.

Mr. EVANS. Now, just following that up, Mr. Papandreou, if that doesn't happen, however, is it possible that strains within Greece under the regime of the junta—for instance, the growth rate was down to 4½ percent in 1968, which was, I think 3½ percentage points under what was anticipated, is there any chance of an economic situation that could develop here that would make it difficult for the junta?

Mr. PAPANDREOU. I think so. Actually, I think it is below 4½. My information—and it is quite good—is that it is around 3 percent in 1968. And so it was approximately—in '67.

I believe that the combination of economic failure, which is now quite clear, and a resistance on the part of the Greek people, a rejection of it, of the regime, creates very clear problems for the junta.

The one thing we hope to avoid is an open confrontation which would cost a great deal to the Greek people and maybe to European stability.

Mr. EVANS. Do you mean a military confrontation?

Mr. PAPANDREOU. An armed confrontation, which is not inconceivable, utterly, in the long pull.

Mr. NOVAK. Since the last time you were in Washington about a year ago, sir, there have been a number of charges made against you by the Greek government, and I want to ask you about a couple of them.

The Greek government has said that you signed an agreement with a gentleman named Antonios Briliakis of the Greek Communist Party. Is that correct?

Mr. PAPANDREOU. No, not the way it is put. I have two capacities. One capacity is that of representing, being the spokesman abroad of a party, the Center Union Party, whose leader was my father. The other capacity is to head up an organization called the Panhellenic Liberation Movement, which has no political targets other than the overthrow of the junta and the establishment of democratic procedure, constitutional procedures.

This organization not being a party, is coordinating its activities with all other resistance organizations that have the same objectives: namely, the overthrow of the junta and the establishment in Greece of democratic procedures thereafter. The free arena.

Mr. NOVAK. Including Communists?

Mr. PAPANDREOU. Well, not including—there is not Communist organization, in fact, resistance organization. There is an organization called The Patriotic Front, which is heavily weighted by leftists.

Mr. NOVAK. Do you think that is wise?

Mr. PAPANDREOU. What is wise?

Mr. NOVAK. Letting the far left into the Popular Front for Liberation?

Mr. PAPANDREOU. We are not letting it in politically, but we have, in matters of resistance, it is essential, as actions take place in Greece that there be minimum coordination, lest the wrong acts take place.

Mr. NOVAK. The other charge made by the Greek government was that you met in Paris with Alecos Panagoulis, who was the attempted assassin of General Papadopoulos,

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and the suggestion is that you took a part in this assassination plot. Is that correct?

Mr. PAPANDREOU. It is correct that Alecos Panagoulis is a very close friend of mine, political and personal, and I am very proud of that relationship. It is not true that I had anything to do with the attempt on Papadopoulos' life. As a matter of fact, I am glad you asked me this question. I just received an S.O.S. from Panagoulis. He has been 264 days in darkness, in water. His hands are tied in handcuffs. He has not seen the sun, and he is going practically insane. It is an S.O.S. to the world.

Mr. EVANS. Mr. Papandreou, you confuse me slightly, though. You said that you hoped very much there would not be a confrontation. That is a civil war, in effect. But you also said that under this regime, with its totalitarian military methods that stability is the easiest thing for the regime to control; so that, in fact, there is no chance of a civil war, is there?

Mr. PAPANDREOU. No, no. No, no. I am quite sorry. You misunderstood my point.

There is surface stability, superficial stability, but there is a volcano in Greece which is going to erupt.

We are hoping, very honestly, we are hoping that the Western community of nations will cease supporting, either through economic deals or military arrangements, this junta, so we can avoid a confrontation. But we have to get ready for it at the same time.

Mr. EVANS. Let me ask you this, sir: Do you have any precise knowledge of how many of your compatriots are now in jail in Greece?

Mr. PAPANDREOU. Not precise, because this fluctuates, but I can give you the order of magnitude: between 7 and 10 thousand, in concentration camps and jails, today. Approximately 50,000 have gone through this routine and have been subjected also, a good many of them, to torture of which, so to say, I have knowledge, since I was at Strasbourg last November when there was an investigation into this.

Mr. NOVAK. There have been some reports sporadically in the last year, sir, that there were attempts made between you and the conservative exiles, supporters of King Constantine, to create a truly United Front against the junta. Have they been unsuccessful?

Mr. PAPANDREOU. I would not say in general this is a problem, today. We are making a tremendous effort to coordinate the political world at large. In fact, I have made a proposal that the Greek political parties join in a declaration of what they want in the transition period to democracy, so we can finally present the West with what is called a viable alternative to chaos. We can do that, and we will do it.

Mr. EVANS. Mr. Papandreou, we just have a few seconds left.

Do you think the Nixon Administration should or should not send an ambassador, a U.S. ambassador to Athens?

Mr. PAPANDREOU. I will answer this way: An ambassador who is committed to democratic principle and Western values, yes. Otherwise, better not.

Mr. EVANS. Well, who is to determine that? I mean, you don't think we would send an ambassador there who wasn't committed to democratic principles?

Mr. PAPANDREOU. If you send a militarist, yes. If you send a militarist, yes.

Mr. NOVAK. Thank you, Mr. Papandreou. We will be back in a moment with a comment. (Announcements.)

Mr. NOVAK. Rowland, I thought Mr. Papandreou eschewed the usual policy followed by exile leaders of fomenting insurrection in their homeland. Instead he is advocating a quarantine policy whereby the rest of the world kind of ropes off the Greek military government. The trouble with that I think is, unless the U.S. participates in it, it is a failure.

Mr. EVANS. Two things on that, Bob.

I agree, No. 1, Mr. Papandreou knows serious insurrection is impossible today in Greece because of the military power of the regime. And No. 2, from what I have learned from him tonight and from what I know, I don't think there is any chance, any serious chance, that Mr. Nixon will do what Mr. Papandreou hopes he will do.

Mr. NOVAK. Well, I don't know that I fully agree that there is no chance, but certainly the conditions this week were not very auspicious, when he couldn't even get an interview with the leading figures in the Executive—with anybody in the Executive Branch of the government.

Mr. EVANS. Not only that, but he took rather sharp issue with the Vice President of the United States, who, one presumes, has some small influence in this Administration, who has made it very clear that he strongly backs the military junta.

Mr. NOVAK. I don't know how much Mr. Agnew was making military policy. I was fascinated by some of the implications of Mr. Papandreou's remarks, though, that Tom Pappas, the prominent Republican financier—or businessman, rather—is a CIA agent, and was the reason for Vice President Agnew's support of the junta.

Mr. EVANS. "Financier" is not a bad word, because he did finance, as I understand, part, at least, of the Republican Presidential election. He did contribute to the Republican Party.

I think that the junta, obviously, from what Mr. Papandreou says, is having serious economic problems. Conceivably there will be the kind of a situation develop which could lead to serious insurrection.

Mr. NOVAK. I think anyone who listens to Mr. Papandreou can realize how ridiculous are these charges that he is a Communist. He may be making a mistake, however, when he allows all elements, including the far left, into the government. Into the anti-junta movement.

# BANNING POISON GAS AND GERM WARFARE: SHOULD THE UNITED STATES AGREE?

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 21, 1969

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues today to a particularly valuable contribution to the increasing public discussion of the Nation's chemical and biological warfare programs and policies. George Bunn, currently a visiting professor at the University of Wisconsin Law School, has prepared a well reasoned and painstakingly researched article soon to be published in the Wisconsin Law Review, entitled: "Banning Poison Gas and Germ Warfare: Should the United States Agree?"

Professor Bunn who served as general counsel to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency from 1961 to January 1969, also has represented our country at various sessions of the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee—ENDC—with the personal rank of Ambassador. I should add that among his numerous efforts on behalf of the quest for world peace, George Bunn did yeoman work in the creation of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty and has also written on the subject. The author's unique qualifications lend added weight to his

arguments that the United States should ratify the 1925 Geneva protocol banning the use of poison gas and bacteriological warfare.

Mr. Speaker, ratification of this treaty by the other body will make official what should have been this Nation's policy if in fact it has not been, since the end of World War I.

Today, more than 60 nations adhered to this protocol. The list includes all of our NATO allies, all of the Warsaw Pact nations, including the Soviet Union and, surprisingly, the Peoples Republic of China. I have been heartened by reports that the other body led by Senator Fulbright, might once more take up the question of our Nation's ratification of the Geneva protocol.

Mr. Speaker, the arguments advanced by Professor Bunn for our adherence to the protocol are extremely compelling, and some of them parallel the reasoning behind the resolution I introduced almost 10 years ago in this House, calling for a public declaration by the United States of our non-first use of chemical and biological weapons. The reason for ratification at this point in our Nation's history have been succinctly summarized by Professor Bunn in his conclusions that:

We have little to lose and considerable to gain by ratifying the protocol. We can increase the strength of the protocol as a barrier to poison gas and germ warfare; help to clear up a few ambiguities and, in doing so, achieve wider support for United States interpretations; and enhance our standing for influential participation in the forthcoming discussions of proposals for additional limitations. On the other hand, if we insist on waiting until the protocol is revised, we will probably have to wait a long time and then have little influence in the revision. Finally, we give up no option which is now open to us by ratifying. In my view, the protocol is the best instrument likely to be achieved in the foreseeable future. The United States would be well advised to join it.

In order to shed greater light on what has too long been an obscure subject, shielded from public view, I include the text of Professor Bunn's article in the RECORD at this time:

## BANNING POISON GAS AND GERM WARFARE: SHOULD THE UNITED STATES AGREE?

(By George Bunn) \*

The United States Army Field Manual on the Law of Land Warfare states flatly that "the United States is not a party to any treaty, now in force, that prohibits or restricts the use in warfare of toxic or non-toxic gases . . . or of bacteriological warfare. . . . The Geneva Protocol for the prohibition in war of asphyxiating, poisonous, or other gases, and of bacteriological means of warfare . . . is . . . not binding on this country."<sup>1</sup>

This article will consider whether the principles of the Geneva Protocol have become so widely accepted that they apply to the United States even though it is not a party. It will analyze the effect of existing reservations to the Protocol, discuss the United States use of tear gases and herbicides in Vietnam in light of its provisions, and recommend that the Protocol be approved by the Senate. The article will first describe the international agreements dealing with poison gas and germ warfare, and the reasons which prevented the United States from becoming a party to them.

Footnotes at end of article.

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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—Extensions of Remarks

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## I. INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS DEALING SPECIFICALLY WITH POISON GAS OR GERM WARFARE

## A. The Hague Gas Declaration of 1899

The first treaty dealing specifically with poison gas was the 1899 Hague Gas Declaration which contained an agreement "to abstain from the use of projectiles the sole object of which is the diffusion of asphyxiating or deleterious gases."<sup>1</sup> Twenty-seven states became parties to this declaration, including all participants in the conference except the United States.<sup>2</sup> The American representative, Navy Captain Alfred T. Mahan, refused to agree because gas projectiles were not yet in practical use or fully developed, and because he thought gas warfare was just as humane as other forms of warfare.<sup>3</sup>

The language of this declaration was so limited that it had little if any effect on gas warfare during the First World War. In the first major poison gas attack of the War, at Ypres in 1915, the chlorine gas used by the Germans came from large cylinders, not the "projectiles" described in the declaration.<sup>4</sup> The French used projectiles containing tear gas which they said was not an "asphyxiating or deleterious" gas within the meaning of the declaration.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, a projectile used by Germany did not have "as its sole object" the diffusion of poison gas because, the Germans argued, it was also used for shrapnel.<sup>6</sup> With these and other arguments, the existing limitations on poison gas were brushed aside in the First World War.

## B. The 1919 Versailles Treaty

This treaty contained the following provision:

"The use of asphyxiating, poisonous, or other gases and of analogous liquids, materials or devices being prohibited, their manufacture and importation are strictly forbidden in Germany."<sup>7</sup>

While the United States failed to give its consent to the ratification of the Versailles Treaty primarily because of its provisions establishing a League of Nations,<sup>8</sup> the quoted language was incorporated by reference in the 1921 Treaty of Berlin between the United States and Germany.<sup>9</sup> But the United States regarded it as only applicable to Germany.<sup>10</sup> World War I treaties of peace applicable to Austria, Bulgaria, and Hungary contained similar provisions.<sup>11</sup>

## C. The 1922 Washington Treaty on Submarines and Noxious Gases

Drawing on the language of the peace treaties, the Washington Treaty stated:

"The use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, and all analogous liquids, materials or devices, having been justly condemned by the general opinion of the civilized world and a prohibition of such use having been declared in treaties to which a majority of the civilized Powers are parties,

"The Signatory Powers, to the end that this prohibition shall be universally accepted as a part of international law binding alike the conscience and practice of nations, declare their assent to such prohibition, and agree to be bound thereby between themselves, and invite all other civilized nations to adhere thereto."<sup>12</sup>

This provision was based upon a United States proposal and was adopted at the urging of Secretary of State Hughes.<sup>13</sup> Perhaps to help achieve later Senate consent, Senator Elihu Root was asked to represent the United States at the conference. In addition Secretary Hughes took pains to have an advisory committee of prominent citizens appointed by President Harding and attempted to mobilize popular opinion behind the treaty.<sup>14</sup> As a result, the Senate gave its consent without a dissenting vote.<sup>15</sup> French ratification was necessary, however, and the treaty failed because of French objections to its provisions on submarines.

## D. The 1925 Geneva protocol

This protocol added to the poison gas prohibition of the Washington Treaty a ban on bacteriological warfare. It provided in pertinent part:

"Whereas the use of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, and of all analogous liquids, materials or devices, has been justly condemned by the general opinion of the civilized world; and

"Whereas the prohibition of such use has been declared in Treaties to which the majority of Powers of the world are Parties; and

"To the end that this prohibition shall be universally accepted as part of International Law, binding alike the conscience and the practice of nations:

"Declare:

"That the High Contracting Parties, so far as they are not already Parties to Treaties prohibiting such use, accept this prohibition, agree to extend this prohibition to the use of bacteriological methods of warfare and agree to be bound as between themselves according to the terms of this declaration."<sup>16</sup>

The Geneva Protocol was adopted at the insistence of the United States.<sup>17</sup> However, probably because of the ease with which the Washington Treaty had sailed through the Senate, Secretary of State Kellogg did not make the effort to gain support for the Geneva Protocol that Secretary Hughes had made earlier for the Washington Treaty.<sup>18</sup> Although Congressman Burton was the head of the United States delegation, no Senator was included.<sup>19</sup> No advisory committee was enlisted. The Army's Chemical Warfare Service was not prevented from mobilizing opposition to the protocol.<sup>20</sup> It enlisted the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the American Chemical Society, and the chemical industry.<sup>21</sup> Senator Wadsworth, Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee, led the Senate opponents of the protocol.<sup>22</sup> He argued that it would be torn up in time of war, and that poison gas was in any event more humane than many other weapons. Senator Borah, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, finally withdrew the treaty from Senate consideration, presumably because he and the Senate majority leader had concluded that they did not have the votes.<sup>23</sup>

The protocol came into force, however, without the United States. It now has over 60 adherents.<sup>24</sup> All members of NATO except the United States, and all Warsaw Pact members, including the Soviet Union, are parties. Indeed, all European states except Albania have joined the protocol. Of the major industrial countries, only Japan and the United States have failed to become parties. Of the nuclear weapon powers, only the United States remains outside the protocol.

Many persons credit the protocol with a major role in preventing gas warfare in Europe during World War II.<sup>25</sup> It symbolized the abhorrence for gas which even military men had after World War I. This abhorrence contributed to restraints imposed by both civilian and military leaders.<sup>26</sup> If retaliation was the primary sanction acting to deter the use of poison gas and germs, the protocol established the norm of conduct.<sup>27</sup> Unlike World War I, no gas warfare occurred among the industrial states of Europe.

## II. INTERNATIONAL LIMITATIONS ESTABLISHED BY CUSTOM

The foregoing brief history has shown that the United States is not a party to any treaty which expressly prohibits it from engaging in gas or bacteriological warfare. To this extent, the *Army Field Manual's* statement is correct. However the principles of the protocol appear to form a rule of customary international law applicable even to the United States:

"Custom is the older and the original source of international law. . . . International jurists

speak of a custom when a clear and continuous habit of doing certain actions has grown up under the aegis of the conviction that these actions are, according to international law, obligatory and right."<sup>28</sup>

To determine the existence of a customary rule of international law, state practice with respect to the use of poison gas and biological weapons in war should be examined. Where that practice indicates nonuse, the question must still be answered whether this was based on a belief that a rule of international law existed even for those not parties to the protocol. The recent practice and official views of the United States and Japan appear to be most relevant as they are the only major industrial states which have not ratified the protocol.

## A. Practice and Belief of States on Gas and Germ Warfare Since the Geneva Protocol of 1925

## 1. United States

The United States did not engage in gas warfare during World War II although it could have been to our military advantage in the Pacific in 1945. At the beginning of United States participation in World War II, the State Department became concerned that the Japanese, not being parties to the German Protocol, would engage in chemical warfare.<sup>29</sup> The British, French, Italian, and German Governments had exchanged pledges to observe the protocol; the British had made the same offer to Japan, but it replied evasively.<sup>30</sup> The State Department proposed that a declaration be made to Japan that the United States would comply with the protocol if others did. Secretary of War Stimson, however, opposed any acceptance of the protocol by declaration. In February of 1942 he urged that we "keep our mouths shut," apparently because he was concerned about our preparedness to retaliate if the Japanese used gas.<sup>31</sup>

In June 1942, President Roosevelt was importuned by the Chinese to issue a statement concerning reported Japanese use of noxious gases in China.<sup>32</sup> Without referring to the protocol, Roosevelt threatened "retaliation in kind and in full measure" if Japan persisted "in this inhumane form of warfare" against China or any other American ally.<sup>33</sup>

A year later the United States was better prepared to retaliate, if necessary, and Roosevelt issued a more comprehensive statement. Again, however, he did not refer to the protocol:

"From time to time since the present war began there have been reports that one or more of the Axis powers were seriously contemplating use of poisonous or noxious gases or other inhumane devices of warfare.

"Use of such weapons has been outlawed by the general opinion of civilized mankind. This country has not used them, and I hope that we never will be compelled to use them. I state categorically that we shall under no circumstances resort to the use of such weapons unless they are first used by our enemies.

"As President of the United States and as Commander in Chief of the American armed forces, I want to make clear beyond all doubt to any of our enemies contemplating a resort to such desperate and barbarous methods that acts of this nature committed against any one of the United Nations will be regarded as having been committed against the United States itself and will be treated accordingly. We promise to any perpetrators of such crimes full and swift retaliation in kind. . . ."<sup>34</sup>

After Germany was defeated, some consideration was given to using poisonous gas on Japanese forces in the Pacific in order to bring the war swiftly to an end.<sup>35</sup> However, the joint chiefs never recommended its use to the President. Personal and institutional distaste for chemical warfare among military men probably played a major role.<sup>36</sup> The military view that gas was an insidious and

Footnotes at end of article.



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dation, has also been referred to the new subcommittee.

I have long voiced concern over the very few firm facts we possess with respect to the success or failure of our social programs. We lack information upon which we may base reasonable and probably successful social policies and programs designed to cope with such problems as substandard housing, illiteracy, illness, and lack of social opportunity.

For example, we have only the most preliminary information about what our children are actually learning despite massive Federal spending for education in recent years. Similarly, while we have some reliable information about the strengths and weaknesses of the Job Corps program based on an unbiased sample of Job Corps' graduates and their employment records subsequent to training—a recent study by Louis Harris & Associates is a good example—we have no similar information on the other manpower programs that are offered as alternatives. Notwithstanding such information gaps, the Congress and the country are being called on to make immediate judgments about the future of Federal aid to education and the proper balance between the Job Corps and other manpower programs.

I have repeatedly said in the Senate that we cannot safely continue to legislate by hunch and intuition. Stumbling into the future is no longer acceptable. Survival from riot to riot is no longer a satisfactory measure of social progress. We are spending billions of Federal dollars each year, and many more at the State and local level, to eradicate a variety of social ills and we simply do not know which programs succeed best for the least cost or which show promise or which are counterproductive.

The new Special Subcommittee on Social Program Planning and Evaluation, which I am honored to chair, will strive to help the Senate, the Congress, and the Nation in its struggle to achieve full social opportunity for every American by minimizing the guesswork in social policymaking and program evaluation.

The subcommittee's first hearings on S. 5, the Full Opportunity Act, and the recent document entitled "Toward a Social Report," prepared by the HEW social indicators panel and issued by the Secretary, are tentatively scheduled for July. Hearings on the proposed National Social Science Foundation legislation will be scheduled at a later date.

**ME**

### BRUTAL FASCISTS TYRANNIZE GREECE

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, since a small group of Fascist army officers seized power in Greece on April 21, 1967, the people of Greece have been living under a dictatorship reminiscent of Nazi Germany. The ruling military junta has destroyed free institutions, abolished representative government, prevented free elections, established control over press and radio, put an end to all guarantees of individual liberty, throttled freedom of speech, imposed a handpicked administration on the Greek Orthodox Church, and conducted a reign of terror against political dissenters.

Even more revolting to the conscience of free men everywhere were recent disclosures of the torturing of political prisoners. Reports of the use of torture by the regime have been filtering out of Greece for 2 years. The reports were so grotesque they seemed unbelievable. However, in the May 27, 1969, issue of Look, Christopher S. Wren, a senior editor, reported firsthand and eyewitness details of extreme torture of political prisoners in Greece. Mr. Wren writes that in Athens he "studied nearly 200 cases in personal interviews and smuggled reports." While in Athens he spoke with businessmen, priests, army officers, lawyers, housewives, and students who verified these reports.

Wren begins his article as follows:

A succession of former political prisoners described every ordeal in detail and let me see, and touch, the scars. Now I am convinced. Torture has taken place in Greece on victims who number into the thousands. Under a frightened, unpopular military regime, torture goes on today. . . . The majority are still in prison. Those released have been forced to sign statements that they were not tortured.

Mr. President, the tortures suffered by thousands of political prisoners in Greece, both men and women, are almost beyond belief. While reading Mr. Wren's account I at times found it difficult to comprehend how men and women could undergo such brutality and survive. The torture described is every bit as savage and brutal as that applied by Hitler's Gestapo beasts. With the defeat of nazism we thought we had witnessed the end of such barbarity. It is clear from Mr. Wren's article that nazism is alive in Greece. The Fascist colonels have given free rein to the sadists and torture specialists to practice their specialties in the dungeons of Greek jails. The horrors of Buchenwald, Dachau, Auschwitz, and the Gestapo basements of Nazi Germany, and the brutality afflicted in the torture chambers of the Lubianka prison in Moscow during the Stalin regime, are being relived in the basement of Asphalia prison, the headquarters of the Greek security police.

The fact is that brutal colonels and other officers who now terrorize Greece were trained by American military missions, and the weapons they used in their coup d'etat were supplied by the United States.

Unfortunately, our State Department immediately recognized the military junta in Athens. Had a ragtag group of leftwingers, instead of Mussolini-like Fascists, taken over, it would be interesting to note whether our striped-pants boys at the State Department would have closed our Embassy and President Johnson and Secretary Rusk immediately sent in our planes and paratroopers to "protect American citizens."

Our almost total involvement in the civil war in Vietnam has obscured the tragic events in Greece. However, the destruction of democratic government in that land by Fascist military officers more than 2 years ago can no longer be ignored. With every passing day the Greek dictatorship tightens its grasp on every aspect of Greek life. Purges take place mercilessly in the military, the church, and throughout Greek society.

Furthermore, since the brutal Fascists took power the United States has given almost \$100 million in military and economic assistance to help maintain them in power. More than \$37 million in additional military assistance is slated to be given in fiscal year 1969. How can the administration condone a policy of continuing to recognize, let alone assist, a brutal Fascist tyranny that in many respects is as heinous as that of Nazi Germany?

I ask how can Secretary of State Rogers, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs Joseph J. Sisco, Director Daniel Brewster of the Greek Desk at the State Department, Roswell D. McCullough, chargé d'affaires of our Embassy in Athens, and other administration officials responsible for our policies toward Greece continue to turn their backs on the fact that the military junta is a brutal, inhuman gang of thugs and sadists?

The terror in Greece has become so oppressive that the Governments of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and The Netherlands have filed charges against Greece in the 18-nation Council of Europe for violation of the human rights convention which forbids degrading treatment of prisoners. The Greek Government was formally put on notice that the Council will decide before the end of this year whether to expel Greece from its membership. This action was taken by a 13- to 2-vote of the Council of Ministers.

With the publication of Mr. Wren's article, officials of the State Department were prodded toward taking steps to end political repression and torture, and to restore civil liberties to the Greek people. With its usual timidity, the State Department, through Information Officer Carl E. Barch, issued a weak, half-hearted statement which reads in part:

We have repeatedly made clear our view—again recently to high-level Greek Government officials—that we hope for return to representative government and the full restoration of all civil liberties. We believe that this would be in the best interest of the Atlantic community of which Greece is an integral part.

Of course, nothing concrete was done by the State Department to implement this statement. It is clear that these are just meaningless words. Once again officials of the State Department have met the issue head on with driving gobbledygook designed to lull Americans until public outrage over conditions in Greece subsides.

Mr. President, an insight into the thinking of officials of the State Department can be derived from Secretary of State Rogers' reply to a question put to him by the distinguished junior Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. PELL), when on March 27 the Secretary testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on resumption of military aid to Greece. Senator PELL said:

But this is a regime built on the basis of torture and the denial of civil liberties. Can you not take a hard line in future aid negotiations, and ask for assurance that torture not be a normal way of governing?

Secretary Rogers replied:

Yes, Senator, we share your concern, not only for the torture phase but the other civil

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liberties. We are at present doing what we can through diplomatic circles to effect that, and we also will be conscious of the factors that you mention in subsequent negotiations.

More words—diplomatic niceties—while the torture of men and women continues in Athens. The truth is that the United States is not doing what it can to restore democracy to Greece. We continue to recognize the military junta. We continue to give military and economic assistance to help maintain the fascist regime in power. Administration officials remain silent regarding torture, oppression, and despotism in Athens, the cradle of democracy.

Despite the claims of State Department officials that the United States is without power to affect significantly the state of affairs in Greece today, it is obvious that there is much we could do.

The United States should sever diplomatic relations with the Greek dictatorship and thereby indicate our disapproval of the regime in such a way that the Greek people could not be mistaken about it.

We should suspend completely the delivery of all military and economic assistance to Greece.

Our Government has available a wide range of economic powers that it could exercise to apply pressure on the Greek Government to end the torturing of political prisoners and to restore civil liberties to the Greek people.

The United States should join forces with its friends in the Council of Europe to isolate the military junta politically and economically as various Western European governments are prepared to do.

Finally, we have the ultimate sanction of moving to expel Greece from NATO.

None of these steps have been taken, and the suffering in the torture chambers of the Asphalia continues. The freedom-loving people of Greece are looking for a sign from the United States—a genuine sign that will assist them in regaining their freedom. Mr. President, the 8-million liberty-loving Greek people regard our aid to their oppressors as the most powerful factor in keeping them in power.

Christopher Wren in his article in *Look* vividly described the feeling of the Greek people toward our relationship with their oppressors. He wrote as follows:

The people of Greece believe the tortures would end if the United States just spoke out. One woman challenged: "I can't understand why Americans want democracy in their country, but smile upon people who destroy democracy in my country. Democracy is not just for the Americans." The irony is that American aid has become identified with the tortures. American M1 rifles have been used in the falgana beatings. Some of the interrogators' desks at Bouboulinas St. bear the clasped-hands emblem of the U.S. AID program. Unconscious victims have been lugged from the terrace there down to the basement ("A slaughterhouse of broken bodies" one prisoner called it) in grey American hospital blankets with "U.S." in prominent black letters. The torturers, who smoke American cigarettes while they work, like to give the impression they are only doing a job for the Americans. Most of the victims I talked to believed that Lambrou (the director of the Greek security po-

lice) an Mallios (an Asphalia torture specialist), among others, were trained in the United States, though there is no evidence of this. No wonder Pericles Korovessis, now a homeless, penniless exile, asks: "Is Lambrou your spokesman? What has happened to the American dream?" . . . Look for anti-Americanism to spread through a people who were once loyal friends.

It is clear that the political parties of the right, left, and center join in rejecting and despising the junta. Even within the armed forces its support is so limited that it still feels compelled to continue the purges of almost all the senior and experienced officers. The ablest citizens of Greece have, with few exceptions, left the service of the state as a result of purges or because they have been unwilling to serve under a government of usurpers and tyrants. The economic recession in Greece continues. The rate of economic growth, even according to the regime's doctored figures, is only half that of the years before the coup. The country's reserves of foreign exchange have disappeared. Its foreign debts have skyrocketed.

Twenty years ago, President Harry S. Truman made the decision to commit our military might and our economic resources to save Greece from the serious threat of a Communist takeover. He asked the Congress to aid Greece to preserve a "way of life based upon the will of the majority and distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression." His historic action which came to be known as the Truman doctrine resulted in the defeat of the Communist-led insurrection and the establishment of a democratic government in Greece. Since that time, the United States has spent almost \$4 billion of American taxpayers' money for economic and military assistance to Greece, supposedly to help enable that nation to remain a bastion of freedom and democracy.

Today the Greek people are being crushed by a regime as tyrannical as any in the world. Our State Department does nothing more than pay lipservice toward restoring freedom to Greece. We continually express our concern but take no real steps toward ousting the junta.

We would do well to consider the wise words of John Gunther in his book, "Inside Europe Today":

It is always dangerous for a democracy, like the United States, to become too closely involved with a dictator or semi-dictator, no matter how convenient this may seem to be. It is the people who count in the long run, and no regime is worth supporting if it keeps citizens down . . . if only for the simple reason that they will kick it out in time.

Mr. President, the honor of our country is at stake. Indeed, our very security demands that we cease to follow a course of action which makes us in the eyes of the Greek people and of free people everywhere the accomplices of tyranny.

The revitalization of democracy in Greece is as much in our own interest as it is to the people of Greece. Officials of our State Department should stop mouthing words and issuing press re-

leases and start taking action toward erasing this stigma on our honor and toward restoring democracy to Greece, the land which gave democracy its birth.

#### SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION IN MAINE

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, the complaint is often heard that the Federal Government is so big, so bureaucratic, and so far removed from the people that it is largely insensitive to their needs. It is always a pleasure to hear otherwise from constituents.

Recently Victor and Mary Nielsen, owners and operators of Tamarack Motel, Brewer, Maine, wrote a letter to the Augusta, Maine, office of the Small Business Administration. Their business was made possible because of a \$10,000 loan made by the Small Business Administration 10 years ago. It has now been repaid.

Because it expresses so well the valuable work that the Small Business Administration is doing, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. and Mrs. Nielsen's letter be printed in the *RECORD*:

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the *RECORD*, as follows:

APRIL 28, 1969.  
DEAR SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION:  
Enclosed is a check for the final payment toward our loan which we acquired 10 years ago.

Both my wife and I want to extend our deepest thanks to you for making it possible for us to get our little motel started. If it were not for you people, we may not have opened our business because at the time we were looking for a loan 10 years ago it was next to impossible to get money.

We have nothing but praise for your department who have treated us like human beings.

Thank you again from—  
VICTOR and MARY NIELSEN.

#### PRESIDENT NIXON SHOWS THE WAY

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, the President's address last week, in which he outlined the steps which could bring to an end the war in Vietnam, provides the opportunity for achieving the peace which has eluded that troubled part of the world for more than a quarter of a century.

In my opinion, the President's proposals puts the United States in the position of "walking that extra mile for peace."

Whether that opportunity will become reality rests in the hands of the North Vietnam Communist leadership.

In addition to presenting a method by which the outside forces—North Vietnam and the United States, in the main—can be withdrawn and thus reduce the scale of the conflict to a question of settling the differences between the contending forces within South Vietnam, the people of that war-stricken country, the President has opened the way for the United Nations to make a vital contribution as the international body which could supervise withdrawals, ceasefires, and elections.

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The wards at the hospital today were a study in horror. The overcrowding is incredible. If they have another sudden influx of patients I don't have any idea where they are going to put them. The hospital staff seems to be trying valiantly to keep up, but it's an overwhelming job that would tax the capabilities of even a sophisticated medical staff with good facilities and peaceful surroundings.

No more now. Going to go to bed and try to get some sleep. At the moment it is very quiet outside. I pray it stays that way!

February 27, 1969, 10:15 p.m.: Today hasn't been too bad. In fact, the morning and early afternoon seemed almost "normal" with just a little distant B52 bombing and some jets strafing behind the hospital. But around 3 p.m. the battles started up again just back of the hospital. The same old story. Jets dive bombing, rockets from smaller planes and all kinds of small arms fire. Kept up till about 5:30. Since then it has been relatively quiet and right now it is deathly quiet.

This morning the USAID nurses flew back into town. Had a brief talk with the head nurse, and she said that they had returned because "they" had decided it was foolish to do all this running back and forth between Quang Ngai and Danang. Later she said to Joe that they had come back "for good." Knowing how increasingly upset the nurses have been when they were pulled out of here during fracas, I suspect the nurses themselves rose up in protest and insisted on coming back. They all looked much happier this morning in contrast to the almost guilty mood they were in when they left. I can well understand how they feel. We are sure glad to see them back!

Tonight Michael Jutras (the Canadian doctor) is staying with us here. I haven't had a chance to talk to him to see how badly hit the Canadian Hospital was. But apparently one of their big x-ray machines was destroyed, as well as much of the building.

March 1, 1969, 8:30 p.m.: "Saturday night is the loneliest night in the week . . ." So the song goes but over here in Quang Ngai it is anything but an isolated existence we lead on Saturday nights! In fact, there are usually far more people hanging around than we would like. And all of them carrying arms!

As near as we can tell, tonight isn't going to be any different than most of the past Saturdays and already the mortar across the street has started its yammering. Last night was a bad one and we don't look forward to another four hours of the same tonight. After taking stock of last night we can only believe that there must be a special Quaker Angel in residence here, and he was working overtime last night.

Last night I decided to not write another letter since the night before had been relatively quiet. A few letters had finally filtered through from home, so I just spent the early evening soaking up the news and reading the newspaper clippings that had come. By 10:30 I had gone to bed; still looking for that uninterrupted night's sleep. At 1 a.m. a tremendous explosion rocked Pixton Hall; knocked things off the tables and brought me up into uncomprehending wakefulness. A second explosion immediately followed the first and brought full awareness, as I dove under the bed; dust, gravel and shrapnel raining down on all the buildings here. There was no doubt about these being "incoming" mortars! Investigation this morning showed that one of them had hit at the north-west corner of Pixton Hall. There is a tiny open spot of ground between Pixton Hall, the big well and some refugee shacks back of us, and only some heavenly power could have guided that shell into that small space. No one was hurt! The area into which it fell couldn't have been much bigger than five square feet. The shacks and the back wall of Pixton Hall were liberally sprayed with fragments, but no real damage except for some frayed nerves. The

second explosion was in the banana plantation right behind us and that was the first of many shells landing back there last night.

Following the first two explosions there was dead silence. After about five minutes of this I picked my bloodied nose up out of the dust under my bed and crawled stealthily to the door. Nothing going on, so I got braver and stood up. Still nothing, so decided that it might be the wisest thing to go down to the bunker just in case there was more to come. A wise decision but just a little too late. As I stuck one foot out the door, I got a face full of gravel from another series of blasts. Like a turtle I withdrew and there was never another chance (that I cared to take!) all that night to get down to the bunker. Eric was in the same boat downstairs in his room. He also started out the door and got hit in the leg with a piece of flying "something or other." No damage to either Eric or me, but we were both trapped for the rest of the night which was wild.

Apparently the Rural Development Cadre headquarters right across the street was the target in this area, and the Vietcong moved right in here through the hospital grounds as usual. After the fracas got well under way we couldn't distinguish any more between the incoming and outgoing shells. The RD fellows were firing their mortars, grenade launchers, rifles, etc., from the street right outside the house, and the incoming fire was dropping right in on top of them—and us. They eventually brought up three of the ARVN tanks and they parked right in front of our gate with motors running and lights out. They were firing their cannons through the open spaces between the houses. Just like Tet last year. The racket has all of us a little deafen than usual today.

Lou and some of the fellows who were watching the battle from upstairs in the main house saw one of the tanks go up towards the hospital where heavy fighting was going on. It crept up Phan Boi Chau about 500 feet, and an NFL soldier threw a grenade in front of it. Lou said that tank turned around on a dime and came streaking back to join the other two huddled together in front of the RD cadre place. It never went near the hospital again.

Everyone except for Eric and me spent the night either in our bunker or upstairs watching the fighting raging up and down the street. About 6:45 a.m. Roger and Joe decided it was quiet enough and with all fingers crossed they walked up to the hospital to assess the damage to QRC if, indeed, there was still a QRC. What they found was an intact QRC, but with numerous holes punched in the brand new roof over the brand new storeroom that Roger and Joe had just finished last weekend. It wasn't until later in the morning that they made the discovery that turned all of us a pale sickly white. They went up on the roof to find that a mortar had made a direct hit on the storeroom roof but had hit one of the sandbags first! That sandbag had taken the brunt of the explosion and the fragments had ripped up the roofing a bit but that was all. The ruins of the old MILPHAP warehouse next door to QRC had taken a few more hits. Apparently a number of shells had hit the hospital grounds although the structural damage was minor.

Elsewhere in Quang Ngai, we understand that some 20 houses between VNCS house and the big bridge were burned and that the VC broke into one house and shot an old man who was supposed to have a lot of money.

Here we had a houseful of people. Michael Jutras was here for the second night in a row, and Barry Fleming, the representative of Oxfam of Canada, was here, along with a young Vietnamese fellow who works at the Buddhist School of Youth for Social Service in Saigon. Barry had said as he came in from the airport that he'd like to see a little real action, as Saigon had been too tame for him,

I guess. He certainly got his wish. He was only here 24 hours but he got to see the Prison, the CDCC, the Rehab. Center, the Hospital and the new refugee (Thien An) camp out on the Tra Khuc. He was a somewhat subdued man by the time he left this afternoon. Things are in incredibly bad state right now. There are somewhere over 680 patients in the hospital and you will remember that it only has 400 bed spaces. By Monday I'm sure there will be more than that.

Surprisingly, there were few casualties that came in this morning. We opened up the Rehab. Center and had a very busy day although none of the outpatients arrived. I find on days after close attacks like this, the hospital patients seem more eager than usual to come over and carry on their usual routines. I think it represents a certain amount of security for them to know that this is one place and one activity they can count on.

So we go into the 7th day (or is it the 8th) since the attacks started and while they have abated at times, they are still flaring up with their original intensity. The patients at the hospital are frightened and tired, as are most of the rest of the Quang Ngaians. I find it hard to know what to say to them as I leave QRC for the night. Our house is comparatively safe. We have a bunker and food and water and toilets, and each of us has a bed to himself. It is only being realistic to know I may never see them alive again. These people are living in double jeopardy and have been for a long time. Most people only have one death in a lifetime to worry about but Vietnam is a land of a thousand deaths, and individual peril is served up on a daily basis.

Enough for now. Once again, I am going to bed and hope for a few hours of sleep before the boys start up again. No work tomorrow. Hope to be able to get down to some personal correspondence and talk about something else but this holocaust here.

Take care of yourselves. Pray for some relief for these people over here soon. Do what you can to influence the right people in the right directions.

The team sends love to all.

DOROTHY WELLER.

ME

#### THE CHARACTER OF THE PRESENT GREEK REGIME

Mr. FULBRIGHT, Mr. President, there appeared in the Sunday Times of London on May 4 an article smuggled out of Greece written by one of the leading musicians there, Mr. Mikis Theodorakis. This article gives an insight into the character of the regime now in control in Greece and a regime with which we are associated. I think it is important that the Members of the Senate be aware of our policies in this regard. Personally, I suspect that such policies are not unrelated to the turmoil that is so widespread in our country today. I ask unanimous consent that the article and an editorial from the Northwest Arkansas Times regarding the ROTC be inserted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the London Sunday Times, May 4, 1969]

"MY LIFE IN EXILE," by THEODORAKIS—SMUGGLED OUT OF GREECE WITH THE AID OF SUNDAY TIMES REPORTER JOHN BARRY

(NOTE.—Mikis Theodorakis' own account of life in exile was smuggled out of Greece last week. The courier was John Barry, the Sunday Times Insight reporter who six weeks ago travelled to the remote mountain village of Zatouna to investigate the captivity of Greece's most famous composer. Now, his



new material—photographs, letters, the score of some new music, and a long message tape-recorded by Theodorakis—reveals for the composer's own feelings, and the steps the regime is taking to tighten still further the conditions of his exile. This is an edited version of Theodorakis' messages.)

On April 21, we completed eight months in Zatouna. The village looks deserted with only 20 families or so living here now. Our house is in the centre, on the main street. We have one large room, and a smaller one where Margaret and George [his children] sleep. They go to the village primary school.

Myrto [his wife] and I, we spend our days in this room. Sometimes I play the piano; sometimes we read. We occupy ourselves a lot with the children.

Myrto gets out very seldom. But twice a day, I have to go to the police station. It is up a hill, and I often get tired climbing up there. But when I decided to stop it, I was subjected to tremendous pressures. I just had to give in, because I had no possible weapon but a hunger strike. When the worst comes to the worst, though, I will start a hunger strike.

Day and night, two guards are posted in front of our door, while a third patrols the road. As soon as I leave the house, one guard falls in on my left and the other on my right. The same thing happens even in the village coffee house.

And I may only speak, and then only about trivial things, to two or three villagers whom the police trust. I cannot speak to anyone else—whoever gives me "good morning" is questioned.

*Theodorakis makes it clear that the regime is tightening its pressure.*

At first, I was free to go out whenever I liked. Now, I have to be indoors 20 hours a day; I am allowed only four hours' exercise. On the Tuesday before Greek Easter (April 8), the restrictions became for a time even harsher: 22 hours a day indoors. And I walk only in the village. I am not allowed even 10 metres beyond it.

But frequently even these "privileges" are cancelled and they shut me in with no explanation. I have absolutely no rights, absolutely no way of defending myself and my family against the arbitrariness of the authorities. "When I see you," I told an officer, "I hear inside me the sound of jungle drums. To me, you represent the law of the jungle."

*In recent weeks, three new guards have been drafted into the village.*

My guard now consists of a corporal, a sergeant and 13 gendarmes. And the local civilian armed units [roughly, the territorialists] have special duties as well. No foreigner is allowed to pass through Zatouna. For days now, they have been stopping all the local buses in the Zatouna area. The passengers have to get out and be searched.

When the Council of Europe's sub-commission on Human Rights was due to arrive in Zatouna [around the middle of March] there were special precautions. I was ordered to be ready for secret transfer to another village; they would have hidden me there. They even had a special squad ready to blow up a big rock [on the single precipitous road into Zatouna] and thus cut off access.

*Theodorakis, it seems, deliberately, avoids talking of his own health, which is known to be declining. Instead, he concentrates on the effect of exile on his family.*

When we first came here, a guard forced my nine-year-old son George to put up his hands, pushed him against a wall and then stripped him naked in the middle of the village. George had a nervous breakdown. He came home in a state of shock, with fits which continue even now. He cries continuously.

On the Monday [April 7] before Greek Easter, we sent the children to Athens because George was so disturbed. He is now

being treated by a psychiatrist. Two days later, Myrto wanted to phone to hear news of his health. They would not allow it. I shouted at them from the balcony: "They are not Christians, not Greeks, not even humans."

That night the governor of Arkadia [the province] came. He asked me about my threatened hunger strike. Yes, I told him, that is my last weapon. "What's your opinion?" he asked Myrto. "When my husband dies, I shall kill the children and myself," she replied. "Then we will give you the satisfaction of four bodies." They let us phone.

*The tragic irony is that the worst restrictions follow attempts to penetrate the regime's fictions about life in Zatouna.*

The first measures were imposed after the visit of German television in November 1968. [The film was shown last month.] They have reached their peak after the marvellous report of John Barry in The Sunday Times.

For days after that, there was a general alert in the region, with arrests and interrogations and great nervousness everywhere.

At first, they completely cut off my telephone, and all the telephones of the villages around. They shut me in. They forbade books and magazines. Finally, they took our transistor radio. Our last link with the outside world was cut.

Now, after the announcement by the BBC that my Songs of Zatouna will be broadcast on Monday, there is great nervousness, even fear. Possibly we face new measures. They might take away the [hidden] tape recorder. They might take away my piano. So, finally, they would achieve silence.

*Yet Theodorakis has regained at least some of the confidence he lost so painfully through the long winter.*

It was unnecessary, I imagine to say that all these restrictions, far from disturbing us, fill us with joy. Not, of course, because we are masochists. But because they are a sign that what our friends who love us are doing has an impact abroad.

In the midst of these conditions, our morale and our faith, far from weakening, is on the contrary being sharpened and strengthened.

And first of all, as an intellectual performing my duty, I have composed here in Zatouna six cycles of songs. I call them "Arkadies." And I dedicate them—these songs I have written yesterday, and those songs I shall write tomorrow to all men who believe in man, who believe in life, in justice, in democracy and in freedom. And who have the will to fight to defend these ideals.

[From the Fayetteville (Ark.) Northwest Arkansas Times, Apr. 30, 1969]

#### ROTC DECISION

It appears increasingly likely that the ROTC program at the University will become a voluntary one next year. The University Senate Council (faculty) has voted (10-3) to recommend such a step to the Board of Trustees. The Trustees generally follow such recommendations.

This decision appears to us to be a reasonable one. Those opposing the program's mandatory nature can now look forward to a pursuit of education unmolested by threat of non-graduation.

All of this seems eminently in keeping with the appropriate processes of higher education.

Amid the ruckus of recent protest and demonstration at the UA concerning ROTC, it was inevitable that some of the "victims" of the system would be pushed forward to illustrate alleged grievances. One such turns out to be a Phi Beta Kappa pre-med student who will not win a degree this spring because of non-compliance with ROTC requirements.

Under ROTC rules the student, as we understand it, was wrong. He declined to have his hair cut to military specifications and his instructor could hardly have done otherwise

than to penalize him. The important issue in this instance—particularly since graduation is not a requirement for entrance in med school—is not hair, but rather how far Americans are prepared to allow the military to invade the conduct and procedures of a civilian society.

An ROTC spokesman, commenting on the matter, emphasized that the military today is "big business," and needs everything from data processors to doctors and lawyers. And he is right. The Pentagon's budget includes enormous annual expenditures for pure academic research, on many of our nation's campuses. The military, in fact, is such a major economic influence on research and development in this country that its whims have a very real effect upon the financial welfare of many college campuses.

This sort of thing shapes up as a dangerous trend, we think (at least it holds the potential of a dangerous threat to academic freedoms), and because of this any sort of mutually agreeable separation of military and civilian pursuits, particularly on campus, should serve the national purpose in good fashion in years to come.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I have just been told that an article in, I believe it is, this week's Look magazine deals also with the conditions in Greece.

#### CONGRESS SHOULD NOT REPEAL INVESTMENT CREDIT

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, in a few weeks the Senate will debate whether or not we should repeal the investment credit. As the only Democratic member of the Joint Economic Committee to oppose repeal of the investment credit, I hope the Senate will think carefully about the consequences before it acts to eliminate a provision of our tax laws that has done a great deal for our economy in the past 7 years.

This provision was enacted in 1962, suspended in 1966, made effective again in 1967. To end it now would be a mistake for a number of reasons.

The principal drive behind its repeal is the conviction on the part of many economists that the present sharp rise in capital spending is highly inflationary—which it certainly is—and that the investment credit is a principal reason for the high level of capital spending, and it is.

The difficulty is that the repeal of this provision of our tax laws will not slow capital investment until some time next year. By the time the slowdown occurs we may very well need the capital investment in order to keep the economy moving.

Much more important, Mr. President, is the fact that capital investment is essential in holding down prices in the long run. Over the years the increasing efficiency of American productive facilities is the real reason why we have been able to pay higher real wages to tens of millions of Americans.

Along with education, and the basic stimulation of our competitive economic system, capital investment—in modernizing our factories, providing automation, sharply increasing productivity—is at the very heart of America's economic strength.

For this reason I call attention to a brilliant analysis of the benefits of the

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it must cost us at least 10 days of our time, and that is valuable time.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I completely agree with the Senator. We are one of the few legislative bodies in the world that does not make full use of the regular pair so that two men can be away to take care of business.

Mr. LONG. I used to tell friends if they wanted to help me on something I would be glad to return the favor when I apparently could but that there was no use asking me to help them unless it was going to be a close vote. On a close vote I would be glad to return the favor, but if I were going to lose by a big vote it did not matter and if I were going to win by a big vote they could vote how they wanted because I had plenty of votes anyway. That is the point of view of a practical legislator.

However, when one gets down to the close votes where neither side wants to lose because one of their men is out of town or in the hospital, from time to time we will have Senators request that nothing happen until they return.

I recall situations where a Senator wanted to be present to vote on something and he may have left instructions that nothing important happen until he gets back. Then, if anything does happen, he stands up and proposes to object to every unanimous-consent request for the next 6 months because he felt the faith was not kept with him.

When the vote is going to be close anyway, why should a Senator who is going to be absent not be accorded a pair so that his position will be recorded. Then, both would be shown as voting. It would be easier to accord the absent Senator a pair.

Mr. PELL. I agree and I would support the idea if the opportunity presented itself.

Mr. LONG. I shall draft the rule and submit it and if the Senator gets a hearing on his proposal we can have a hearing on it as well.

**ME**  
GREECE: GOVERNMENT BY TORTURE—AN ARTICLE BY CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, the May 27 issue of Look magazine, which is out tomorrow carries an article entitled "Greece: Government by Torture," by Look senior editor Christopher S. Wren. The article tells a shocking story of torture under the Greek military regime which took power 2 years ago. Mr. Wren notes, at the beginning of the article:

Torture has taken place in Greece on victims who number into the thousands. Under a frightened unpopular military regime, torture goes on today.

He then goes on to describe some specific examples.

Mr. Wren concludes his article, I should note, with this comment:

We are spending around \$40 million a year of American taxpayers' money for aid to a government that rules by torture. Do we really want to do that?

I was interested to note, too, that of the eight names of torturers mentioned in the article, six had been cited by me on this floor last October 12, 1968. These

are Messrs. Lambrou, Karapanayiotis, Spanos, Babalis, and Mallios.

Mr. Wren's article needs no further comment from me. It speaks for itself. While it is not pleasant reading, I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the article be placed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.  
(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks an article published in the May 7 issue of the New York Times under the headline "European Ministers Warn Greek Regime," an editorial from the May 8 issue of the Times entitled "Warning to the Junta," and an editorial from the Providence Evening Bulletin entitled, "Greece Under the Heel."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.  
(See exhibits 2, 3, and 4.)

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, the article written by Drew Middleton from London, reports that the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe has warned the Greek Government that its internal policies violate the principles of human rights on which the Council was founded. Mr. Middleton notes that the Committee has postponed a decision on the expulsion of Greece from the Council but has adopted a resolution citing the Assembly's finding that the Greek military regime violates the conditions for membership on the Council, one of which is that every member of the Council must accept the principles of the rule of law and of the enjoyment for its citizens of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Mr. Middleton mentions the fact that a subcommittee of the Council's Human Rights Commission will resume hearings next month on allegations of torture of political prisoners of Greece. I intend to continue to follow these hearings with close attention and to inform Members of the Senate of the group's conclusions.

Mr. President, I have spoken out many times on the floor in the past 2 years on the subject of torture in Greece. The effect of torture on a people is sinister and pervasive. It intimidates through fear and silences by terror. While I have no way of knowing personally to what extent torture is still being used as an instrument of control by Greek officials, I find the recurrent reports of torture most alarming and disturbing.

I would like to point out at this time, Mr. President, that we have not had an Ambassador in Greece since January 20. As we recognize the current regime, and do business with it on a full range of political and economic matters, including certain forms of military assistance, it does not strike me as wise to leave this post unfilled. I hope that the new administration will appoint a tough-minded, nonmilitary man to this important position immediately. We need to have a strong voice in Athens—and an experienced ear.

EXHIBIT 1

GREECE: GOVERNMENT BY TORTURE  
(By Christopher Wren)

I didn't believe it. The reports of torture filtering out of Greece for two years since

the military coup were so grotesque as to seem unreal. It took a trip inside Greece to change my mind. In Athens, businessmen, priests, army officers, lawyers, housewives and students persuaded me. A succession of former political prisoners described every ordeal in detail and let me see, and touch, the scars. Now I am convinced. Torture has taken place in Greece on victims who number into the thousands. Under a frightened, unpopular military regime, torture goes on today.

Pericles Korovessis, a 28-year-old Athens actor, told me he didn't believe the stories either, until *Asphalia*, the Greek security police put him through what it likes to call the "machine of truth."

One Monday morning at 3 a.m., five armed plainclothesmen burst into his apartment. Odyssef Spanos, the leader, told the others what to look for: "Every thick book is a Communist book." The police seized ten folk-song tapes, a BBC English lesson, a typewriter, and the classics of Aristotle, Sophocles and Aeschylus. They took their evidence and Pericles Korovessis, in an unmarked black sedan down to the big *Asphalia* headquarters on Bouboulinas St.

Korovessis was hustled upstairs to a small office. Spanos told him, "I want to know everything you've done." "It's a horrible mistake," explained Korovessis. "I'll be released in the morning." Spanos hit him in the mouth, drawing blood. "If you dirty my shirt," warned Spanos, "you'll pay for it."

They took Korovessis up to the small room on the roof terrace where interrogation takes place. In the middle was a wooden bench, its top polished with use. They tied him down on it. One man held his chest. Another picked up a shovel handle. He began pounding Korovessis on the soles of his dangling feet.

The technique is called *jalanga*. At Bouboulinas St., the victim's shoes are routinely left on. This minimizes telling scars, prolongs the beating time, and is especially painful, because swelling feet eventually pop the shoes apart. "Do you like this?" the torturer asked. "This is just a sample." Korovessis tried vainly to arch his feet until the shoes were too swollen full. Screaming, he lost count of the *jalanga* strokes.

With stick, Spanos daintily hoisted a urine-soaked rag from a toilet hole at one side of the room. An assistant stopped him: "Sir, it's my job. That's too dirty for you." Korovessis passed out as the wet rag was jammed inside his mouth.

When he came to, they asked if he had anything to tell them. Then they started on his feet again. Korovessis still remembers: "It was so horrible that I thought somebody was beating me on the head. It's as if they beat you all over. After a while, I couldn't even cry." He passed out again, came to and vomited. They untied him. One policeman said: "Look, you've dirtied the floor. You must lick it up."

Korovessis couldn't stand. His shoes had split to reveal flesh "like unbaked dough." Two men dragged him down to the basement past policemen chatting about yesterday's soccer match. They put him in a dowless cell without food or water.

The next day, they took him up again. Spanos' superior, Constantine Karapanayiotis, confided: "We know you're a Communist because your family is royalist. We want you to help us. Give us the name of two friends you don't like." Korovessis refused. "Everybody who comes here talks," Karapanayiotis warned. "You're n spilling the record."

Basile Lambrou, the dapper *Asphalia* director, walked in. "I'm the boss," he announced. "It's useless trying to play hero because everybody here speaks." Korovessis said he would protest when he got out. "You'll never be able to," Lambrou laughed. "Everybody believes us and not you. It's very easy for us to humiliate you. We are

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pressed. Other objections are financial. In terms of cost-effectiveness, even the modified plan is too costly. Still other arguments arise from political considerations: An American ABM system will escalate the arms race and present a new threat to the Soviet Union.

Finally, one hears a tactical-strategic case: By the time our ABMs could be made operational, even if they worked to perfection, changes in the technology of weaponry will have made the missiles obsolete.

On careful examination, each of these arguments falls apart. The scientific objections, for example, are essentially an echo of the old argument against a hydrogen bomb; but the bomb worked. The problems of mounting an ABM system are fearfully complex, to be sure, but so were the problems of developing a moonshot. If there can be no iron-clad guarantee of successful design, in the absence of an actual test, the guarantees are reasonably solid.

The financial arguments are the least impressive. President Nixon's recommendation is for an \$800 million investment, but more than half of this—roughly \$450 million—is for research and development.

Virtually all the opponents have conceded the necessity for continuing research. The fight on budgetary grounds thus boils down to \$350 million only. In terms of national security, this is peanuts.

Perhaps the loudest complaint is that by going ahead with an antiballistic missile system, the United States in some fashion will escalate the arms race with the Soviet Union. This is nonsense.

In its "Washington Report" for April 21, the prestigious American Security Council provides stunning documentation—documentation from Soviet sources themselves—of the Soviet Union's own antimissile defenses. It is not necessary, in this regard, to make guesses of future strength. "The fact remains," says the Council, "they have ABM forces in being and we do not."

The tactical-strategic arguments are highly speculative. So far as the Soviet Union is concerned, the President and his advisers have had to act upon the intelligence available now.

By every indication, the Kremlin is proceeding steadily with deployment of its fantastic SS9 missiles. These terrifying weapons, carrying 20- to 25-megaton warheads, are much larger than our own intercontinental ballistic missiles. They represent the threat that must be countered now—and by "now," we are talking of 1973, when the first minimal phase of the proposed Safeguard system is complete.

In the end, none of the familiar, rational arguments can prevail. What the opponents really are saying, out of their hearts and not their heads, is simply that war is hell.

Of course war is hell. If we lived in a perfect world, all nations would beat their swords into plowshares. We would defuse our missiles, scrap our bombers and dump every weapon in the depths of the seas. But presidents—and senators—have an obligation to deal with hell as it is, and not with heaven as it might be.

The President's recommendations for an antiballistic missile system are the very best that he could make, in good conscience, as commander-in-chief, charged with keeping our nation secure. The most telling criticism, in truth, is not that Nixon is proposing too much, but that he is proposing too little.

In any event, the President has looked at realities; he has not closed his eyes. No one can ask more than this of a troubled Congress; but the country cannot settle for less than this, either.

# A RESOLUTION TO EXPRESS THE SENSE OF THE SENATE IN REGARD TO CHANGES IN THE JOB CORPS PROGRAM

The Senate resumed the consideration of the resolution (S. Res. 194) to express the sense of the Senate in regard to changes in the Job Corps program.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I rise to support the Senator from California (Mr. CRANSTON) in his sense of the Senate resolution concerning a postponement of the Job Corps action on the part of the administration.

The points pro and con have been covered in the debate, and I wish to identify myself as a strong proponent of the resolution.

## ORDER OF RECOGNITION OF SENATORS

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I believe Presiding Officers should be informed that the purpose of the list at the desk is to indicate what Senators are to be called to speak if the Senate is about to adjourn, but that, under the rules of the Senate, the Senator first on his feet, seeking recognition, is the one who should be recognized.

I am not directing these remarks at the present Presiding Officer, but referring to the general rule, because I note that this habit of following a list is coming into too much use. I believe we should return to the regular rule, which is that the Senator first on his feet seeking recognition is recognized first, and that the purpose of the list is to avoid the Senate's adjourning before a particular Senator can be called.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PELL. I yield.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I wish to associate myself with the remarks that have just been made by the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island.

I have noted particularly this year that the practice of having a list of names at the desk has seemed to grow over that of previous years. We have heretofore had lists of names at the desk from time to time, but the rules of the Senate do not make any provision for recognition of a Senator by virtue of his name's having been placed on a list.

Rule XIX, paragraph 1, provides that the Presiding Officer shall recognize the Senator who shall first address him, and I would hope that we would not permit the erosion of this rule. It is possible for a Senator, under the practice that is coming more and more into vogue, to place his name on the list at the Presiding Officer's desk, return to the office and work for 2 or 3 hours, feeling assured that when his name is about to be reached on the list, he will be notified, and can be on the floor and get immediate recognition; whereas, a Senator who has been diligent in remaining on the floor all afternoon, as has the Senator from

Rhode Island, will not be recognized in accordance with rule XIX.

I have sat in the Chamber day after day and watched this rule being eroded; and I would like to express the hope that Senators who preside—and my remarks are not, I want to say, as did the Senator from Rhode Island, meant to be directed to the present Presiding Officer—whoever they may be, will follow the Senate rule and recognize Senators in accordance with the rule.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PELL. I yield.

Mr. LONG. While the Senator is addressing himself to that subject, I would hope that one of these days we might be able to prevail upon our Rules Committee to consider a number of not consequential but helpful changes to our rules in order to help us expedite our business, so that we could get on with it more effectively.

One thing that especially concerns the junior Senator from Louisiana is that many times, because of some absentees and the failure of the side that has the most absentees to be able to obtain pairs for all their absentees, Senators insist on a matter going over to the following day and then they go over to the following day at a time when there is no other business to take up.

We were fighting over a measure involving campaign expenditures 2 years ago, and six votes were taken. My side won three times and the other side won three times. It depended on which side had the most absentees. If we had had the entire membership of the Senate present, it would have been a tie vote.

That kind of thing could go on forever. If we could reach an agreement on any basis, once it is cleared that a Senator wishes to vote in a certain way, that could be achieved by any one of a dozen mechanisms, or we could agree that both sides would pair their absentees, provided they knew how Senators wanted to vote.

I suppose the Senator from Rhode Island has used a similar technique in some of the committees on which he serves, and I know it is followed on some of the committees on which I serve. It is a helpful means by which to get on with business. We might even go to the extent when we are in doubt, of getting on the telephone and contacting a Senator who might be addressing his State legislature or some group on a matter involving, perhaps, the Federal-State relationship. We might get the Senator on the telephone, permit most sides to explain their positions, and then ask the Senator how he wants to vote to break the tie.

However, in the Senate Chamber we are still stuck with the obsolete way of doing business. If a Senator gives a pair it looks as if both Senators did not vote. That is the difficulty in giving pairs. Someone might say, "Don't let them vote today, fellows. We will keep the conversation going until tomorrow." Sometimes that procedure goes on indefinitely. I assume that during sessions of the Sen-



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the government, and you are nothing. The government isn't alone. Behind the government are the Americans. The whole world is in two parts—the Russians and the Americans. We are the Americans. Be grateful we've only tortured you a little. In Russia, they'd kill you."

Lambrou, other victims confirm, displays a facial twitch when he gets excited. His jaw began jerking when Korovessis told him he had nothing to say. "Then say a prayer," Lambrou snapped.

Karapanayiotis gestured: "I'll give you to Gravaritis and he'll kill you. He enjoys it."

Basile Gravaritis, paunchy and smiling, took over. He stroked Korovessis' shoulder. "Why fight the boss?" he soothed. "Tell the whole story. It'll be good for you." Suddenly, he grabbed Korovessis by the hair and slammed his head against the wall.

Gravaritis ordered his assistants to take Korovessis back up to the room on the terrace. He stamped on his prisoner's instep. The blood came out.

They tied Korovessis back on the bench. Gravaritis hung up his coat and rolled his sleeves "like a priest preparing for a ceremony." He began *falanga*, this time with an iron pipe. After ten blows, he paused to say: "Your right foot is already broken. If you want to save the other, tell the truth now." The beating resumed. "I even felt pain in my fingernails," Korovessis recalls today.

He fainted, then revived. Gravaritis walked over: "I'm so sorry, are you all right?" He slapped Korovessis across the face, then with two fingers slowly pressed his victim's eyes back into his skull.

They untied Korovessis, and began flailing his shins and knees with the iron bar. Gravaritis dragged him around the room by the hair, smashing his face against one knee. A tooth fell out. They took him outside, pretended to toss him off the roof and brought him back inside the room.

Korovessis feigned unconsciousness, until his testicles were slugged with the bar. "Oh, you're all right," grinned Gravaritis. They spread Korovessis down over the bench. Gravaritis shoved the iron bar into his rectum, tearing the skin. Korovessis blacked out. He came to in the corner. Gravaritis was carefully combing his hair in the window's reflection. He looked down at Korovessis. "We've become tired of this kind of man," he said.

Lambrou and his associates came in and kicked at Korovessis. Karapanayiotis seared his mouth with a hot pepper, broke it open, and stuck the pieces into his eyes and nose. Another man poured American detergent down his throat, and, finally, propped a cigarette into his lips as he lay writhing. Everyone laughed. "You see what happens to people who don't like democracy," Lambrou lectured.

An army ambulance carried Korovessis to the No. 401 Military Hospital in central Athens. But he got no medical attention. Instead, daily, he was wheeled from his bed into a room, strapped to a leather chair, and tortured with electricity from a "black box." Several men in white smocks watched to determine how much shock his heart could stand. "This little machine could make you feel like nothing," Korovessis remembers. "I shook like a piece of paper." Lambrou dropped in once to chat. "Your soul is tortured because you have many sins," he suggested. "Write them down and save your soul."

Korovessis never talked, because, he insists, he had nothing to tell. After a week, he was taken back to Bouboulinas St., then through a succession of prisons. Six months after he was picked up, he was finally released. He had been charged, with nothing, convicted of nothing. Still, he was forbidden to work and had to see the police twice a week.

Pericles Korovessis can speak now because he has escaped from Greece with his wife. I studied nearly 200 cases like his, in per-

sonal interviews and smuggled reports. The people I met in Athens had names. Most victims are anonymous, like the "bloody amorphous mass" that one young laborer told me was dumped into the next cell and remained without food and water when he left six days later. The majority are still in prison. Those released have been forced to sign statements that they were not tortured.

*Falanga* is the basic torture. In Athens, the victim is tied to a bench or chair. In Salonika, he is stripped below the waist and laid on his back, with his feet between the sling and stock of an American M1 rifle. Two men hoist the rifle, twisting it to immobilize his feet. A third slams away at the exposed soles. "The pain is like an electric shock," one student told me. "It goes up into your heart and bangs inside your head." When the victim passes out, he is made to stand up and jump. This brings the circulation—and pain—back. Then *falanga* begins again, swelling the entire leg. Everybody I talked to said he urinated blood afterward.

That isn't all. Suspects are often stripped naked, an old Gestapo trick to break resistance. There have been mock executions, sometimes over an open grave. Karapanayiotis gave one student a forced enema with detergent, boasting: "We'll pull your bowels out of your mouth." A Salonika girl was dangled from a helicopter and dipped into the Aegean Sea until she talked. A prominent lawyer was hung by his feet. A quiet, long-haired brunette was deflowered with a broom handle. I learned of a film maker who had his moustache burned off. At the *Asphalia* station in central Piraeus, the Athens port, vice director Sotiris Kouvas gets results from a heavy metal ring that he slips over the suspect's skull, then tightens slowly with metal screws.

Electric torture to the toes, neck and genitals is commonplace. But psychological terror frequently works best. At one jail a clanging bell keeps prisoners awake. Threats of rape or sodomy are also effective. A 35-year-old spinster resisted 14 bouts of *falanga*. She broke when her torturers stripped her and began to molest her. She has since tried to hang herself.

The government forbids anyone to help the family of a man taken to jail. He becomes more vulnerable if he has to worry about them. An army major was buried up to his neck and saw his son beaten before him. Paul Zannas, director of the Salonika Film Festival, was not tortured. But when his 13-year-old son tried to bring him a French newspaper, *Le Monde*, in prison, the boy was thrashed by a jailer in front of Zannas.

Georgia Pangopoulou was arrested with her fiancé, Constantine Meletis. They were tortured in adjacent rooms of a military barracks in Salonika, so they could hear each other scream. An officer crisscrossed her face with a knife. "Go to the mirror and see how pretty you look," he ordered her. Meletis remembers a man named Baras being beaten so badly next door that with each new blow he could only "grunt like an ox." At the Bouboulinas St. jail, an actress, Kitty Arseni, listed to one *falanga* session overhead. She counted 200 blows.

A student's wife, two months pregnant, miscarried after *falanga*. One prisoner at Bouboulinas St. told me some men could only crawl to the daily toilet. One young man was so battered that when his girl friend saw him, she vomited.

How could such torture be condoned? Bear in mind that the colonel's coup on April 21, 1967, defied the Greek people, the government, the king and even the generals, who had postponed their own planned coup. Today, I was told in Greece, only five percent of the population backs the junta. Another five percent may collaborate. But 25 percent of the people strongly oppose it. The remaining two-thirds, including the peasants, are sitting on the sidelines.

In two years, the colonels have failed to solidify any significant support from the Greeks. They have to expose and smash all opposition, or the precarious dictatorship will collapse. As one priest puts it, "They govern Greece like a battalion and nothing more."

The target for torture has been those the junta fears most—the intellectuals, the young and the non-Communist leftists. Nearly all the torture victims I met were educated. *Asphalia* is especially worried about resistance groups like the radical Patriotic Front, the moderate Democratic Defence, and the students' *Rigas Feraios*.

The torture is calculated to create fear as well as get information. Doctors are warned not to treat released victims; if they do, their telephone service can be cut. Feeding the children of a man in jail is "association with Communists" that will send you to prison yourself. Ex-prisoners cannot hold a job without *Asphalia's* approval. The *Asphalia* budget has doubled since the coup much of the increase going to pay informers.

The four-story, brown-shuttered *Asphalia* building across from the National Archaeological Museum on Bouboulinas St., with gray jeeps parked along its sidewalk, has become a landmark. At first, a motorcycle engine was run at night to drown out screams from the terrace. Now, the building is so infamous that most torture has been relocated to suburban stations. The windowless basement cells are still used, as is the three-room basement at 16 Rethymnou St., several blocks away, where the overflow of prisoners from Bouboulinas St. has been stored.

The once-elite commandos, decimated by a purge after the coup, carry out the worst atrocities at the Dionysos military camp outside Athens. One green-beret raiding-force officer confirmed the tortures took place. There is a tree there where prisoners are hung by their wrists, which are manacled behind their backs. In winter, prisoners have been doused with water and left hanging overnight.

Even in Athens, prisoners have been frequently denied food, water and blankets. A young girl told me she got along by lapping water from the toilet. Provisions sent by families have sometimes been kept by the police. One 22-year-old girl stayed in solitary confinement for six months because she spit at Lambrou, but shorter isolation periods are common. I learned of prisoners left in handcuffs for days, weeks, even months. In one case, the man's flesh swelled over the handcuffs, hiding them.

The torture ends with prison. Anyone sentenced to Averhoff or Aegina prisons, or the island concentration camp at Leros, faces hardship, but not *falanga*. A military officer presides at the trials. Lawyers don't see their clients until just beforehand. Any references to torture, as when Yannis Petropoulos, a construction worker, showed his mutilated feet on the witness stand, are stricken from the record. Sentences are heavy. A law student, later amnestied with other prisoners, told me he got 20 years for possessing two leaflets. Young demonstrators at former Prime Minister George Papandreu's funeral drew up to four and a half years. A man who called the government a "junta" in a grocery-store conversation went to prison. So did a priest who asked his congregation to give their Easter dinners to the families of those in jail.

The torture has tapered off from the first bloody year after the coup, but the same torturers keep cropping up in the most recent accounts: Lambrou, Gravaritis, Karapanayiotis, Spanos, Petros Babalis, and the sexual torture specialist, Evangelos Mallios, at Bouboulinas St. alone. Nicholas Kioupis, a fat, bespectacled *Asphalia* doctor, inspects victims to advise how much more torture they will take.

Besides Korovessis, I met only one other victim, a young cabinetmaker, who held out.

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The broken ones are far more bitter. A student who blurted the name of his best friend recalls: "I tried not to think of speaking. Even naked and tied, I was so much more than the people beating me. Then there was an emptiness, and I found myself talking."

The dictatorship refuses to admit that torture goes on. It calls anyone who raises the fact Communist or homosexual or both. Yet, Amnesty International, a London-based organization concerned about political prisoners, confirmed almost a year and a half ago that there was torture. Sweden, Norway, Denmark and the Netherlands have filed charges against Greece in the Council of Europe for violation of the Human Rights Convention, which forbids degrading treatment of prisoners. A subcommittee of the Council went to Greece in March. It was refused access to the prisoners and prisons it had requested. Now, a showdown is brewing that could result in Greece's expulsion from the Council.

The Greek Government brought an ex-prisoner, Constantine Meletis, under armed guard to rebut the torture charges at the Council's hearing last November in Strasbourg, France. He escaped to testify that he had in fact been tortured. I saw him in Oslo, where he now lives under Norwegian police protection. His jaw is still crooked from being broken with a submachine-gun magazine when he was arrested a year ago. *Asphalia* has been collecting pictures of him at home. They plan to get him.

In Washington, D.C., Sen. Claiborne Pell has brought up the subject of torture a half-dozen times on the Senate floor. "Torture has been used as an instrument to keep the Greek people scared," Senator Pell believes. "It will get worse if we extend full military assistance, and they think we're not horrified. We should hold up assistance until we know the torture has been stopped."

American military aid to Greece was suspended after the coup; now the money is flowing again, but our Government refuses to say how much. The consensus is that we need Greece in NATO. Yet one of Greece's top military men insisted to me that, since its 2,000 best officers were purged by the junta, the Greek armed forces have become nearly worthless. "Before," he said, "Greece gave NATO ten infantry divisions, one armored division and the raiding forces. Now it all adds up to zero, because today, there's no morale, no discipline, no spirit left."

The people of Greece believe the tortures would end if the United States just spoke out. One woman challenged: "I can't understand why Americans want democracy in their country, but smile upon people who destroy democracy in my country. Democracy is not just for the Americans." The irony is that American aid has become identified with the tortures. American M1 rifles have been used in the *falanga* beatings. Some of the interrogator's desks at Boukoulmas St. bear the clasped-hands emblem of the U.S. aid program. Unconscious victims have been lugged from the terrace down to the basement ("A slaughterhouse of broken bodies" one prisoner called it) in gray American hospital blankets with "U.S." in prominent black letters. The torturers, who smoke American cigarettes while they work, like to give the impression they are only doing a job for the Americans. Most of the victims I talked to believed that Lambrou and Mallios, among others, were trained in the United States, though there is no evidence of this. No wonder Pericles Korovessis, now a homeless, penniless exile, asks: "Is Lambrou your spokesman? What has happened to the American dream?"

Before I left Athens, I had dinner with a bearded Orthodox priest. "When a foreigner comes to Greece," he said, "he sees the sun and the sky, and he thinks things are going fine. In reality, inside these people you see on the streets is a hatred that is eating them away. There is going to be such an explosion here as no one is expecting."

The reckoning of the tortures is yet to come. Look for the educated and the young to shift so far left that the junta's baseless charge of Communism becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. Look for what one Greek calls "the mathematical certainty of anarchy," culminating in a revolt, conceivably Soviet-backed, against the dictatorship. Look for the condemnation and probable expulsion of Greece from the Council of Europe. Look eventually for a split within NATO itself, lining Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands and even Italy against the United States and its corrupted ally. Look for anti-Americanism to spread through a people who were once loyal friends.

We are spending around \$40 million a year of American taxpayers' money for aid to a government that rules by torture. Do we really want to do that?

## EXHIBIT 2

[From the New York Times, May 7, 1969]

EUROPEAN MINISTERS WARN GREEK REGIME  
(By Drew Middleton)

LONDON, May 6.—The Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe warned the Greek Government today that its internal policies violated the principles of human rights on which the Council was founded.

After a three-hour debate the committee approved by 13 to 2 a four-point resolution that in effect warns Greece that she is in danger of expulsion from the Council.

Greece and Cyprus voted against the resolution and France, Switzerland and Turkey abstained.

At its 20th anniversary meeting the ministerial committee endorsed multilateral contacts with Eastern Europe as contributions to a detente with the Communist bloc.

"The policy of a detente should be continued," the committee reported in a communique, even though the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia had impeded progress.

The Council of Europe is an 18-nation intergovernmental group formed in 1949 with the aim of furthering European unity. It consists of a Committee of Ministers representing the various governments and a Consultative Assembly whose members are chosen by the national parliaments.

In January the Consultative Assembly, meeting in Strasbourg, France, recommended the exclusion of Greece from the Council. Greece denounced the resolution as prejudiced.

## HARMONY IS STRESSED

The two-day anniversary meeting of the ministerial committee was concluded at Lancaster House this afternoon. The session was notable in two respects, participants said.

Positive steps toward European political unity in this first post-de Gaulle conference could be discussed "in terms of reality rather than vague hopes," one Foreign Minister said.

There also was an obvious desire in this more optimistic atmosphere not to take action that would rupture European harmony.

This was believed to be one of the reasons the committee postponed until its next meeting in December a decision on the expulsion of Greece from the Council, adopting the four-point resolution instead.

The resolution cites the Consultative Assembly's finding that the Greek military regime violates the conditions for membership in the Council as set out under Article 3 of the Statute of the Council of Europe.

## READY FOR DECISION

The article provides that every member of the Council must accept the principle of the rule of law and of the enjoyment of all persons within the jurisdiction of the government of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The ministerial committee also declared in the resolution that it was "ready" to make a decision on Greece at its next meeting and

expressed the hope that the report of the Commission on Human Rights would be available to the committee as soon as possible.

A subcommittee of the European Human Rights Commission will resume hearings in Strasbourg, France, next month on allegations of torture of political prisoners in Greece.

The ministerial committee spent much of the afternoon session discussing the political aspects of European economic integrations.

Progress in this field, it is widely believed, depends on the policy of the future French government. Foreign Minister Willy Brandt of West Germany and others cautioned against giving the French the impression they were under any kind of pressure.

Prime Minister Wilson, who yesterday reasserted Britain's desire to enter the Common Market, was similarly cautious while answering questions in the House of Commons.

Mr. Wilson said that Britain "must take this matter fairly slowly and coolly" until the situation in France is clearer. There are still "enormous difficulties" facing British entry, the Prime Minister said.

[From the New York Times, May 7, 1969]

## ACTRESS IN PLEA TO GREEKS

ATHENS, May 6.—Anna Synodinou, one of the foremost Greek dramatic actresses, appealed to Greeks today for action to help restore freedom in Greece after two years of military rule.

The 42-year-old actress, who has refused to appear on the Greek stage since the military regime took power in 1967, said she was demonstrating in this way her "opposition to the suppression of the freedom of speech" in her country. She expressed her views in a statement issued to the foreign press.

"I address myself with all my heart and my full voice, to all those—Greeks and strangers—who believe in a peaceful and creative life," she wrote. "Help restore freedom in Greece. Help rehabilitate human dignity."

## EXHIBIT 3

[From the New York Times, May 8, 1969]

## WARNING TO THE JUNTA

The Council of Europe has warned Greece's junta to restore basic human rights by December or face expulsion from the eighteen-nation body. Greek democrats had hoped that the Council at its twentieth anniversary meeting in London would at least suspend Athens; but the colonels would be wise to take this milder action for the conditional reprieve it was.

Up for consideration in London was the recommendation of a huge majority of the Consultative Assembly of the Council that Greece be ousted for "serious violation of the conditions of membership" regarding the rule of law and human rights. The foreign ministers postponed action until their December meeting however, partly to get a report from the Council's Human Rights Commission on alleged torturing of Greek political prisoners. They were also reluctant to rock the European boat further after the shock of President de Gaulle's exit in France.

At any rate, these colonels now have seven months in which to restore basic liberties and put Greece on the road back to democracy and the rule of law. It would solve many problems—for Greece, the Council of Europe, NATO and also for the United States—if Colonel Papadopoulos and his henchmen took this opportunity to carry out a few of their promises.

## EXHIBIT 4

[From the Providence (R.I.) Evening Bulletin, May 9, 1968]

## GREECE UNDER THE HEEL

In denouncing the Greek government's suppression of freedom, the Council of Min-

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isters of the Council of Europe has struck a note of truth in an evasive world. That they held off a vote on expelling Greece from the 18-member council indicated perhaps their hope that conditions in Greece may improve in the next six months.

But in declaring that the policies of the totalitarian regime in Athens violated the principles of human rights on which the council was founded, the ministers did what many Americans have wished their own government would do. In recognizing the Papadopoulos military dictatorship and in offering it assistance, this nation seems to many to have condoned the suppression of free speech, the imprisonment of political enemies, the denial of popular government.

Greece is a member of NATO, part of the defense of Western and Southern Europe against Russian expansionism. But the fact that Greece occupies a strategic location in the planning of the NATO joint command should not be permitted to override considerations of human decency. If the Council of Ministers has rebuked the Athens regime, it is time the United States used all the pressure at its command to push the Greek colonels into a return to representative government.

#### DISPOSAL OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS IN THE ATLANTIC OCEAN BY DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, on Thursday last, as I am sure many of my colleagues will recall, the New York Times reported that the Department of the Army plans to dispose of several thousand tons of chemical weapons by dumping them into the Atlantic Ocean at a distance of 250 miles offshore and at a depth of 7,200 feet.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Roy Reed's article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### CONGRESSMEN PROTEST RAIL PLAN TO CARRY POISON GAS TO ATLANTIC (By Roy Reed)

WASHINGTON, May 7.—The Army is considering the transportation of a large quantity of obsolete, but still lethal, poison gas across the country in railroad cars to be dumped in the Atlantic Ocean.

Under a proposal that the Army says is being discussed—and which a New York Congressman says has been decided on—the gas would be shipped by railroad from the Rocky Mountain Arsenal near Denver and the Edgewood Arsenal in Maryland to the Naval Ammunition Depot at Earle, N.J. There it would be loaded onto four old Liberty ships, towed 250 miles out to sea and sunk with the ships.

Earle is 20 miles across the lower bay from the southern tip of Manhattan.

The proposal was attacked today by Representative Richard D. McCarthy, Democrat of upstate New York, who made it public, and by Senator Harrison A. Williams Jr., Democrat of New Jersey.

The two men, in letters and telegrams, urged the Defense Department to stop what Senator Williams called "this very hazardous operation" because of the danger to human life along the railroad routes and at the port, as well as the potential hazard to marine life in the Atlantic.

The Pentagon replied this afternoon that, although it had not decided to go ahead with the proposal, disposal by this method would be the safest it could devise.

Mr. McCarthy said his source of information, which he did not divulge, insisted that the military had already decided on the train plan of disposal.

Meanwhile, Representative Henry S. Reuss, Democrat of Wisconsin, announced that Congressional hearings would begin May 20 on the possible dangers of open-air testing of chemical warfare agents.

The hearings will cover the accident last year in Utah in which about 7,000 sheep died in the vicinity of an Army nerve gas test.

Ramparts magazine, in its June issue now going on sale, reviews that accident and warns that a similar accident that could involve human life may occur in Utah from an infestation of a Latin-American virus that was brought to the state by the Army.

Representative McCarthy and Senator Williams said they had learned that the Department of Transportation had issued a permit to allow the gas to be transported by rail.

Mr. McCarthy said the permit had been issued with a waiver of a customary safety requirement. Cylinders carrying toxic material ordinarily are tested under water pressure for value leaks.

A Transportation Department spokesman said it would be more dangerous to empty the already-filled World War II cylinders than to let them go through untested.

Mr. McCarthy said most of the cylinders involved had not been tested since World War II.

An Army spokesman said the Army had disposed of obsolete gases by the train-to-sea method "several times," most recently in August, 1968. He said there had never been an accident.

Mr. McCarthy said he had learned of accidental spilling of a military-made chemical agent called phosgene in four separate incidents in the Midwest during the last year. He said details of the accidents were hard to find because of a policy of secrecy surrounding chemical warfare agents.

Pentagon spokesmen said a decision on disposal of the obsolete gas would be made only after consultation with scientific and technical experts and with other government agencies.

They said 27,000 tons of material, including containers, was involved and the movement would require 90 to 120 days, beginning later this month.

Maj. Gen. Wendell Coats, the Army's Chief of Public Information, said the material was about half GP nerve gas and half mustard gas. The nerve agent is in Air Force bombs, the mustard gas in cylinders of three-eighths-inch thick steel.

General Coats said the cylinders would be packed on the railroad cars in vermiculite to absorb any spill of the deadly liquid.

He said that any significant pollution of the sea would be "virtually impossible" from the dumping. The gas would rest on the sea bottom at a depth of about 7,200 feet, he said.

In the unlikely event of a ruptured cylinder, General Coats said, the poison would be dangerous for only 185 hours, after which it would be absorbed by the water and rendered harmless. He said the Army calculated that it would take water at that depth 400 years to rise to the surface.

He said the operation would cost \$2.9-million.

An alternative would be to burn the material in the arsenals, and that would take "a period of years," he said.

"Our people calculate the train method is the safest way of getting rid of this material," he stated.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, while the primary focus of this article is to raise the general issue of the transport and the disposal of chemical and biological weapons, I wish to draw attention to the specific question—does the United States have the right to use the ocean space environment as a dumping ground for obsolete lethal gases? I bring up this question because the area selected by the U.S. Army is not only beyond our territorial

sea but, indeed, it lies beyond our Continental Shelf. In other words, the disposal site is clearly beyond the territorial jurisdiction of the United States, and, yet, by carrying out this proposed plan, the United States will be asserting de facto, if limited, jurisdiction over that selected portion of the ocean depths and the seabed thereof, and I might add, it will be asserting this jurisdiction for a very questionable purpose.

Mr. President, as one of the congressional advisers to the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Seabed, I have closely followed the discussion on this issue, and I would remind the Department of the Army that the United States has gone on record at the United Nations as giving its full support to the principle that the seabed beyond the present limits of national jurisdiction shall be utilized in the interests and for the benefit of all mankind. In addition, during the last session of the General Assembly, the United States cosponsored a major resolution calling on the United Nations Secretariat to undertake a general study of the problem of marine pollution. Also, I think it should be recalled that, during the past session of the 18-Nation Disarmament Conference, the United States stated that mass destruction weaponry, including chemical and biological weapons, must be prohibited from emplacement in the ocean floor.

While I do not in any way mean to suggest that the Army's plan to dispose of the chemical weapons in question can be equated with the emplacement of weapons on the ocean floor, or that the action contemplated is ipso facto synonymous with marine pollution, or even that the Army's plan must necessarily be contrary to the interests of mankind, I do suggest that, if the Army implements this course of action, the credibility of our pronouncements before the United Nations and the 18-Nation Disarmament Conference could be impaired.

Like all great powers, Mr. President, the United States cannot have it both ways and still enjoy the trust and confidence of the other nations of the world; we cannot berate Peru for trying to protect the fisheries within its 200-mile coastal belt, while we maintain that freedom of the high seas permits us the jurisdictional authority to dump lethal gases 250 miles from our coast. We cannot seek to overcome the problems of marine pollution, or to exploit the marine environment in the interests of mankind, or to use the seabed exclusively for peaceful purposes, while at the same time we retain the right, under customary law of the sea, to utilize ocean space in any way we see fit, including the disposal of some of the most ghastly weapons ever produced by man. In short, how legitimate is our leadership in the field of oceanology, when on the one hand we call upon the world community to fashion a new legal and political framework for the development and exploitation of the international marine environment, and on the other we ourselves seek refuge among the old rules when we find them convenient to our purposes.

Mr. President, for several years now, I have urged my colleagues to give serious thought to the need for an ocean



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space treaty, such as I have reintroduced during this session of the Congress. The type of treaty which I have suggested would provide for the peaceful and orderly development of ocean space, and in large measure would establish a meaningful basis for a solution to the kind of problem which I have mentioned today. I know that all of us would feel much less apprehensive about the Army's proposed plan of disposal if it were sanctioned by a majority of the members of the international community, or if the plan itself were approved by an international body of experts. We have neither, but the fact that we have not sought such approval explains the crisis of our times in the way we conduct our international relations.

#### THE TURBOTRAIN—THE MODERN PASSENGER TRAIN

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, recently, I had an opportunity to travel from New York City to my home State of Rhode Island on a regularly scheduled run of the turbotrain, the modern passenger trains being operated by the Penn Central Co. under the High-Speed Ground Transportation Act of 1965.

Mr. President, I had a pleasant, agreeable, and I would even say a delightful ride. I am extremely glad that these trains finally are on the track.

However, there are three very important steps that I would hope the Penn Central Co. would take as quickly as possible. They are steps that I consider necessary to the full and valid test of public acceptance that Congress envisioned when it approved this demonstration program.

The first, and to my mind most important, is to permit the Penn Central engineers to run the turbotrains at the speeds of which they are capable, consonant with reasonable safety.

I am personally convinced that, with no relocation or straightening of the twisting New Haven right-of-way, the turbotrains could make the trip from New York to Boston in 3 hours flat, compared with the current 3 hour and 55 minute schedule.

These trains were imaginatively designed and built by United Aircraft Corp. specifically to ride the present right-of-way with its many curves and bumps. I, in fact, believe that if the track were straightened and improved, if grade crossings were eliminated, and if the right-of-way were fenced, the turbotrain could cut the Boston to New York running time to the 2 hours that I have always held out as a target. Indeed I think it is time we started giving very careful consideration to a program of right-of-way improvements to make such true high-speed runs possible with full safety.

I think it quite probable we would find the cost of such improvements more than offset by the public benefits in convenience and time savings, and in relieving the strain on overcrowded conditions in other transportation facilities. I for one, would be prepared to give my full support to such a program of roadbed and right-of-way improvements.

In the meantime, however, I see no reason why the most advantageous use

should not be made of the existing roadbed and the turbotrain capabilities. I strongly urge the management of the Penn Central to unleash their engineers and permit these trains to make the run in three hours, as I believe they can.

Secondly, the turbotrain continues to operate on a minimal schedule of frequency—one round trip each day. It is vitally important to a valid demonstration that the number of daily runs be increased as soon as possible to the four roundtrips anticipated in planning for this project.

The third point I wish to raise involves the effort being made to inform the public of the turbotrain services through advertising. Up to the present time, there has been scarcely any effort made by the Penn Central at advertising the service. But despite these three failings—the relatively slow speeds, the infrequent service, and the lack of advertising effort by the Penn Central, the turbotrains are being well patronized. That is a clear, if early, indication that New Englanders want improved rail passenger service, and want it very badly.

I would hope very strongly that the Penn Central will move quickly to cut the running time, and increase the frequency of service for the turbotrains. When these steps are accomplished, I would expect the Penn Central to present a forceful informative advertising campaign, and I would point out that the High-Speed Ground Transportation Act authorized the use of project funds for such informational advertising.

The Penn Central Co. should take the initiative in these three steps I have urged. At the same time, we must remember that this demonstration is being conducted by the Penn Central under a Department of Transportation contract. The present limited service is being run under a temporary 150-day agreement. If the Penn Central has not acted sooner, I would urge that the improvements I have urged today be required by the new contract for the turbotrain demonstration.

#### FEDERAL AID TO HIGHER EDUCATION

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, in this morning's Washington Post, there is published an editorial which succinctly sets forth the shortcomings of the proposed budget allocations as related to Federal aid to higher education. I ask unanimous consent that this fine statement be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

##### FEDERAL DISINHERITANCE

There is not going to be much benevolence for colleges or for college students in the 1970 fiscal year if President Nixon's proposed budget is approved by Congress. Perhaps the parsimony has something to do with the widespread student feeling that the older generation really does not care quite so much for education as it likes to pretend it does. At any rate, the Federal aid to higher education cupboard looks pretty bare.

The National Defense Student Loans have been cut by slightly more than one-third from the level promised by the Johnson Administration—from \$270 million to \$155 million. These low-interest, long-term loans

benefit lower and middle-class families; over half a million students now depend upon them. The College Work-Study program, designed to provide decent paying jobs for needy students working their way through college, has been cut by 31 per cent, from \$211 million to \$146 million. Educational Opportunity Grants have been cut in half. These grants are awarded to children of poor families to help them pay basic college costs. This cut alone would deprive more than 100,000 needy students, intellectually qualified for higher education, of the financial means to attend college unless the already overtaxed colleges themselves can somehow, offer them scholarships.

"My Administration," President Nixon said when he was campaigning for election, "will commit itself to the proposition that no young American who is qualified to go to college will be prevented from doing so because he cannot afford it. I will support existing programs which aid needy students, and will call for their expansion when it is indicated . . . I intend to make the new Administration one which will not allow men's worlds to remain closed to those who need only money."

It is not only for fiscal 1970 that the Nixon Administration is now closing men's worlds. Funds to promote the Higher Education Facilities Act also have been drastically reduced—a reduction which will mean inescapably that colleges will lack the physical plant to accommodate young men and women seeking higher education in the years ahead. Commissions on Higher Education set up in all parts of the country have recommended substantial Federal grants and loans for construction purposes. Funds for Title I of the Act, designed to promote the building of undergraduate academic facilities, have been slashed to a minor fraction of what the commissions recommended; under the proposed budget, only \$43 million is requested for this program, of which about \$60,000 might be allocated to the District of Columbia. This will not go very far in financing the \$17 million planned by D.C. colleges and universities for the construction of academic facilities in fiscal 1970. The President's budget recommends no funds at all for the construction of graduate academic facilities.

Can this Nation reclaim the trust and allegiance of its young by disinheriting them?

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I can assure you that the concern about the underfunding of higher education is not just from the Washington Post. As chairman of the Subcommittee on Education of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, I am in receipt of all too many letters explicitly stating just how the cutback in funds will hurt developing colleges and universities; ruin student aid programs; and thwart growing and diversified curriculums.

How does one explain to a young student, who has been accepted at college that the Federal Government cannot afford to loan him or her \$400 for tuition. How can we in good conscience allow the curtailing of programs, as is evidenced by the table prepared by the American Council on Education, which denotes that Student Aid Funds available to be dispersed amount to only 67 percent of the requests received? I ask unanimous consent that the table I am speaking of, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### STUDENT AID FUNDS FOR 1969-70 AMOUNT TO 67 PERCENT OF REQUESTS

Funds for three major Federal student aid programs in the coming 1969-70 academic

### Israel Denies a Report She Has 5 or 6 A-Bombs

Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, May 8—Israel denied today that she was an atomic power. Asked about a report in the German magazine Der Spiegel that Israel had five or six operational atomic bombs, a Foreign Ministry official stated:

"This report is groundless. Israel is not an atomic power. We have said many times that we will not be the first to introduce nuclear weapons into the Middle East."

~~Der Spiegel said that at least~~

five atomic bombs had been produced at a plant near Dimona. The magazine added that security was so stringent that a damaged Israeli jet, which strayed into the Dimona area in southern Israel during the war of June, 1967, was shot down by an Israeli missile.

# German Magazine Says Israelis Have A-Bomb

Once again, reports that Israel has nuclear weapons are stirring wide interest.

This week's issue of the German news magazine *Der Spiegel* says that Israel has constructed "at least five, but more likely six" Hiroshima-sized atomic bombs of 20 kilotons.

The same report was carried in yesterday morning's editions of the *Montreal Gazette*.

An Israeli Foreign Ministry spokesman in Jerusalem called the reports "speculative, unauthorized and unfounded."

U.S. State Department spokesman Robert, J. McCloskey, asked at a news conference if Israel had nuclear weapons, said: "I would have to refer you to the oft-repeated statement of the government of Israel that Israel would not be the first to introduce nuclear weapons into the area." When asked whether "introduce" meant possession or use, McCloskey replied: "That's as far as I intend to go on that subject."

Cairo newspapers said reports that Israel had manufactured nuclear bombs were lies and a part of the Jewish state's "psychological warfare" against the Arabs.

## Not a Signatory

Israel so far has not signed the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, which binds signatory nations that do not now have nuclear weapons not to make or acquire them.

Most knowledgeable U.S. diplomatic and military officials doubted *Der Spiegel*'s story. There is, however, general agreement in Washington that Israel is capable of making nuclear weapons.

Several times a year, reports that Israel has nuclear weapons in its arsenal receive wide circulation—and each time they are repeated, Israel's stated policy is reiterated.

*Der Spiegel* said that the nuclear devices were built in remote Dimona, a weapons production complex deep in the Negev desert.

So stringent is security around the closely guarded, 20,000-man installation that a crippled Israeli Mystere jet was shot and the pilot killed by a Hawk rocket when it limped into the area in the 1967 war, the magazine said.

## Followed War

The Dimona project was developed after the Suez war in 1956, as an outgrowth of talks between Prime Minister Ben Gurion and President de Gaulle of France, the magazine said.

The account continued: "American questioning about the project elicited the reply that the Dimona installation was a textile factory. However, flights by the U-2 spy plane showed the CIA that Dimona was in fact a 24-megawatt reactor 'ideally suited to bomb manufacture.'"

Ben Gurion later told the Americans that the reactor was limited to peaceful energy production and an inspection confirmed that the facility had no separate facility for turning out bomb-grade plutonium.

However, the French were already providing Israel directly with enriched plutonium from their reactor in Pierrelatte, and soon afterwards the Israelis began buying uranium in South Africa and Argentina, and separating out bomb-grade material at a super-secret installation even deeper in the Negev.

According to the British Institute for Strategic Studies, *Der Spiegel* said: this provided six kilograms of plutonium yearly, and was supplemented by the work of Israeli scientists Prof. Racah and Dr. Ernst Bergmann, who developed a way of siphoning 50 kilograms a year from the wastes of Israel's own Kali works on the Dead Sea.

"Since the June war, straw men of the Israel government have been buying special alloys on the international market which can only be needed for atom bombs and rockets," the magazine wrote.

In a report last October, the Institute of Strategic Studies wrote that the Dimona facility, operational since 1964, "could provide enough plutonium [six to 12 kilograms] for two bombs a year, if a reprocessing plant were used to extract the plutonium from the fuel rods."

But it added: "It is doubtful whether Israel could build a reprocessing plant without the news leaking out, although there can be no certainty of this."

"It is quite possible that within two to three years Israel could build up a small nuclear capacity, and probably explode a test bomb within 18 months," it concluded.

In another report issued only last month, the Institute quoted news reports that Israel was asking a price for signing the nonproliferation treaty, perhaps a guarantee of her territorial integrity by the United States as an alternative to an independent nuclear deterrent.



# Some U.S. Officials Disturbed Over Soviet Bloc Passage

By HEDRICK SMITH

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 7 — The United States is reported to have been urging the Soviet Union and other big powers to help reduce tensions in the Middle East, but some officials are disturbed by reports of new arms shipments to the United Arab Republic by Communist countries.

Reliable sources reported today that in the last three weeks Czechoslovakia has delivered about 100 amphibious armored personnel carriers to Egypt.

These sources said there was no evidence that this equip-

ment had yet been deployed on the Suez Canal front, where artillery shelling and commando raids have been heavy recently.

Well-placed sources said there had also been continuing shipments to Egypt from the Soviet Union of pontoons and other bridging equipment suitable for river crossing. Such shipments began months ago, these sources said, and there is no evidence that they have been increased lately.

## New Soviet Aircraft

These sources reported, however, that in recent months, while big-power talks promoting a settlement continued, the Soviet Union supplied the Nasser government with numbers of offensive aircraft.

Specifically, well-placed sources said that the Egyptian air force now has about 35 supersonic Sukhoi-7 bombers, about 35 of these are reported to have been delivered in the last few months, evidently in violation of the arms agreement between the two countries.

President Gamal Abdel Nasser, during his visit to the Soviet Union late last summer, is reported to have said that such a position even before the Nixon Administration came into office. It evidently has been reaffirmed in the new round of talks.

April 27, 1968, to Feb. 20, 1969, was 28,849. Sixty per cent of these were under the National Health Service, an indication, the association says, that most doctors respect the act and are working easily under it.

A National Health Service abortion costs the state about \$60, with no charge to the patient. A private patient who consults a doctor in fashionable Harley Street and stays



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called for a Continental route from the U.S. to American Samoa, The Trust Territory and beyond to Guam and Okinawa.

Officials of both State and Interior Depts. are likely to recoil over the deferral of this award. Interior has been driving for an expansion of air services in the Trust Territory islands to accelerate tourist trade as a means of bolstering the economy of the area.

A group of Micronesians in the Marianas Island have informed the State Dept. that it would seek such aid from the Soviet Union if it is not forthcoming from the U.S. The threat is bare since this is U.S. territory, but State officials are concerned that such a move would help feed the Soviet propaganda machine directed against colonialism.

The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that a presidential decision on matters concerning foreign policy and national defense cannot be challenged in court. But there is a growing question among airline attorneys here as to whether the President has legal authority to make a judgment on international issues on the basis of economic factors.

As one spokesman put it: "Nixon stretched beyond his jurisdictional area of foreign policy and national security and reached into the Board's economic realm and pulled out a tiger."

On the other hand, one lawyer suggested that foreign policy and even national defense were closely intertwined with economics. "The President's authority in foreign relations certainly extends to tariff and trade which are purely economic," he said.

Continental's case, stated simply, rests on the opinion that once the President—or more accurately the office of the President—makes a decision and approves and allows it to be published, it cannot be withdrawn for review.

Although the task of evolving the White House decision was first given to Presidential Assistant Robert F. Ellsworth, Cherington took over the case. He was assisted by Daniel Hofgren, a member of the White House staff. It is evident from the results that Cherington showed concern over a too-extensive expansion of operations in the Pacific.

Interestingly, this paring down of U.S. participation in the Pacific at least partially reflects the views of three Board members. In dissents, Board Vice Chairman Robert T. Murphy expressed doubts over the multiplicity of awards in general.

#### EXCESSIVE AWARDS

Member John G. Adams found that a third carrier to Japan was not warranted. Member Whitney Gilliland regarded the number and extent of awards as excessive.

But, here again, both the Board and Cherington worked out their final decisions on a regional basis rather than on a global basis.

In releasing Nixon's instructions to Crocker, the White House stated it found no evidence of impropriety with respect to the handling of the case by the Johnson Administration. After making his decision, Johnson was implicitly charged with being influenced by airline lobbies.

Nixon's advisers apparently are taking every precaution against a repetition of such accusations. Reportedly, the fact that Hofgren was a former employee of Pan American has been carefully deleted from his official White House biography.

[From the Economist, Apr. 19-25, 1969]

#### BUNGLING IN THE AIR

In reawarding the important and potentially very lucrative rights to provide additional air services across the Pacific Ocean President Nixon has shown a lack of administrative skill that borders on bungling. It is not so much in what he did with this long and tedious proceeding—it began in February, 1969—as in the manner in which he chose to do it. His first step, taken in January only a few days after he was sworn into

office, was to recall the case from the Civil Aeronautics Board even though the board had made its decision and President Johnson had approved it just before he left Washington. In words that gave much comfort to critics who had complained—without any basis in fact, as the new inquiry has confirmed—that airlines whose executives were friends of President Johnson's had been favoured improperly, Mr. Nixon wrote to the CAB that it is both "appropriate and necessary for me . . . to recall the matter" for further review and decision.

This letter was followed by a White House memorandum to "interested parties in the trans-Pacific case," pointing out that the President's jurisdiction in this case was based on his constitutional responsibility for foreign policy and national security. It said that only these responsibilities would be considered in any revisions that the President might make in the awards. It is in this context that Mr. Nixon's latest letter to the CAB suggests that he is something less than a skilled chief executive.

Of the six changes that he has ordered the board to make in its original decision on the trans-Pacific services, only one—revoking the award of a route between Mexico and Hawaii to Braniff Airways—seems to have been dictated by considerations of foreign policy. Economic considerations were the basis of the first two of Mr. Nixon's changes, which took away from each of the two existing American trans-Pacific carriers—Pan American World Airways and Northwest Airlines—one of the two new routes that each of them had been awarded. Professor Paul Cherington, a Harvard expert who is now serving in the Nixon Administration, prepared a confidential critique of Mr. Johnson's trans-Pacific awards for the new President in which he said that the CAB's forecast for the growth of air traffic in the Pacific area was too high by one-third. At the press briefing held by the White House on April 11th to announce the latest decision, the official spokesman said that the original allocations made by the CAB and approved by President Johnson would have overburdened the Pacific area with what he called "inflated route awards lacking in economic viability."

But Pan American can still fly to Japan direct from New York and Northwest gets a new route across the Central Pacific, increasing competition between them; and Pan American will now have an American rival around the world for the first time, since Mr. Nixon has confirmed that Trans World Airlines may fly from Hongkong to California, completing its global circuit. But for the moment at least, Pan American has no American competitors at all on its Australian route. It would appear that the plum given to Continental Airlines by Mr. Johnson—a service to the South Pacific, via Hawaii, from various west coast and midwestern cities—has been snatched away by President Nixon's directive that "the second carrier route to the South Pacific should bypass the California gateway. On this aspect of the case I asked the board to recommend a carrier to serve the east coast and midwest coterminal points."

Some airlines interpret this statement as meaning that Eastern Air Lines—denied the route in January by the board itself—is back in the case in a big way. Other airlines say that this is not necessarily so; all that the board needs to do is give Continental an east coast city to serve on its South Pacific flights, and add a requirement that California be overflown, and the award to Continental can stand. But will the board do this? Or will there be further consideration of the issues, as well as of the possible applicants? Meanwhile, Continental is appealing against the President's decision on the ground that in making it the President exceeded his constitutional powers.

Moreover, just how Mr. Nixon's decision to drop Mr. Johnson's requirement that some of the new routes be served through satellite airports in California, instead of through such already overcrowded gateways as Los Angeles International Airport, will improve the economic viability of the awards is difficult to determine. Similarly, deferring to another proceeding the decision on a route from American Samoa to Okinawa which was originally allotted to Continental Airlines as part of its South Pacific route to Australia, does not seem to have much basis in considerations of either foreign policy or national security. Other parts of President Nixon's statement are so clumsily worded as to add whole new areas of confusion which will have to be sorted out, either by the CAB or before the courts. Mr. Nixon's concluding injunction to the board—that it "submit immediately for my approval an order effectuating these conclusions"—is much easier said than done. And there is also the question of new routes to Hawaii, a domestic matter to be settled by the CAB, but one that is closely related to the trans-Pacific case. One thing is clear, however. By his ineptly worded memorandum last week, President Nixon has set off a new round of polemics in what was already a "procedural nightmare."

#### DIRECT ARAB-ISRAEL NEGOTIATIONS

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, a few days ago a majority of the Members of the Senate were signatories to a declaration by the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, favoring direct Arab-Israel negotiations. This was done on the occasion of Israel's 21st birthday.

A letter which appeared in the March 6 edition of the New York Times brings out some points that I feel deserve more broad distribution. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have that letter printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

NEW YORK, N.Y.,  
February 27, 1969.

#### NO MIDEAST MAQUIS

To the EDITOR:

As one of the principal members of the French resistance against the Nazis, I am shocked to hear the Arabs compare our movement to their terrorist acts against unarmed civilians—for example, the Feb. 28 letter of Jordan's Ambassador to the U.N.

First, France and the rest of the European countries invaded by Nazi Germany never intended to liquidate Germany as the Arabs intend to liquidate Israel. We fought like men against the German army. We never murdered children and women. We never attacked planes carrying innocent passengers. Theirs is not a resistance movement. It is cowardice.

The Arabs are always complaining about the refugees. During the last twenty years 4,500,000 European people were forced out of the Arab countries. Some 2,200,000 Italians left Libya and Egypt. And 1,700,000 French left Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco. Over 700,000 Jews left Iraq, Yemen, Egypt, Libya and the other Arab countries. Four and a half million Jews who had lived in these countries for countless generations left everything behind. The Arabs took everything. The people left only with the clothes on their backs.

The Arabs had an opportunity to place the 700,000 Arab refugees from Palestine in the homes of the European people who fled the Arab countries. Instead the refugees were put in camps that have cost millions of dollars contributed by the nations of the world. This

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was the most brutal thing the Arabs did against their own people.

Palestine was never an Arab country. It never had an Arab government. Palestine had been occupied, since the time of Caesar, by Greeks, Romans, English and other nations. The only legal government in Palestine was the Jewish government over 2,000 years ago.

The Western world has never understood how the Arab countries, with 85 per cent of their people illiterate, millions without jobs, disease and sickness rampant, could spend billions of dollars on ammunition to liquidate a little country like Israel, instead of using the money to build schools, hospitals, homes and industry for their own people.

MICHEL PIERRE D'ORLEANS.

**SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION  
23—SUBMISSION OF CONCURRENT  
RESOLUTION EXPRESSING THE  
SENSE OF CONGRESS THAT THE  
UNITED STATES PARTICIPATE IN  
AND GIVE FULL SUPPORT TO AN  
INTERNATIONAL DECADE OF  
OCEAN EXPLORATION**

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, on behalf of Senator HATFIELD, Senator FONG, the Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. PELL), and myself, I submit for appropriate reference, a Senate concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress that the United States participate in and give full support to an international decade of ocean exploration during the 1970's.

This concurrent resolution is identical to one I introduced in the 90th Congress, which was considered in executive session by the Senate Committee on Commerce where it was unanimously ordered reported favorably, and which passed the Senate by unanimous consent on July 29, 1968. The resolution was transmitted to the House of Representatives where a hearing was held but no action taken.

U.S. participation in the international decade of ocean exploration, as contemplated in the concurrent resolution, would include first, an expanded national program of exploration activities in waters close to the shores of the United States; second, intensified exploration activities in waters more distant from the United States; and, third, accelerated development of the capabilities of the United States to explore the oceans and particularly the training and education of needed scientists, engineers, and technicians.

Mr. President, it should be made clear at this point that the resolution provides no new appropriation nor authority for added funding.

This question was raised last year in the House hearing and Mr. Phillip S. Hughes, Deputy Director of the Bureau of the Budget, responded in writing. Mr. Hughes stated in part:

It is our view that H. Con. Res. 803 (the House measure) and S. Con. Res. 72, 90th Congress, would not provide statutory authority for the conduct of the activities set forth in the resolutions. We also do not regard these resolutions as providing authorization for additional appropriations for these activities. We consider these measures to be expressions of the sense of the Congress with respect to the conduct of the activities described therein to the extent that these activities, and appropriations to finance them, are otherwise authorized by law.

The concurrent resolution also expresses, as did the resolutions introduced in the 90th Congress, the sense of Congress that the President cooperate with other nations in order to achieve broad participation in the program and development of extensive oceanographic information and data, and requires the President, in his annual report to the Congress on marine science affairs pursuant to Public Law 89-454, to transmit a plan setting forth the proposed participation of the United States in the international decade of ocean exploration for the following fiscal year.

The concurrent resolution represents a legislative expression quite in keeping with section 2(b)(8) of the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966, which, as a policy objective, states, and I quote:

The cooperation by the United States with other nations and groups of nations and international organizations in marine science activities when such cooperation is in the national interest.

To assure that this participation of the United States in a decade of ocean exploration would truly be in the national interest, the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development contracted with the National Academy of Sciences and National Academy of Engineering to conduct a study and prepare recommendations.

The two academies formed a joint steering committee to direct this study.

Dr. Warren S. Wooster, of the Scripps Institution of Oceanography and president of the Scientific Committee on Oceanic Research of the International Council of Scientific Unions, was designated as chairman of this committee.

Dr. William E. Shoup, of the National Academy of Engineering and vice president, Westinghouse Electric Co., was designated vice chairman.

In a preliminary report, the committee has identified four exploratory programs to provide valuable knowledge during the next 10 years. They are: Geology and nonliving resources, fisheries, biological studies, and physics and environmental forecasting.

Geology and nonliving resources: Geological-geophysical surveys of North American continental shelves and the eastern Atlantic continental margin.

Fisheries: Assessment of the fisheries production potential of the Gulf of Mexico, Gulf of Alaska, and eastern and central Pacific and ecological and related studies leading to improved management of fisheries of the northwestern Atlantic.

Biological studies: Application of recently developed techniques to studies of food chains in the sea and development of new techniques for measuring biological factors and modeling ecosystems using computers for areas such as Georges and Grand Banks, the Gulf of Alaska, the Gulf of Mexico, the eastern and central equatorial Pacific, the South Pacific gyre, the western Arabian Sea, and the Antarctic Ocean.

Physics and environmental forecasting: Investigation of 1,000- to 3,000-mile, cold and warm anomalies related to "centers of action" in the North Pacific, studies of large-scale, long-term air-sea interaction and meso-scale interaction in subtropical upwelling regions, and sys-

tematic ocean coverage of deep temperature, salinity, and oxygen measurements.

These programs are directly in the national interest.

The Commission on Marine Science, Engineering, and Resources, in its recent report, "Our Nation and the Sea," endorsed the proposal for an international decade of ocean exploration as an excellent vehicle to bring about international collaboration. The United States has taken the lead in encouraging this international effort, which has gained wide acceptance among the nations of the world.

A United Nations resolution cosponsored by 28 nations endorsing the international decade was adopted at a recent U.N. General Assembly.

The National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development, which was created by the Marine Resources Engineering and Development Act of 1966, described the aims of the international decade in its third and recent annual report transmitted to the Congress by the President pursuant to section 7 of the act. The report included these pertinent comments:

The Decade is not merely a continuation of past efforts but has several unique aspects. The proposal anticipates a sustained, long-term exploration of the sea, planned and coordinated on a global basis, in contrast to the sporadic efforts of the past, developed project by project; is oriented as much toward delineation of marine resources as toward science, and is thus broader than past scientifically oriented oceanographic research programs; envisages more deliberate coordination of the many interested international organizations, such as the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission, Food and Agriculture Organization, and World Meteorological Organization so that planning and coordination of world-wide exploration will not be unnecessarily splintered among competing agencies; and foresees an intensified effort toward more systematic collection of data and prompt dissemination, with particular attention to adoption of internationally agreed-upon standards to maximize the value of the data as a commodity for exchange. As more sophisticated data processing equipment comes into use, particular attention should also be given to the compatibility of national data collection and processing techniques and to common procedures for calibrating oceanographic instruments.

Finally, participation by a larger number of countries in ocean exploration is being encouraged especially those which have a maritime geography but which may have previously lacked interest, trained manpower, or capabilities to explore the oceans, even near their own shores. In this way, developing nations should be able to share the capabilities of the more developed countries, to acquire contemporary technology for their own use, and to increase opportunities to identify continuous marine resources.

The concurrent resolution which I am submitting today is more than a mere concurrence in the general plan for the decade. It states not only that it is the sense of Congress that the United States should participate in the decade, but spells out three major specifications which will guide this participation.

These are, as I have previously stated: An expanded national program of exploration in waters close to the shores of the United States, intensified exploration activities in waters more distant



sional District. He was well equipped for the representation of the people of his district, equipped by his youth as an orphan in Mobile, by his labors in a livery stable and with threshing machines in the Midwest, in the hunt for gold in Alaska, and as a businessman in southern California.

He served and served well, using his depth of experience as a bridge to understanding the needs of a changing congressional district, a changing State, a changing Nation, and a changing world.

His passing after a long and fruitful life takes from all of us a wise and kind friend. I and all of the Members of this House join in mourning our former colleague Harry R. Sheppard and in offering our condolences to his family.

#### A TOTAL OF 294 MEMBERS OF CONGRESS SUPPORT DECLARATION FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

### HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 7, 1969

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, on April 28, 1969, on page E3447 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD there was set forth a declaration for peace in the Middle East with the names of Members of the House of Representatives and the Senate, who at that time had lent their support to such declaration. Since that time a number of others have joined in that support so that there are now a total of 59 Senators and 235 Members of the House of Representatives, making the majority of the Senate and the majority of the House in agreement with that declaration. The additional names are as follows:

#### MEMBERS OF THE SENATE

JAMES B. ALLEN, of Alabama.  
CLINTON P. ANDERSON, of New Mexico.  
HARRY P. BYRD, Jr., of Virginia.  
HOWARD W. CANNON, of Nevada.  
FRANK CHURCH, of Idaho.  
THOMAS J. DODD, of Connecticut.  
MIKE GRAVEL, of Alaska.  
CLIFFORD P. HANSEN, of Wyoming.  
WINSTON L. PROUTY, of Vermont.  
JOHN J. SPARKMAN, of Alabama.  
WILLIAM B. SPONG, Jr., of Virginia.

#### MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE

JOHN B. ANDERSON, of Illinois.  
WALTER S. BARING, of Nevada.  
WILLIAM H. BATES, of Massachusetts.  
PAGE BELCHER, of Oklahoma.  
ALPHONZO BELL, of California.  
RICHARD BOLLING, of Missouri.  
FRANK T. BOW, of Ohio.  
WILLIAM G. BRAY, of Indiana.  
J. HERBERT BURKE, of Florida.  
LAWRENCE J. BURTON, of Utah.  
DANIEL E. BUTTON, of New York.  
WILLIAM T. CAHILL, of New Jersey.  
JOHN N. CAMP, of Oklahoma.  
JAMES C. CLEVELAND, of New Hampshire.  
WILLIAM O. COWGER, of Kentucky.  
WILLIAM L. DICKINSON, of Alabama.  
HAROLD D. DONOHUE, of Massachusetts.  
THOMAS N. DOWNING, of Virginia.  
JACK EDWARDS, of Alabama.  
DON FUQUA, of Florida.  
NICK GALIFIANAKIS, of North Carolina.  
EDITH GREEN, of Oregon.  
CHARLES S. GUBSER, of California.

G. ELLIOTT HAGAN, of Georgia.  
JOHN P. HAMMERSCHMIDT, of Arkansas.  
AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS, of California.  
KEN HECHLER, of West Virginia.  
LAWRENCE J. HOGAN, of Maryland.  
W. R. HULL, Jr., of Missouri.  
JOSEPH E. KARTH, of Minnesota.  
HASTINGS KEITH, of Massachusetts.  
PAUL N. MCCLOSKEY, Jr., of California.  
WILLIAM M. MCCULLOCH, of Ohio.  
RAY J. MADDEN, of Indiana.  
CATHERINE MAY, of Washington.  
LLOYD MEEDS, of Washington.  
THOMAS E. MORGAN, of Pennsylvania.  
CHARLES A. MOSHER, of Ohio.  
JOHN M. MURPHY, of New York.  
ANCHER NELSEN, of Minnesota.  
CARL D. PERKINS, of Kentucky.  
PHILIP J. PHILBIN, of Massachusetts.  
OTIS G. PIKE, of New York.  
HOWARD W. POLLOCK, of Alaska.  
GRAHAM PURCELL, of Texas.  
RAY ROBERTS, of Texas.  
WILLIAM V. ROTH, Jr., of Delaware.  
DONALD RUMSFELD, of Illinois.  
DAVID E. SATTERFIELD III, of Virginia.  
GEORGE E. SHIPLEY, of Illinois.  
JOHN M. SLACK, of West Virginia.  
WILLIAM L. SPRINGER, of Illinois.  
JAMES W. SYMINGTON, of Missouri.  
FRANK THOMPSON, Jr., of New Jersey.  
ROBERT O. TIERNAN, of Rhode Island.  
G. WILLIAM WHITEHURST, of Virginia.  
JAMES C. WRIGHT, Jr., of Texas.  
LOUIS C. WYMAN, of New Hampshire.  
The list will be kept open for additional supporters.

JUDGE GERALD R. CORBETT,  
FOUNDER OF HONOLULU'S FAMILY COURT, RETIRES AFTER  
NEARLY 23 YEARS ON THE BENCH

### HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 7, 1969

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, when Gerald R. Corbett, 65, senior judge of Honolulu's family court, retired on May 1, 1969, after nearly 23 years of service, he commented to Drew McKillips, legal affairs writer for the Honolulu Advertiser, that the most pressing need of today's courts is people:

We need more personnel. We need more social workers, more referees, more court clerks, more support personnel all the way down the line. You can't run a ship without a crew. We could do a better job with at least 25 per cent increase in help.

Always unpretentious, Judge Corbett was forced to quit the job he loved, one which he could have worked at for another 4 years before mandatory retirement, because of a troublesome back. But Judge Corbett has accomplished one of his major goals: the establishment and operation of a family court. In his own words, Judge Corbett believes that he has organized a "team of skilled workers who have helped thousands of young people to make a better adjustment to the community—Honolulu. I feel we have one of the best statutes in the country in our Family Court Act. It brings together for analysis and treatment virtually all legal problems affecting family life."

We in Hawaii are grateful for the solid foundation Judge Corbett has laid for our State in his search for "alternatives to incarceration" for young violators. Our

best wishes and aloha go with him as he enters upon his well-earned retirement after an outstanding career on the bench.

As one who was privileged to appear before Judge Corbett in innumerable cases while engaged in the private practice of law, I take considerable pride in submitting for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the story of a judge who was repeatedly reappointed because his capabilities were found to transcend the political appointive nature of his post. That story first appeared in the Honolulu Advertiser on May 1, 1969:

#### A JUDGE LOOKS AT THE JOB

(By Drew McKillips)

This the story of the man who served 22 years and nine months as judge of the Juvenile Court in Hawaii.

He held a political appointive job, but his capabilities enabled him to transcend politics.

Two presidents—one Republican and one Democrat—appointed him to terms as judge. Two governors of Hawaii—one Republican and one Democrat—named him to the bench.

Down through the years he had his share of critics. Some said he was too soft on juvenile law violators. Even after he announced his retirement, a State senator unleashed a verbal attack on him. He said the judge had done more to contribute to the increase of crime in Hawaii than any other man.

But the judge had heard it all before. Five years ago. Ten years ago. Twenty years ago. The judge stayed on the job and did his job the best way he knew how.

He was always unpretentious. Other judges continually remodeled their chambers. Put in new drapes, new wall-to-wall carpets, wrap-around desks, oil paintings on the walls, insulated water jugs on the desks.

Some of the chambers looked very nice.

The Juvenile Court Judge had the smallest chamber in the courthouse. It was half the size of anyone else's. The drapes were faded. The carpet was faded. There was nothing ornate there. No abstract art on the walls. No hand-carved heads on the desk. Only government-issue bookcases filled with well-worn law books. A desk piled high with files that should have been disposed of weeks before if he had been supplied with the personnel he needed. (What good does it do when a probation officer has so many cases that he can talk with a kid only a few minutes once a month?)

#### ILLNESS TAKES TOLL

In the end it was an ailment that forced him to quit the job he loved. He could have worked another four years before mandatory retirement.

But in the last few years the climb to the second floor of the Judiciary Building has been taking a little longer each day. He has a bad back. He has to use heating pads in his office chair. Sometimes he walks with a shuffle.

He stayed on long enough to accomplish his goal: The establishment and operation of a Family Court.

Gerald R. Corbett, 65, senior judge of the Family Court, today will begin a long deserved retirement. Tomorrow night, 300 friends will honor him at a luau. On Sunday, he and his wife, Nancy, will fly to Europe for a month's vacation. It will be his first trip there.

A reporter who has known him for ten years interviewed him Tuesday.

The judge sat behind his file-strewn desk. What did he think was his most noteworthy accomplishment?

He leaned back, lit a cigaret, and reflected.

#### GOOD TEAM, LAW

"I feel I have organized a team of skilled workers who have helped thousands of young

Last fall the London Times reported an international meeting of philosophers in Vienna in the following words: "While their elders and betters solemnly discuss the epistemological significance of the phrases 'Johnny has lost his pen. I have found a pen. I know Johnny lost it,' the students are racing through the corridors, shouting 'What about the Soviet invasion of (Czechoslovakia), Russian and American flags, and wrestling with their professors for microphones during debates.

"It is disgusting, say the students, that 3,000 of the wisest men from every country of the world should have gathered together in the largest philosophical talk-in in history and have nothing forceful to say about the Russian tanks on the Czech border less than 50 miles away. If philosophy has any real function it should be performing it now."

Clearly, what the student seeks is a relevant orthodoxy rather than an agonizing enquiry. Faced with some of the toughest choices in history and living in a period when traditional certainties and traditional values have been challenged and opposed by alternatives the student is really calling upon his professor for a clear and definitive answer and one preferably couched in a currently fashionable vocabulary and bearing the marks of current social concerns. To the student education is irrelevant if it cannot provide a solution; preferably of course, a solution which costs the student nothing and whose weight is born by the non-student sectors of society. The student wants to know what to think rather than how to think.

And the student has far too many professors who are willing to tell him what to think rather than attempt to teach him how to think for himself. The student has learned his lessons only too well. His professors, especially in the humanities and the social sciences have all too often been exponents of an established orthodoxy rather than masters in the art of reasoned enquiry.

The situation is not to be mended by diversifying orthodoxies. This is the student's solution. He wishes to replace the Liberal orthodoxy with a New Left orthodoxy, a WASP orthodoxy with a Black orthodoxy, a permissive and tolerant orthodoxy with a repressive orthodoxy. What the student wishes is a substitution of orthodoxies rather than an end to all closed systems. His efforts will only compound the problem, for the Liberal ascendancy in today's colleges and universities is like the pre-1918 Austrian Empire; "an autocracy ameliorated by inefficiency," while the student's Maoist dictatorships would end altogether the life of reason.

The professor, if he is to reestablish the authority of reason must not only admit of the possibility of his being wrong but must have the openness of mind necessary to, as Lord Acton said, "make out the best possible case for error." He must actively court diversity and contradiction rather than seek the world of like-minded men. He must continuously engage in a great debate not only with his students and his colleagues but above all with himself, and as President Truman said, "if he can't stand the heat he should get out of the kitchen."

The ideological and cultural uniformity of higher education in America is a disgrace. Why is it that our colleges and universities have conformed themselves over the past two decades to the orthodoxy of secular liberalism? Why has the atmosphere been so increasingly hostile to open debate? Why does it take the crisis of the exclusion of the Negro from the university to make us see that not only people but ideas have been excluded by higher education?

The authority and the relevance of the university lies in its ability as an institution to explore systematically and rationally the problems men face. Its success is not dependent upon current fashions in ideas or current

solutions to particular problems. Its success derives from its ability to take the long view and ask the hard questions; and the hardest of these is the question the professor asks of himself, of his colleagues and his society about the possibility of being wrong.

## DEMOCRACY ON THE OFFENSIVE

HON. LOWELL P. WEICKER, JR.

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 7, 1969

Mr. WEICKER. Mr. Speaker, standing toe to toe in angry confrontation, one could hardly believe that the bearded young militant, the campus radical in the dirty military uniform could have anything in common with the "super patriot" who wants to beat him to a pulp and drop the bomb on all his Communist friends.

Yet they are alike for they represent the extremes of our political spectrum and as such are irresponsible advocates of simplistic solutions to the world's problems.

The hairy, militant radical is impressed by his intellect. He prides in the notoriety of being way out and considers it intellectual to spout the stock phrases of the far left.

"The Establishment is a fascist swamp. The imperialist United States makes wars on babies. Capitalistic racists make slums," he shouts.

His answers to the problems—communism and violence.

He advocates total change, now.

What change?

"Well let us start with closing down the university and burning the library," he proposes.

His counterpart on the far right, dresses better. He is a true patriot and will tell you so. He is for law and order and against communism. Anyone who disagrees with him is soft on communism, a Communist dupe or a fuzzy thinker who really does not understand the international conspiracy.

His solution to today's problems are also simplistic. He advocates cracking a few heads, "ship them back to Russia," "throw the rascals out" and drop the bomb.

The middle-of-the-road American, the individual who faces today's problems with sincere concern and a desire for moderate solutions has had to tolerate a great deal from the extremists on the left and right.

Because of the loudness of these extremists the world has been left with the impression that our democracy is in danger and that, in our Nation, irresponsibility has replaced reason and tolerance.

On the one hand they see radical young people leaning toward communistic philosophy. On the right they see others, while professing to preserve and protect democracy, responding with simplistic solutions that in the end would destroy our freedom and our society.

I feel it is about time that we as a nation get on the right track and show

the world that democracy is the best system under which to live.

It is about time that we start developing an attitude and a national policy that is "prodemocracy." And that, my friends, means taking the offensive for democracy rather than accepting the status of 20 years of only reacting to communism.

For the past 6 years the United States has spent an average of 12 percent of its national budget on what I call positive programs. These are the programs of education, research, medicine, housing, transportation, et cetera. At the same time 44 percent of our budget is for military expenditures.

I think it is about time that we start to beef up the positive side of democracy and control our reliance on the militaristic side.

There are those who think that we should strip down and stand naked with an olive branch in hopes that such a position would bring about world peace. There are others who want total reliance on weaponry and advocate more atomic arms.

I think that an arms philosophy based on rational thinking, not fear, is in our best interest.

Should we be strong militarily? I believe we must.

But at the same time I believe that there can be a better ratio than 12-percent expenditure for programs of peace and 44 percent for arms.

I cannot remember a one-handed fighter who became champion. Nor can I think of a baseball team with one star pitcher and no fielders or hitters that made the World Series.

It is the same way in world politics. If democracy is to be a champion we have to have more than superiority of arms. We have to have superiority of morals. We must have a humanitarian concern and we must show the world that our hearts are as big as our fists.

The world is going to judge the political systems and we are going to be judged on our ability to eliminate crime, conquer narcotics addiction, cure the ill, and feed the hungry. We are going to be judged on what we do to educate people and clean up our atmosphere.

We are not going to be judged on our ability to eliminate civilization.

THE LATE HONORABLE  
HARRY SHEPPARD

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 7, 1969

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, when I came to Congress in January of 1963, I was greeted and welcomed by the then dean of the California delegation, the Honorable Harry R. Sheppard. His warmth and his kindness guided me during those first confusing days, and since.

Harry Sheppard served in the House of Representatives for 14 terms, 28 years, spanning the generations, as he represented California's 27th Congress-

May 6, 1969

gram calls for legal houses of prostitution. We wonder what the "pious" Romney thinks of this! Will George be allowed to spend billions of dollars for model ghettos with built-in brothels and wall-to-wall open housing? We say: Don't Let George Do It.

[From the "Congressional Directory"]  
DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN  
DEVELOPMENT

George Wilken Romney, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, took office January 22, 1969; born July 8, 1907, in a Mormon colony in Chihuahua, Mexico, of American parents; while still a child, the family returned to the United States settling in California, later in Idaho and Utah; attended Roosevelt Junior High School, Latter-Day Saints High School, and Latter-Day Saints Junior College (1 year), Salt Lake City; became a Mormon missionary, served 2 years in England and Scotland; studied at University of Utah, 1929; worked in office of Senator David I. Walsh of Massachusetts, 1929-30; employed by Aluminum Company of America, 1930-36; while Alcoa's representative in Washington served for 2 years as president of Washington Trade Association Executives; director, Detroit office of the Automobile Manufacturers Association, 1939; managing director, Automotive Council for War Production, 1942; general manager, Automobile Manufacturers Association; member, United States employer delegation to the International Labor Organization, 1946-49; in 1948, joined Nash-Kelvinator Corp. as assistant to the president, became vice president, 1950, executive vice president, 1953; in 1954, with merger of Nash-Kelvinator Corp. and Hudson Motor Car Co. to form American Motors, became assistant to the president and executive vice president; on October 12, 1954, became president, general manager, and chairman of the board of American Motors; his involvement in public affairs began in Detroit over 20 years ago; member, Citizens Housing Planning Council, Detroit Victory Council; chairman, Detroit Citizens Advisory Committee on School Needs, 1956; spearheaded founding of Citizens of Michigan, 1959; Republican constitutional convention delegate, 1961; Governor of Michigan, January 1, 1963, until he became Secretary of Housing and Urban Development; over the years, active in many organizations, including: Detroit Tomorrow Committee, Detroit Trade Association, United Foundation, United Negro College Fund, Detroit Round Table of Christians and Jews, Boy Scouts, and Project Hope; received many awards and citations, including: Man of the Year in Industry Award from the Associated Press for 4 consecutive years, 1958-61; Man of the Year Award from the National Management Association; American Democratic Living Award from B'nai B'rith; Edward Lamb Management Award from Columbia University, and Charles Evans Hughes Award for Courageous Leadership in Governmental Service from National Conference of Christians and Jews; honorary degrees from a score of universities; honorary fellow of Israel's Bar-Ilan University, 1965; married Lenore LaFount, July 2, 1931; four children: Scott, Willard M., Lynn (Mrs. Loren Keenan), and Jane (Mrs. Bruce Robinson); the Romneys have 12 grandchildren.

TRIBUTE TO ASA PHILIP  
RANDOLPH

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 29, 1969

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, among the men who have most influenced the

course of U.S. social and political history is Asa Philip Randolph, who celebrates his 80th birthday this month. As president of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, vice president of the AFL-CIO, and leader of the black people, he has gained for his race substantial victories in their struggle for political and economic freedom.

A champion of the cause of civil rights, a leader of organized labor, an advisor to Presidents, and a dedicated, self-sacrificing man, A. Philip Randolph has been the recipient of many honors and awards, including the highest civilian honor the President of the United States can bestow, the Presidential Medal of Freedom. A White House statement issued at the time of that award noted that Mr. Randolph "for many years has been in the vanguard of his people's fight against discrimination in industry, in organized labor, and in the Armed Forces."

On this 80th anniversary of his birth, I should like to join in honoring a great man, whose selfless motives, noble actions, and dedicated leadership have contributed so much to his country and to his people.

#### MISSION TO THE MIDDLE EAST

HON. CARLETON J. KING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, our Nation has traditionally responded to emergencies and has provided disaster relief abroad without political concession or excess involvement in the internal affairs of the recipient nations. Disaster relief, essentially, is humanitarian and should remain so.

With this tradition in mind, it is always encouraging to learn of organizations who are likewise concerned with starvation throughout the world and who are doing everything humanly possible to provide whatever assistance is necessary to stem the tide of famine and promote the survival of our fellowman.

An article which appeared in the April 26 issue of the magazine *America* entitled "Mission to the Middle East," by Vincent S. Kearney, has been called to my attention and I wish to share it with my colleagues. The Pontifical Mission for Palestine under the capable direction of Msgr. John G. Nolan of the Albany, N.Y., diocese, has devoted more than 19 years to the cause of human betterment in the Middle East. In terms of the spectacular, the work of the Pontifical Mission for Palestine cannot match the Biafra relief effort. Since its existence, however, the Mission has funneled more than \$100 million in relief to the Middle East.

I am pleased to call Mr. Kearney's article to the attention of my colleagues.

#### MISSION TO THE MIDDLE EAST

(By Vincent S. Kearney, associate editor of *America*)

Meeting Constantin C. Vlachopoulos has been one of those unforgettable experiences. As executive director of the Pontifical Mis-

sion for Palestine, he was on hand to greet my Ahtalla jet as it touched down at Beirut International Airport during the late evening of last February 13. Just two weeks previously that same airstrip had been turned into a flaming beacon visible for miles around as a result of the Israeli reprisal raid that had made burned-out wreckage of 13 Arab airliners. The people of Beirut had not yet quite recovered from the shock of being so suddenly and realistically plunged into the midst of the Arab-Israeli quarrel.

The weary American traveler who arrived in the Middle East at that particular point of heightened tensions and aroused anti-U.S. feelings could be pardoned a few apprehensions. What sort of welcome was in store? I soon discovered however, that fears were groundless. For Constantin C. Vlachopoulos, who creates the immediate impression that he knows everyone in the Middle East worth knowing, steered me through immigration and customs not only without unsavory incident, but with a bit of fanfare to boot.

In the ensuing five weeks, wonder at the executive director of the Pontifical Mission was to grow. A former UN employee, he had worked for 14 years as public information officer of the UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), the arms of the world organization that has sought since 1948 to cushion the impact of war, of displacement and, in many instances, of economic ruin on one and a half million people in the Middle East the refugee victims of two decades of Arab-Israeli conflict. The humanitarian objectives of UNRWA had become so much a part of his life that on his retirement from UNRWA he was easy prey for Msgr. John G. Nolan, of the Albany (N.Y.) Diocese, the dynamic director of the Pontifical Mission for Palestine, who directs its relief work from the New York office of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association (CNEWA) at 330 Madison Ave.

The Pontifical Mission was to earn several extra, not insignificant, dividends from the hiring of Constantin C. Vlachopoulos. As the name suggests, he is a Greek Orthodox, who has received the highest honors his Church can confer on a layman. His presence on the staff of the mission has made of its work a genuinely ecumenical venture. Born in the Middle East, moreover, he knows the area, its peoples, its way of life and the inner workings of its politics, an important qualification even for such an apolitical organization as a Catholic voluntary relief agency.

Beirut and my meeting Constantin C. Vlachopoulos, was the first stop on a five-week reporting assignment to cover the work of the Pontifical Mission in the Middle East. In terms of the glamorous and the spectacular, I was to discover, the mission's various programs are no match for the efforts of similar relief agencies that have been engaged for months in the crash program to cut down deaths from starvation in beleaguered Biafra. There is no comparison between landing at Beirut in a posh Alitalia-Caravelle and hitching a risky night flight into Biafra on a chartered cargo plane.

On the other hand, though the Pontifical Mission has settled down to a certain permanence in the Middle East and become part of the scenery. Its work is no less dramatic than the frantic efforts to snatch the children of Biafra from the edge of starvation. Its achievements in alleviating some of the misery that mark 54 Arab refugee camps throughout the Middle East is a response to the same human need.

To comprehend fully the circumstances in which the Pontifical Mission goes about its work, one might best review the refugee situation in the broader context of UNRWA. For the mission—and the other voluntary agencies that co-operate with the UN—supplements the work of the world organizations by providing what UNRWA, in a given instance, may lack the means to provide. In the disruption and chaos that followed on the war of June, 1967, for example (an occa-



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sion on which Msgr. Nolan also experienced the perils of chartered cargo flights into a war zone), the Pontifical Mission was able to lift some of the burden off an already groaning UN budget by channeling \$4.25 million worth of emergency relief supplies to newly stricken refugees. Sent by Catholic relief sources around the world, tons of food, clothing, blankets, tents, mess kits, cooking stoves, medical supplies, antibiotics and vitamins were pouring in even before the hostilities had ceased.

Besides being on hand for such emergencies, the mission has for two decades been probing into the hidden, and very often just as critical needs of a people made destitute by war, occupation and economic collapse. Perhaps its greatest asset in responding to human need is the flexibility of its approach to the problem.

As defined by the United Nations, a Palestinian refugee is technically one "whose normal residence was Palestine for a minimum period of two years immediately preceding the outbreak of the [Arab-Israeli] conflict of 1948 and who, as a result of that conflict, has lost both his home and his means of livelihood." He has settled in one of four "host" countries—Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and that portion of Palestine known as the Gaza Strip which, until the June, 1967, war, had been under Egyptian administration.

According to U.N. reckoning, there are 1.5 million such persons registered on the U.N.'s rolls. (This figure includes the additional refugees who fled Palestine in June, 1967.) Contrary to popular assumption, less than half have remained so totally dependent on international charity since 1948 that they actually dwell today in UNRWA camps. Contrary to another popular assumption, only a little more than half actually depend on UNRWA's bread line, the supplementary food rations, the UN agency doles out once a month.

Indeed, so much mythology has grown up around, and beclouded judgment of, the refugee situation that it is difficult to decide where to begin the demythologizing process. At its worst, 20 years of propaganda have pictured the Arab refugee as a ne'er-do-well, unwilling to help himself and passively content to exist on a dole. As a matter of fact, if the average refugee had to subsist on the dollar per man per month the UN contributes to his daily diet the refugee problem would have resolved itself in drastic fashion long ago. The 1,500 calories a day (1,600 in the winter months) UNRWA provides might constitute an excellent reducing diet for overweight American matrons. It will not do a permanent fare. Distributed once a month, the rations consist of 22 pounds of flour, 1.3 pounds of sugar and pulses (dried beans, peas, lentils, etc.), 1.1 pounds of rice and 13 ounces of edible oils and fats—hardly a balanced diet, even if it were adequate.

More than is generally recognized, the refugee has over the years manifested a determination to help himself. While traveling through southern Lebanon, for example, I passed mile after mile of orange groves along each side of the picturesque coastal road from Saida (the Sidon of Scripture) down to the Palestinian frontier. These groves were nonexistent before 1948. The region blooms today under the expert hands of Palestinian Arab citrus cultivators from the UNRWA camps at Rashidieh, Burjel-Shamati, el Buss, etc.

Unfortunately, like so many of the jobs the refugee is likely to find outside the camps, agriculture in one of the host countries, for reasons I shall discuss later, provides at the most seasonal, temporary employment. It normally does not give the refugee the opportunity to cut himself loose from at least partial dependence on UNRWA. Refugees, it is true, have over the years been able to strike out on their own and move into the towns. But those so fortunate have been mainly of

the middle class, who already possessed the professional and occupational skills that enabled them to fit into an urban environment and adjust to a new life.

UNRWA's ultimate objective, as I soon came to realize is not to apply Band aids. It is to create a new generation with new skills. The UN agency has deliberately refused to be tied to a soup-kitchen mentality. The three big items on its budget are education, health and the basic staff costs required to keep the agency functioning. While a ceiling on the amount of money expended on food rations has remained fairly constant over the years—with the result that one-third of the refugee children in Jordan who qualify for the UN's supplementary rations do not get them—the cost of UNRWA's various educational programs has skyrocketed. All refugee children receive an elementary education. Those who satisfactorily complete the elementary course move on to three years of preparatory training. A limited number, selected on the basis of need and merit, are given the opportunity to advance further through grants to government and private schools in the host countries. UNRWA also offers university scholarships to the more gifted.

But it is in the area of vocational training that UNRWA is convinced it has discovered the key to unlock the door to a new life for the average Arab refugee youth. The UN staffs ten vocational-training institutions in the host countries. To cite the statistics for one year alone, 1966 saw 1,650 vocational-training graduates, 275 of whom continued for another year of on-the-job industrial training in foreign countries—Sweden, Switzerland, West Germany, France and the United Arab Republic.

Thus, over the past 15 years (the technical-training program got out of the planning stage in 1953) UNRWA has been turning out young men and women in impressive numbers who are equipped with the skills that will help them to fit into a still developing technological society. Young men are trained in the building, electrical and mechanical trades and for such semi-professional and commercial occupations as architectural and engineering draftsman, assistant pharmacist, laboratory technician, land surveyor, etc. Girls are trained in the secretarial and clerical fields, dressmaking, home and institutional management and home economics teaching. Graduates of these vocational training institutions can now be found throughout the Arab world, especially in the oil-producing Persian Gulf states, where there is always a need for craftsmen.

The success of this program of UNRWA logically suggests the question that goes to the core of the political problem in the Middle East. If progress toward self-sufficiency has been so promising, is not the problem itself of the Arab refugee capable of self-resolution? Why has it persisted for two decades?

According to Dr. John H. Davis, who, as former commissioner general of UNRWA, has lived with the problem as few others have, it always has been, and remains today, capable of gradual solution. But how gradual? For every two thousand or so young men and women who are acquiring the skills to enable them to cut themselves loose from the degrading conditions of the camps, another 35,000 to 40,000 yearly swell the UNRWA rolls. This is the rate of natural increase each year among the Palestinian refugees.

(In an ironic sense, UNRWA has been its own and the refugees' worst enemy. The excellent health service that UNRWA provides, which constitutes the second most important feature of its program, has maintained the infant mortality rate in the camps at a level comparable to that of any underdeveloped country. For 20 years, moreover, despite every reasonable expectation to the contrary, despite the crowded and very often miserable

conditions in the camps and despite the problem of providing adequate drinking water and sanitation facilities, UNRWA has never had an epidemic on its hands. By keeping the refugees alive and in relatively good health, UNRWA has also kept the problem alive.)

This natural increase of the refugee population by a half million since 1948 is perhaps the most frustrating aspect of the problem of the Palestinian Arab. For it has rendered almost impossible his total absorption into the economies of neighboring Arab countries. Roughly 70 per cent of the original refugees were agricultural workers with no other means of livelihood. Their misfortune befell them in an era when most under-industrialized countries suffer from a glut of farm workers. The Middle East where cultivable land is at a premium and where young people generally come of age three times faster than they are needed to replace their parents on the farm—is no exception. The farm itself is usually too small to support a family of eight or ten, or to employ modern agricultural equipment effectively.

The misfortune of the father—his inability to find work suitable to his occupational background—has been visited on the son. In a culture in which 95 per cent of the youth has traditionally learned its work habits by toiling alongside their parents, many of the young men in the UNRWA camps have been condemned to idleness. Few, moreover, are able to compete with the youth of the host country, who themselves are moving cityward in increasing numbers because of the lack of opportunity in rural areas.

The situation in the Gaza Strip is an extreme example of the plight of the Palestinian refugee. The Strip is a narrow finger of land, 25 miles long and between four and six miles wide. Located on the Mediterranean coast, it is bounded on the north and east by Israel and on the south by the now occupied area of Sinai. Of the Strip's 87,000 acres, only 42,500 are cultivable. About half its land area is either desert or sand dunes.

Previous to 1948, Gaza, with its population of 80,000 people, was economically integrated with the rest of Palestine. Its people made a respectable living from agriculture, weaving, pottery and other handicrafts. Many worked outside the Strip. Near Beersheba, which is now in Israel, they grew wheat and barley, which was then loaded onto ships off Gaza or delivered by rail to Haifa and Jaffa. The town of Gaza itself was a key administrative and marketing center.

Today Gaza is for all practical purposes isolated from the rest of the world. It has seen its original population swell to 430,000, of whom 70 per cent are refugees. Of these, only 20,000 are classified by UNRWA as self-supporting.

In another sense, practically everyone living in the Strip is a refugee. The surplus labor supply and the lack of opportunity for work have had devastating economic consequences even for the original 80,000 inhabitants of this tiny spit of sand. With wages at a fraction of their previous level, many have become "economic refugees," people whose sources of income have all but vanished. Ineligible for UNRWA assistance, they are in many instances worse off than the actual refugees.

UNRWA, it may be concluded, is not yet in a position to write a happy ending to its mandate, despite the encouraging results of many of its programs. It is even possible that in the coming months the UN agency may be forced to cut back certain of those programs. Its budget has been laboring under a \$4-million deficit, only half of which it has been able to make up from one source or another. Faced with a crucial financial problem and fully conscious that its potential is limited, UNRWA has come to a new realization of the value of such voluntary agencies as the Pontifical Mission for Palestine, which has

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worked for 19 years in the Middle East in close co-operation with the UN.

The Pontifical Mission for Palestine is perhaps best described as the Palestine-refugee arm of that older organization known as the Catholic Near East Welfare Association. CNEWA grew out of the concern of the Church for the Armenian refugees, who poured into Greece during the years immediately following World War I and for the Russian Catholic exiles who experienced a similar fate during the same era. The association was founded to coordinate the fund-raising activities of the Church on behalf of both these groups of displaced persons.

The first president of CNEWA was the late Edmund A. Walsh, S.J., who had headed the papal relief mission to Russia in 1922-23. By 1931, the organization had become the official fund-raising organ for the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Churches. In that capacity, its influence stretches today as far east as India, where it finances seminary training and the construction of churches and village chapels.

The outbreak of hostilities in Palestine in 1948 and the subsequent displacement of some 800,000 Palestinians put new demands on CNEWA. Through the efforts of Msgr. Thomas J. McMahon, then national secretary of CNEWA, relief work for the Palestinian refugees was co-ordinated in the following year under the Pontifical Mission for Palestine.

The creation of the Pontifical Mission has had several far-reaching effects. The fact that it works in close co-operation with other voluntary agencies, as well as with UNRWA, has removed much of the sectarian competitiveness out of relief work in the Middle East. With its stress on field work and the need for field-work personnel, the mission has put a new complexion on CNEWA, which up to 1949 had been strictly a fund-raising instrument. Lastly, with the creation of the Pontifical Mission, Catholic relief in the Middle East was responding for the first time to the needs of a people who were for the most part non-Christian. (In fact, in his lighter moments, the Christian Arab has been heard to refer to the organization as the "Pontifical Mission for Muslims.")

In the 19 years of its existence, the mission has funneled more than \$100 million in relief to the Middle East. Except for rare instances, when a crash program to provide the bare necessities of life may be indicated by circumstances, it, like UNRWA, shuns the bread-line approach to human need.

The mission was on hand to carry out a house-repair project in the Bab Hutta district of Old Jerusalem in order to insure that the homes damaged during the June, 1967, war would be able to withstand the winter. During the winter of 1967-68 personnel of the mission prepared and served more than 5,000 hot meals a day for needy Arab children in and around Jerusalem. It is frequently called upon, besides, to act as a social service agency investigating appeals for aid and distributing funds on behalf of other organizations or of donors who wish to remain anonymous.

The personnel of the mission, however, would insist that this type of aid does not really represent the basic philosophy behind the approach of the Pontifical Mission to social welfare in the disturbed conditions that prevail in today's Middle East. That philosophy was perhaps best expressed by Carol Hunneybun, who, with Helen Breen (both members of the Grail) works out of the Pontifical Mission office in Jerusalem under the youthful-looking, energetic Msgr. Edward C. Foster, of the Burlington (Vt.) Diocese, resident assistant in Beirut of Msgr. Nolan. "It is better to plant an apple tree, than to distribute apples," she remarked to me one day. Giving a child an education, in other words, is a far better gift than handing him a dole.

Hence, like UNRWA, the Pontifical Mission early recognized the importance of education in its approach to the problem of the Arab refugee. It has constructed two elementary schools in two of the largest camps in Jordan—Baq'a and Jerash—where children, predominantly Muslims, are being given a head start toward a new life. In two Christian camps outside Beirut—Jisr el Bacha and Dbayhe—the Pontifical Mission administers two elementary schools and a secondary institution.

The Pontifical Mission also recognizes the value of vocational training. It provides scholarships for needy boys at the Salesian Technical School in Bethlehem, an institution that compares favorably with any one of UNRWA's technical-training centers. It operates a school for the blind in the Gaza Strip, whose personnel, both teachers and students, are Muslim. Despite the high incidence in the Middle East of trachoma, a disease that often ends up in loss of sight, no such school had existed, until, in 1962, UNRWA turned to the Pontifical Mission for help. The mission responded, provided the buildings and continues to contribute financially on a yearly basis, while UNRWA has assumed the administrative responsibility.

Similar financial assistance made possible the new school for deaf-mute boys of Fr. Ronald Roberts, which nestles alongside a Lebanese mountain village a half hour's drive from Beirut. Outside Bethlehem, an orphanage for 54 girls owes its continued existence to the financial aid of the Pontifical Mission.

The tradition of Christian service in the Holy Land and the surrounding countries, is well established. Hospitals and clinics, usually among the first concerns of welfare organizations, have long been in existence. The institutions are run by religions who are themselves Arabs and who are therefore accepted as part of the landscape. Their presence cuts down on the construction and administrative costs the Pontifical Mission would doubtless have been called upon to share.

The mission contribution to the health needs of the poor consists, therefore, mainly in such projects as the endowment of beds in an already existing hospital. The mission, moreover, is constantly looking for new ways to provide additional health care. The feasibility of financing a mobile clinic, staffed by a volunteer doctor and nurse, either from the United States or from the area of the Middle East itself, is now under consideration.

In the long-range view, it is not easy to pinpoint the most meaningful contribution made by UNRWA and such voluntary agencies as the Pontifical Mission is the cause of human betterment in the Middle East. The fact is unchallengeable, however, that they have made life a little easier and brought some hope of a better future for a people whose lives might otherwise have been made intolerable by war and the inequities that often trail in the wake of international politics. Doing that, they may well have made a greater contribution to an eventual peace—perhaps even a reconciliation—in the Middle East than they themselves would dare dream.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 29, 1969

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, it is a special pleasure to join with many of our colleagues in extending congratulations to Mr. A. Philip Randolph, the distin-

guished president emeritus of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, on the occasion of his 80th birthday, an occasion which will be marked tonight at a testimonial dinner at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York City.

In extending congratulations, we also have a valuable opportunity to honor Mr. Randolph for his many and vital contributions to the well-being of our country. This great American has labored long and fruitfully, tirelessly and selflessly, for what is good for America. His achievements in extending and strengthening democracy in the labor movement, especially his successful fight to win recognition for his union; his role in desegregating the armed services; his influence in the establishment of the World War II Fair Employment Practices Commission; and his leadership of the 1963 March on Washington for jobs and freedom—all have been major milestones in the history of a Nation learning to live in freedom and brotherhood.

A. Philip Randolph deserves our tribute. But, more, he deserves our unremitting support of a lifetime of dedication to the ideals of equal rights and equal opportunity. He has shown the way to all of us, black and white alike, the way of commitment, of responsibility, of determination to make right prevail.

#### WORLD POPULATION GROWTH PROBLEMS: ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1969

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, at the beginning of the 19th century, the English philosopher-economist Thomas Malthus published his classic "Essay on the Principle of Population" which said that unchecked breeding of man causes population to grow by geometrical progression whereas the food supply only increases by an arithmetrical progression.

Malthus' theory noted that real wages could not go much above subsistence levels because any rise in well-being would lead to growth in the supply of workers; whenever wages fell below subsistence, the surplus supply of workers would be reduced through death. Malthus was an undue pessimist, and his theories led economics to be termed "the dismal science."

Although most of Malthus' more negative theories have been disproved over time, his observations regarding population and wage levels do hold relevance for the many millions of persons who live in poverty throughout the world.

One result of economic development is better health services for low-income families. And, as health conditions improve, death rates drop, and there is the tendency for population growth rates to shoot up very quickly. Any increase in population causes new demands to be made of whatever resources are available, and since the most dramatic health bene-

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fits usually come in the lowest age brackets, new demands are not offset by increases in the labor supply.

All nations—rich and poor—pay the price of rapid population growth. Poorer countries find themselves more strapped to allocate their sparse and expensive resources, while richer nations tend to aim development assistance more at immediate problems rather than dealing with investments for longer term growth.

The population bulge already ranks as perhaps the most important long-run problem now faced by man. Action should be undertaken at once to establish programs to cut into the high population growth rates found in so many poor nations.

Early this year, the report of the President's Committee on Population and Family Planning outlined a number of steps which this country should take over the next few years. The President's Committee proposed, and I strongly endorse these recommendations:

First. That the United States continue to expand its programs of international assistance in population and family planning as rapidly as funds can be properly allocated by the United States and effectively utilized by recipient countries and agencies;

Second. That in establishing priorities for its international assistance programs in population, the United States should relate family planning to maternal and child health programs wherever appropriate but also recognize that family planning efforts can be successfully conducted in their own right;

Third. That consideration be given to appropriate communications techniques, including television and other mass media, as possible methods for breaking through the barriers of illiteracy and misinformation;

Fourth. That special attention be given to research, development, and operational projects on the administrative aspects of family planning programs;

Fifth. That where appropriate, U.S. assistance in population matters continue to be channeled through qualified non-governmental organizations and multilateral agencies;

Sixth. That international assistance programs should be funded for periods of at least 2 years and projected for at least 5 years;

Seventh. That an advisory committee of experts from outside the Government should be appointed to meet at regular intervals with governmental officials concerned with population programs to review and advise on major policies and programs; and

Eighth. That experienced specialists from other countries be invited to serve on advisory groups for both our domestic and international programs.

I believe that special emphasis must be placed on the multilateral international agency as the key action agency for family planning programs. Last week, Robert S. McNamara, President of the World Bank, delivered a perceptive and provoking address on the worldwide population problem to the students and faculty at the University of Notre Dame. I urge each Member to give careful attention to

the points that Mr. McNamara makes in his speech, which I now place in the RECORD at this point:

ADDRESS TO THE UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME  
(By Robert S. McNamara, President, World Bank Group)

I am grateful for this award, and pleased to become an honorary alumnus of Notre Dame.

This university, over the years has become a catalytic center of creative thought. It does what universities do best: it probes. It probes the past for what is most relevant to the present. It probes the present for what is most formative of the future. And it probes the future for what will most enlarge man's freedom and fulfillment.

I want to discuss with you this afternoon a problem that arose out of that recent past; that already plagues man in the present; and that will diminish, if not destroy, much of his future—should he fail to face up to it, and solve it.

It is, by half a dozen criteria, the most delicate and difficult issue of our era—perhaps of any era in history. It is overlaid with emotion. It is controversial. It is subtle. Above all, it is immeasurably complex.

It is the tangled problem of excessive population growth.

It is not merely a problem, it is a paradox. It is at one and the same time an issue that is intimately private—and yet inescapably public.

It is an issue characterized by reticence and circumspection—and yet in desperate need of realism and candor.

It is an issue intolerant of government pressure—and yet endangered by government procrastination.

It is an issue, finally, that is so hypersensitive—giving rise to such diverse opinion—that there is an understandable tendency simply to avoid argument, turn one's attention to less complicated matters, and hope that the problem will somehow disappear. But the problem will not disappear.

What may disappear is the opportunity to find a solution that is rational and humane. If we wait too long, that option will be overtaken by events.

We cannot afford that. For if there is anything certain about the population explosion, it is that if it is not dealt with reasonably, it will in fact explode: explode in suffering, explode in violence, explode in inhumanity.

All of us are, of course, concerned about this.

You, here at Notre Dame, have been giving constructive attention to this concern for several years. And yet it may seem strange that I should speak at a center of Catholic thought on this awkward issue which might so conveniently be ignored or left to demographers to argue.

I have chosen to discuss the problem because my responsibilities as President of the World Bank compel me to be candid about the blunt facts affecting the prospects for global development.

The bluntest fact of all is that the need for development is desperate.

One-third of mankind today lives in an environment of relative abundance.

But two-thirds of mankind—more than two billion individuals—remain entrapped in a cruel web of circumstances that severely limits their right to the necessities of life. They have not yet been able to achieve the transition to self-sustaining economic growth. They are caught in the grip of hunger and malnutrition; high illiteracy; inadequate education; shrinking opportunity; and corrosive poverty.

The gap between the rich and poor nations is no longer merely a gap. It is a chasm. On one side are nations of the West that enjoy per capita incomes in the \$3,000 range. On the other are nations in Asia and Africa that

struggle to survive on per capita incomes of less than \$100.

What is important to understand is that this is not a static situation. The misery of the underdeveloped world is today a dynamic misery, continuously broadened and deepened by a population growth that is totally unprecedented in history.

This is why the problem of population is an inseparable part of the larger, overall problem of development.

There are some who speak as if simply having fewer people in the world is some sort of intrinsic value in and of itself. Clearly, it is not.

But when human life is degraded by the plague of poverty, and that poverty is transmitted to future generations by too rapid a growth in population, then one with responsibilities in the field of development has no alternative but to deal with that issue.

To put it simply: the greatest single obstacle to the economic and social advancement of the majority of the peoples in the underdeveloped world is rampant population growth.

Having said that, let me make one point unmistakably clear: the solution of the population problem is in no way a substitute for the more traditional forms of developmental assistance: aid for economic infrastructure; aid for agriculture; aid for industrialization; aid for education; aid for technological advance.

The underdeveloped world needs investment capital for a whole gamut of productive projects. But nothing would be more unwise than to allow these projects to fail because they are finally overwhelmed by a tidal wave of population.

Surely, then, it is appropriate that we should attempt to unravel the complexities that so confuse this critical issue.

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One can begin with the stark demographic dimensions. The dynamics are deceptively simple. Population increase is simply the excess of births over deaths. For most of man's history the two have been in relative equilibrium. Only in the last century have they become seriously unbalanced.

Though the figures are well known, they are worth repeating—if for no other reason than to forestall the familiarity with unpleasant facts from cloaking itself with complacency. It required sixteen hundred years to double the world population of 250 million, as it stood in the first century A.D. Today, the more than three billion on earth will double in 35 years time, and the world's population will then be increasing at the rate of an additional billion every eight years.

To project the totals beyond the year 2000 becomes so demanding on the imagination as to make the statistics almost incomprehensible.

A child born today, living on into his seventies, would know a world of 15 billion. His grandson would share the planet with 60 billion.

In six and a half centuries from now—the same insignificant period of time separating us from the poet Dante—there would be one human being standing on every square foot of land on earth: a fantasy of horror that even the *Inferno* could not match.

Such projections are, of course, unreal. They will not come to pass because events will not permit them to come to pass.

Of that we can be certain.

What is not so certain is precisely what those events will be. They can only be: mass starvation; political chaos; or population planning.

Whatever may happen after the year 2000, what is occurring right now is enough to jolt one into action.

India, for example, is adding a million people a month to its population—and this in spite of the oldest family-planning program in Southeast Asia.



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The boy, who will be 8 on April 5, is Thomas David Diamond. He lives in Rydale, a Philadelphia suburb, with his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Dixon Diamond.

After the settlement was announced to the jury by Federal Judge E. Mac Troutman, Mrs. Diamond, with tears in her eyes, told reporters that she was "very satisfied."

**\$2.5 MILLION ASKED**

The Diamonds, in a suit filed in October, 1962, had asked damages of \$2.5 million. The jury had not been told of this because court rules in Pennsylvania forbid such disclosure.

The settlement spared the manufacturer—Richardson-Merrell, Inc., and its William S. Merrell Co. division—the publicity that would have been generated by a trial expected to last four-to-six weeks.

In an opening statement last Thursday, Arthur G. Raynes, counsel for the Diamonds, promised to show the jury that the Merrell firm had told doctors testing thalidomide—it was never put on the market in the United States—that it was safe for use in pregnancy.

Actually, he said, the firm "had not run one pregnancy animal test in their laboratories." Raynes also promised to show that the firm had shown "a callous disregard for the rights of human beings." The company had intended to make its opening statement at the conclusion of Raynes' case.

The first testimony, on Friday, was that of a former medical research director at Merrell who admitted that he had authored an article praising thalidomide that appeared in a medical journal under the name of a supposedly independent physician.

More testimony was heard Monday. Then, on Tuesday, a dispute broke out in which Raynes demanded, and counsel for Merrell refused, the originals rather than copies of certain company documents.

**SETTLEMENT ANNOUNCED**

After Raynes continued in Judge Troutman's chambers to insist on originals, the firm began talking about a settlement, it was learned. The negotiations, encouraged by the Judge, were carried on in chambers and then announced to the jury at about 3:30 p.m. yesterday.

Last July in Toronto, an out-of-court settlement with Richardson-Merrell was announced under which undisclosed sums were placed in trust for each of eight Canadian thalidomide babies, including one set of twins. The total damages originally sought were \$10 million.

Earlier in 1968, undisclosed but reportedly "very substantial" settlements were reached in England between the British manufacturer of thalidomide and the parents of 62 deformed children. The firm, Distillers Company (Biochemicals) Ltd., agreed to pay 40 per cent of the amount to which the claimants would have been entitled had their cases been tried and won, plus legal costs.

**ISRAEL AND MIDDLE EAST PEACE**

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, this month Israel celebrates her 21st birthday as an independent nation. Those who love freedom and who honor courage cannot help but salute the gallantry of this nation and her people. I wish to add my congratulations to those that have been expressed here in the Senate and around the world.

The people of Israel deserve our highest praise for their remarkable achievements, and all men can take inspiration from Israel industry, patience, and perseverance.

Israel has been a land of immigrants, many of whom were seeking refuge from religious persecution; Israel settlers were pioneers faced with difficulty and

hardships; Israel was founded as a democracy by men of independent minds and spirits. These characteristics of early Israel parallel our own American history, and give us a common purpose: an aspiration for freedom and the pursuit of peaceful goals.

The close relationship between our Nation and Israel goes back to the very establishment of Israel. The United States was the first Nation to recognize her in 1948.

During the years that the Israelis were struggling to make their home hospitable, they were surrounded by hostile and threatening neighbors. Seeing this threat, the United States made clear its support for Israel's right to live in peace and security. This support has been expressed by every President since President Truman in 1948.

The American people also sensed that Israel pioneering was akin to the experience of American settlers, and they felt a special friendship with the Israel people. Contributions and loans flowed from private American citizens to Israel amounting to \$2.5 billion. This support was instrumental in the conquest of harsh desert land by the Israelis.

Israel has sustained a growth rate of 10 percent per year, making her one of the world's leaders in economic development. In 1968, Israel attained a phenomenal growth rate of 14 percent, while keeping inflation under control. This economic surge has continued. As a result, per capita income in Israel has tripled in 20 years and reached about \$1,500 in 1968. This level compares favorably with middle European nations.

Americans and Israelis can be mutually proud: Americans for their willingness to lend a helping hand to a unique and democratic nation born in a desert, and Israelis for their endurance and ingenuity which subdued the desert and harnessed the harsh environment.

It is regrettable and tragic that the threat of conflict continues to hang heavy over the Middle East despite three wars that have been fought there in 20 years. To replace bitter enmity and rancor with candor and conversation is difficult. But, peace and prosperity are worth pursuing despite the difficulty of the task.

The nations of the Middle East must mutually recognize the right of each other to live in peace as a sovereign nation with secure boundaries.

The concern of the world over the prospects for peace in the Middle East has been expressed frequently in the United Nations, and a helpful step was taken on November 22, 1967, when the Security Council authorized the Secretary General to appoint a special representative to assist in efforts to achieve a peaceful and acceptable settlement. Ambassador Jarring of Sweden was appointed and has served in that office with high distinction. The support of the major powers for this mission makes it an important contribution to peace.

It is President Nixon's sincere desire to see peace achieved in the Middle East, and he has announced his full support for the Jarring mission.

The President is channeling our Nation's efforts through all appropriate

avenues to peace, including bilateral and multilateral exchanges. To aid in the cause of peace is one of his goals, and was clearly expressed in his inaugural address. He said:

The greatest honor history can bestow is the title of peacemaker. This honor now beckons America—the chance to help lead the world at last out of the valley of turmoil, and onto the high ground of peace that man has dreamed of since the dawn of civilization.

The Middle East conflict was discussed with European leaders during the President's recent trip to Europe, and high level exchanges have been held in Washington between our Government and Arab and Israel officials.

Exploratory talks now are being pursued among the four powers in New York. These efforts are devoted to the task of strengthening future efforts of the Jarring mission, and are not intended to be a substitute for Ambassador Jarring nor a means of imposing a peace. For a peace to be lasting, it must have the free assent and full cooperation of the parties.

As President Nixon has said:

The Four Powers . . . cannot dictate a settlement in the Middle East. The time has passed in which great nations can dictate to small nations their future where their vital interests are involved.

It would be foolish to expect an instant peace, but, in my opinion, no opportunity to achieve an equitable settlement is being ignored.

There are grounds then to hope for a realistic peace and an end to conflict in the Middle East. Sombre though the scene appears, reason may yet prevail—if all concerned nations will aid Ambassador Jarring in his task.

Mr. President, to many peoples of the world, the age of 21 signifies an arrival at maturity and a dedication to responsibility in society.

In the Jewish tradition the coming of age is at 13, quite young, but most appropriate in light of the pressures of adversity which have weighed heavily on the Jews for more than 5,000 years. And yet from this adversity has come achievement.

Before the world today, as Israel celebrates her 21st year, is a vigorous record of national growth and development matched by few in modern times. In less than a quarter of a century, Israel has become a thriving factor among the smaller nations of the world, and a vital standard of democracy in the Middle East.

Mr. President, I have great feeling for a people threatened by oppression, since my own forebears, the Czechs, as well as Slovaks, portray the tragic consequences of oppressive domination. All the free nations of the world should join with us, not only in celebrating the 21st anniversary of the State of Israel, but also in reaffirming their promise to a wandering people who have at last come home.

**THE ANTI-BALLISTIC-MISSILE PROGRAM**

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, in a few weeks the Senate will complete at least the first phase of the debate over

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the Nixon administration's Safeguard anti-ballistic-missile system.

From all indications the authorization vote will be extremely close. I am convinced that the opposition to deployment, led most effectively by Senators HART, of Michigan, and COOPER, of Kentucky, will prevail.

Regardless of the outcome on this specific issue, however, the debate itself will have begun what I hope will be a permanent form of analysis for military items. It should influence our decisions in this area for many years to come.

It is inappropriate and inaccurate to question the motives or sincerity of those who advocate deployment of Safeguard. The military specialists who have recommended it must certainly be honest in their evaluations.

What has quite clearly been established, however, is that the country's civilian leadership has much broader responsibilities than we have exercised in the past. We cannot expect the Defense Establishment to be concerned about the domestic needs which go unmet because the military has first call on our resources. We should not look to the Pentagon for enlightenment on political issues. We are entirely unrealistic if we think we will find enthusiasm for arms control in institutions whose very being is based on arms expansion.

Yet all of these factors must have a tremendous bearing on our decisions. Perhaps it is because we have been so sparing in their application that after the expenditure of a trillion dollars for arms we are no more secure than we were at the close of World War II.

For too long, I believe, we have tried to maintain that we can seek arms control and overwhelming arms superiority at the same time, that we can have both guns and butter at home, and that our military might can deal effectively with all forms of international threats to our interests or sensibilities. The ABM issue has arisen at a time when the objectives to which we aspire are in many respects mutually exclusive.

Where arms control in particular is concerned such factors as the tactic of building to meet "greater than expected threats," the long lead times involved in deployment of new weapons systems, and the action-reaction relationship between United States and Soviet arms buildups, can very easily combine to make the ABM and meaningful disarmament negotiations an either-or proposition. In light of our knowledge of the futility, the costs and the dangers of weapons competition, it seems inconceivable to me that we would choose the ABM.

The International Executive Board of the United Auto Workers recently adopted a statement which captures the essence of this issue. Noting that Americans believe in a strong military posture but nonetheless hope that we can place emphasis on arms control, the statement points out that:

The essential factor in this dilemma is that we do have to choose. We cannot continue to ride two horses, to be of two minds, which in the nature of things has meant until now that we have dreamed of peace and talked about its virtues, while remaining captives of the arms race. We must now de-

cide to free ourselves from its burdens and its dangers.

This statement is highly significant and deserves our careful attention. I ask unanimous consent that it be inserted at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

UAW INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD STATEMENT ON THE ANTI-BALLISTIC-MISSILE PROGRAM

The Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) System, which would entail the placement of defensive nuclear missiles on sites near heavily populated centers around the country, has come under heavy attack in the U.S. Senate and from groups of concerned citizens in many communities throughout the nation.

The UAW International Executive Board associates itself with this opposition to ABM, and we commend the concerned community leaders in the Detroit area and in other cities who in protesting the acquisition of local sites by the Pentagon have drawn national attention to the dangers of this further escalation of the nuclear arms race. This citizen protest has been very largely responsible for growing opposition to the ABM system in the Congress.

We urge the President to respond to this national protest with an order cancelling the ABM program. We urge him to turn away from a useless and unnecessary arms buildup and move vigorously toward the tasks of peace.

Little purpose is served at this late date in stressing in detail the destructive power of even the smallest nuclear warhead. It requires no imagination to conceive of the degree of damage to life and property that would result in an urban center if one of the missiles slated to be installed under the ABM system accidentally exploded. A nuclear physicist told the Michigan Citizens' Coordinating Committee Concerned About Anti-Ballistic Missiles: "If there were an accident, the Detroit area certainly would not be habitable."

If the ABM system were demonstrably essential for the national security, it is conceivable that Americans might properly be asked and might well be prepared to agree to accept a degree of risk in order to place anti-ballistic missiles around our cities. No such necessity, however, can be demonstrated. On the contrary, a very strong case has been made—for the contention that development and deployment of the ABM system would actually reduce our security.

In the first place, the system is untestable except in the crisis of missile attack. By then it would be too late to determine its feasibility or effectiveness. Experts have noted that the very operation of the system may make it totally unworkable, since the atomic explosions resulting from its initial use in time of imminent crisis could make inoperable the very electronic gear essential to its effective deployment.

The advocates of the ABM system declare that it would be designed only to intercept and destroy low-grade and unsophisticated Chinese missiles. It would be totally useless against sophisticated missiles, which the Soviet Union already has and which in years to come China will develop. The ABM system would require at least 5 years for full deployment at a cost officially estimated to go as high as \$10 billion but which might well go as high as \$60 billion; and nobody, in or out of the Pentagon, has more than the vaguest notion of China's probable nuclear capability at the end of the five-year period. Given this inability to accurately assess what the Chinese will be able to produce five years from now, it is quite possible that the ABM system would be as useless against China as it would be against the Soviet Union.

Even if we could predict the Chinese capability five years hence, it does not follow

that we should spend up to \$60 billion to ring our cities with megaton bombs in order to protect ourselves against a potential Chinese attack. For it should always be kept in mind that we already have the most formidable system of deterrence in the world. It lies in our capability of totally destroying any adversary, even if most of our offensive missile sites were destroyed. Both the United States and the Soviet Union have long since possessed this power of overkill. It provides a precarious equilibrium or balance of terror which has thus far prevented limited wars from escalating into an all-out military confrontation between the great powers.

This precarious balance would be disturbed by any venture into anti-ballistics systems, either the 'thin' Sentinel system or a much more expensive and destructive ABM system, which many see as the ultimate objective of some in the military. According to Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner, Provost of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who was President Kennedy's scientific adviser, any drastic change in the strategic balance of power takes about 10 years. The very length of time required to move to a new strategic balance after the introduction of new weapons systems, according to Dr. Wiesner, gives a kind of stability to the arms race. The new equilibrium arrived at, after a decade or so of transition, however, will be just as precarious as the old as long as we consent to remain captives of the arms race. We shall have no more essential security than we had 10 years earlier, and shall have squandered scores of billions of dollars that could have been better invested in building a more just and livable society. In fact, according to Wiesner, we may well have less security. He writes:

I believe that the situation will be made more, not less, dangerous. We always underestimate our own capabilities and overestimate that of the other fellow. I think this is true of both sides. . . . That is, if the Russians build a defensive system, we think it is better than it is, so we overbuild in order to penetrate it, and vice versa.

"Thus there is the real possibility that when everything is stabilized at some higher level and we are all relaxed because we have become used to it, the potential for destruction will have gone up instead of down."

And Wiesner asks: "Can we play this game, which certainly will not buy us real defense, and at the same time achieve a rational world? My answer is no."

That is also the answer of the UAW; and we believe it is the answer of an increasing number of Americans. According to a recent Harris poll, Americans are still firm believers in a strong military defense, but a clear majority balks at paying increased taxes to beef up the military establishment. More significant is the response to the following question:

"If you had to choose, would you prefer that our government put greater emphasis on building on U.S. military power or in trying to come to arms control agreements with the Russians?"

Of a cross-section of adults asked that question, 62 percent would put "emphasis on arms control," 29 percent would put "emphasis on military build-up," and 9 percent were not sure.

The essential factor in this dilemma is that we do have to choose. We cannot continue to ride two horses, to be of two minds, which in the nature of things has meant until now that we have dreamed of peace and talked about its virtues, while remaining captives of the arms race. We must now decide to free ourselves from its burdens and its dangers. The growing bipartisan opposition to the ABM system in the U.S. Senate reflects a growing realization on the part of the American people that the only real security lies in controlling rather than expanding our armaments, in

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of us who regard with horror the thought of a 3.5 million man permanent standing army, the reduction of professional military strength to a level more consistent with our real needs reduces the dangers and concerns about a permanent volunteer army.

5. A step toward world peace: For some years historians and students of world affairs have noted that the Cold War as we knew it during the 1950's was drawing to a close. Whatever the nature of world tensions, they are different than the tensions of the 1950's. But no reduction in U.S. force levels occurred which reflected these different tensions. In October 1967, the Soviet Union reduced the mandatory term of service for its draftees to two years. The overall strength of Soviet military forces is less than ours, and reflects reductions since 1950. It is time that we took some step toward American deescalation of military force levels. A 10% reduction in U.S. troop strength would be a significant move in this direction—a significant step toward peace.

## ADVANTAGES OF THE STRENGTH-LIMIT APPROACH

The actual results of force reduction would be, as we have seen, very real and very advantageous. But aside from those beneficial results, what are the advantages of approaching military budget reduction from the point of view of manpower limitations?

Perhaps the greatest advantage to the Congress of a manpower-limitation approach is that it gives the people's representatives a way of proceeding, a "handle" some would call it, by which we can begin to manage our priorities. When Congress must pick and choose, must weigh and decide between strategic missile forces, polaris submarine forces, strategic bomber forces, fighter pilots, interceptor pilots, Special Forces units, Army infantry battalions—when all of these competing programs must be judged, with expert touting the value of each in grandiose terms, then Congress may have difficult choosing. Worst of all, it may not choose, it may just accept. But if an overall manpower limitation were placed on the strength of active military forces—with no specifications as to how the cuts were to be made—then the choice would be left to the experts. Congress was not intended to command the military, but it was intended to authorize it, to scrutinize it, and to cut it when it grew too large. By reducing the overall strength limitation of active forces, Congress can meet its responsibilities, and can start to assert the necessary leadership to restore a proper balance between our need to defend ourselves from foreign aggression and our need to preserve ourselves from internal decay.

## REASSERTION OF THE POPULAR WILL

There are those in America today who truly believe that her democratic political institutions are no longer responsive to the demands and desires of the electorate. A new President is elected who promises to end the Vietnam war, but no troop withdrawals follow. While the cries of the Nation cry out for assistance and attention, America continues to devote 42% of its national Government's budget to direct military activities, and 5% to education, manpower, community development and housing.

This kind of imbalance in our domestic and military priorities cannot last. I truly believe that the people of this Nation will not stand for it. We are on the verge of a taxpayers' revolt, a students' revolt and a draft revolt. My own hope is that Congress, and specifically the House of Representatives, can lead America in its reorientation from Cold Warrior to Peacemaker, from keeper of the largest military establishment in the world to a leader in the cause of deescalation of the arms race. My hope is that the voices of the people will begin to get through.

## U.S. DIPLOMATIC SIGNALS ON GREECE

## HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 30, 1969

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago Greece observed the second anniversary of the military coup of April 21, 1967.

For 2 years the newspapers of the United States have been far more penetrating and accurate in their judgment of the Greek military junta than have American officials. Now, at last, there appears to be some deliberate movement by American officialdom away from the Greek dictatorship.

In my judgment there are three critical elements presently involved in the Greek political situation and American attitudes toward it.

First is the question of whether or not the United States gives a diplomatic signal which tells the Greek people that President Nixon disassociates himself from the Greek military regime. The psychological and practical impact of such a signal, once given and sustained, should not be underestimated.

A second important consideration is the expected joint statement from Greek political figures in exile. Prominent among these figures are former Prime Minister Constantine Karamanlis, of the conservative ERE Party, Andreas Papan-dreu of the liberal Center Union Party, King Constantine, and Publisher Eleni Vlachou. Such a statement would indicate a unity of purpose among the democratic political leaders of Greece, particularly an agreement in favor of a "national government," made up of a coalition of the leading political parties, to serve in the transition until genuine elections can be held.

There has been some delay in the issuance of this statement, perhaps because political differences die hard, even in exile, and because the leaders in question are afraid that unsteady U.S. policymakers might change course again and pull the rug from under them.

Generally overlooked has been a third important point, and that is the selection of a U.S. Ambassador to Athens to fill a post left vacant for 3 months. Press reports of who the Ambassador may be should give the exile leaders pause. Mentioned frequently are a retired Army general, now a lobbyist for a big defense contractor, believed to be the candidate of Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, and a Chicago businessman, one of a small number of junta propagandists among Greek-American businessmen, believed supported by Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN. Faced with such a prospect, the selection of a career diplomat would be not only a refreshing alternative but an imperative political decision.

Several significant articles and statements on Greece have appeared recently. The most important is a political analysis delivered by a Voice of America com-

mentator and broadcast to the world. This broadcast is a departure from the previous caution of U.S. and VOA statements and seems meant to be a signal of change.

The Voice of America also broadcast excerpts from the Washington Post and New York Times editorials set forth below.

I also include for the Record a Christian Science Monitor article of April 10, 1969, which clarifies the American problem on Greece. Finally, I include an excellent column by Alfred Friendly, Jr., of the New York Times, surveying the scene from Athens on April 21, 1969:

[From Political Analysis No. 1-0186, Apr. 23, 1969]

## GREECE: A U.S. PERSPECTIVE

(By David Roberts)

Announcer: On Tuesday (April 22) of this week the military government of Greece was two years old. VOA's David Roberts comments:

Voice: As the generals who run Greece mark their second anniversary in office they can look back on two years of unfulfilled promises and minimum achievement. Any effort to restore a civilian presence to the Greek Government remains unsuccessful. King Constantine continues his exile in Italy. Economic reform remains an unreality—performance of the economy has reportedly slowed. As for representative government, it still is merely a potential in Greece's future.

The United States has maintained a long and close relationship with various governments of Greece. Under the Truman Doctrine following World War Two, the U.S. was instrumental not only in assisting the Greek people in their struggle against a Communist take-over, but in re-building Greece from the shambles of war and the bitterness of civil strife. In this relationship, the U.S. has continued to be deeply concerned about Greek democracy.

When the then colonels assumed command in April of 1967, the United States suspended major military deliveries to Greece. Over the past two years, the U.S. has delivered only the major items of military equipment that were essential to NATO commitments. The concern for representative government goes on.

In March of this year, Secretary of State William F. Rogers appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Claiborne Pell took the occasion to express this concern, and asked the Secretary of State if he would seek assurances from the Greek Government that progress toward "democratic processes" was being made, and that "torture would not be used to terrify political prisoners."

Secretary Rogers told the Senator that indeed he shared this concern over the issue of torture, adding that he was disturbed also over the lack of civil liberties in Greece. Mister Rogers went on record as saying that the U.S. "is doing what it can," through diplomatic channels "in that direction" and that these points would be taken into consideration in subsequent negotiations.

United States concern is not difficult to express; it can be summarized quite briefly. The U.S. continues to hope for a return to representative government in Greece. Plus, a full restoration of civil liberties. The United States has expressed this hope on many occasions. On the most recent occasion the hope was expressed directly to high level Greek officials. These requisites for democracy—or the lack of them—remain as the bases for U.S.-Greek relations, and an essential element in NATO's objectives.



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ners at the Pentagon. One finds it difficult to criticize the Joint Chiefs, military department heads, or the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower for seeking constantly increased force levels. Their job is defense, and in their view increasing military commitments required increased force levels. The Bureau of the Budget might have been expected to perform a more thorough and objective review of military manpower requirements. Unfortunately, as recent revelations in the press have shown, requests for Defense programs were reviewed on a wholly different basis than the requests of other Departments. Defense requests most often survived the gruelling budgetary review process (gruelling for other departments), without a scratch. Congress usually went along.

## EFFECT ON U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

What has been the effect of these super-statutory force levels on U.S. foreign policy? Probably there is no simple answer to a question which involves so many subtle and difficult considerations. Who can doubt, however, that long and hard thought would have been given before undertaking the commitment of U.S. combat forces in South Vietnam if our troop levels had stood at their statutory level—just over 2 million? Who can believe that we would now have 45,000 men in Thailand, 40,000 in Okinawa, 30,000 in the Philippines—750,000 total in Asia (not counting Seventh Fleet personnel)—if the statutory ceilings were being observed? Finally, who can believe that the United States government would agree to support 320,000 troops in Western Europe if the level of U.S. forces were limited to only six times that number?

## EFFECT AT HOME

If the result of super-statutory military manpower levels has been serious overseas, it has been catastrophic at home. It was noted earlier that the United States has the highest percentage of military age manpower under arms of any major power in the world. Let us go behind the dry statistics; what does this mean in ratios of civilian to military population?

If we talk in terms of the entire American population in 1968, we had one out of sixty Americans on active military duty as of December 31, 1968. But this figure compares active military personnel to the entire population—men, women and children. If we limit our comparison to males alone, the ratio is one out of twenty-eight. If we further limit ourselves to only military-age males (to be generous, those between 18 and 65) the ratio becomes an incredible 1-out-of-16. One American service-age male out of every sixteen is on active military duty. And this does not count, of course, those service-age men who are not physically fit for service, who have completed their military obligation, or who have retired from the service. Truly, as George Wald said, these things "are incompatible with what America meant before."

But having this high percentage of our youth in active military service is not the end of effects at home. The tremendous size of the active military establishment has led to huge draft calls in which thousands of unwilling Americans every month are called to serve their country in uniform. In recent years, and largely because of the war in Vietnam (itself at least partially a result of high military strength levels), many young Americans have refused to serve—preferring prison or exile to what they consider ignoble service. The calls of conscience and revulsion which the enormous peacetime draft has led to in the U.S. have literally rent the fabric of this society.

A third tragic result of our massive military manpower levels has been the debasement of the military and its role in the eyes of Americans. I can remember when military service used to be considered an

honor, a service worthy of respect and gratitude. Those of us who served during World War II were proud to have served, and the uniform was something to be worn with pride. Today we are destroying the traditional American respect for the military and its important but limited role in American life. Today the military is often an object of derision and contempt. The immediate reaction of many Americans to any statement by the Pentagon—whether it be Viet Cong casualty figures or Soviet missile strengths—is skepticism and suspicion. In short, we have created a military monster which much of the American population—especially the young, the future citizens—suspects and fears.

But the saddest result of having nearly 3.5 million American men in uniform is that it has made us into a different country—a warrior state, where casualty lists are an every day part of the society—a military society, where maintenance of the largest standing armed force in the world takes priority over every other need.

## NEED FOR CONGRESSIONAL ACTION

Clearly Congress has avoided its responsibility for too long and the results of that avoidance have been too serious for the situation to continue. We in the Congress must take action to show this Nation, and especially the young people of this Nation, that we have the will and the ability to limit the tremendous overcommitment of U.S. resources to military pursuits. We must, in short, return to some form of statutory limitation on the size of the military establishment.

The simplest solution—and simplicity has much to be said for it in the field of military appropriations—is for Congress to impose a ceiling on the strength of the military services. In the past such a solution (the return to existing statutory levels) has been rejected because of the discrepancy between present statutory ceilings and the actual strengths of the military services. At the present time only the Marine Corps is below its authorized statutory strength. As of the end of 1968, the Army was 174% of its authorized ceiling, the Navy was 127% and the Air Force was 175%. It is argued that an arbitrary return to present statutory ceilings would impose great hardships on the services, and would require precipitous withdrawal of American forces from standing commitments around the world without sufficient warning to host governments.

For this reason, a proposal to limit active U.S. military forces to 90% of their strength at the end of calendar year 1968 is a reasonable answer to Congress' need to begin planning some rational limitation on the size of the military establishment. Making this requirement effective as of the end of fiscal year 1970 would give the military services and military and foreign policy planners sufficient warning to adjust U.S. policies abroad. The cut is not so substantial that it would be impractical. Finally, such a 10% reduction in the active duty strength of U.S. forces would place Congress back in the role which the founders intended it should play—raiser, maintainer and limiter of U.S. military forces.

Such a 10% reduction could be enacted by Congress simply as an amendment to the overall strength limitation enacted in 1951. By reducing this level to 3,070,000, Congress would be cutting the statutorily authorized strength of the Armed Forces (as of June 30, 1970) to 90% of their strength as of the end of calendar 1968. Such action would restore Congress to its proper Constitutional role and would reassure the American people that someone is exerting some control over the proliferating military establishment.

## LIMITATION ONLY A FIRST STEP

A 10% reduction is, of course, only a first step on the long road back to the existing

statutory limits. With the Armed Forces presently 43% overstrength, it will take some time to reduce the level of active military forces to the 2 million plus presently prescribed by existing ceilings. But as President Kennedy often reminded us, a journey of a thousand miles must begin with a single step.

## RESULTS OF REDUCTION IN ACTIVE FORCES

The results of beginning to reduce the level of military manpower are many and tremendously important. All of the ramifications probably cannot be known at the present time, but some of the most obvious and beneficial results would be as follows:

1. Savings to the taxpayers: According to the average military personnel cost per military man on active duty which is used by the Pentagon, a 10% reduction would result in a savings on direct personnel costs alone of over 2 billion dollars. In truth, however, if the level of forces is reduced, operations and maintenance will also be reduced proportionally. Thus if the average cost of military personnel, operations and maintenance, and family housing per each active duty military man is used, the savings from a 10% reduction in active forces is almost 4.6 billion dollars.

2. Improved balance of payments position: Mention has already been made of the large commitment of U.S. active forces to overseas assignments. This overseas commitment has hurt the U.S. balance of payments position, and has caused, among other things, the Presidential decision to place direct controls on foreign direct investment overseas. In addition, the President placed into effect restrictions on foreign travel by U.S. citizens, and customs regulations to discourage foreign travel by Americans. These restrictions are an unnecessary result of U.S. over-commitment abroad, and have no place in a peace-time society. Reduction in U.S. force levels, which would be reflected in declining troop strengths overseas, would allow elimination of these foreign travel and foreign investment restrictions.

3. Realignment of U.S. foreign policy: One of the most beneficial results of the proposed 10% cut back would be that it would discourage the kind of over-reliance on military solutions which has characterized U.S. foreign policy since the Korean war. The simple fact is that if the Pentagon has fewer forces to play with, it will be far more careful about how they are deployed. It might even happen that U.S. troop deployments abroad would eventually come truly to reflect existence of important U.S. national security interests—a situation which most certainly does not obtain today.

4. Elimination of the draft and promotion of a volunteer army: One of the most obvious advantages of a reduction in the strength of active military forces would be an eventual end to the draft, the Selective Service System, prosecutions for draft evasion, and all the paraphernalia of military conscription. One of the Armed Services Committee reports said that it was necessary to continue suspension of strength ceilings to preserve "the American way of life." Nothing is more contrary to the American way of life than conscription and forced military service. Despite the fact that many of us take the draft for granted today, we should never forget that it was authorized by Congress after World War II only as a temporary measure, that it was not intended to be a permanent part of American life, that—in sum—it was not meant to become what it has become.

A reduction in the size of the active military force would improve prospects for a volunteer army. The prospects would be improved not only in the sense that costs would be lower and chances of finding adequate numbers of volunteers improved—although these are important benefits. But for those

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[From the Washington (D.C.) Post,  
Apr. 22, 1969]

## GREECE 2 YEARS LATER

The second anniversary of the Greek coup finds the regime bogged down and unsure of itself. Economic progress has trailed off. The Scandinavians and the European left are provoking the regime into an unseemingly defensiveness. The colonels have won neither the loyalty of the educated classes nor the enthusiasm of the citizenry. Greece remains a police state, a condition offensive to its own traditions and its traditional friends alike.

It is not surprising that many Greeks are "keeping the back door open," as the Greek saying goes. That is, they are prepared to accept, if not to seek, a change in leadership. The instant question has become how that change will come. Some on the left and some on the right may favor violence—insurrection or another coup. Responsible opinion leans towards efforts again to involve the civilian politicians, especially ex-premier Karamanlis, an exile in Paris, and the King, an exile in Rome. Whether the junta will have the wisdom and patriotism to ease the way for their return is problematical. There are practically as many views on it as there are Greeks.

For the United States, it should be realized that the junta's two-year record has greatly disappointed hopes that time and pressure would point Athens back towards democracy. That possibility cannot be dismissed, but it is too uncertain to remain the sole basis of policy. The guiding consideration for Washington should be not to identify itself so closely with the colonels that it would be compromised in the eyes of the Greek people and in the eyes of the next—hopefully, more representative—Greek government.

The few available signs are that Mr. Nixon is following that line. President Johnson had finally announced a "partial" resumption of military aid; it is still partial. Secretary of State Rogers, in an unusually candid statement to a concerned Senator, declared: "We share your concern not only for the torture but also for other civil liberties . . . And we will be conscious of the factors that you mentioned in our subsequent negotiations." American officials expressed the Administration's concern directly to the Greek Deputy Premier when he came for the Eisenhower funeral. President Nixon has not yet appointed a new ambassador to Athens. Vice President Agnew has been retrieved from the embrace of pro-junta Greek-Americans. These things are all token but, given the tension in Athens, they may be important.

[From the New York Times, Apr. 21, 1969]  
TWO YEARS OF PAPADOPOULOS

On today's second anniversary of the putsch that swept out constitutional government, Greece remains a country under martial law. That is really commentary enough on the performance of Colonel Papadopoulos and his henchmen, who promised "a return to parliamentary rule on a wholesome basis."

It is also adequate commentary on the "liberalization" announced by the Premier recently on the eve of NATO's twentieth anniversary meeting in Washington. It is useless to proclaim restoration of the "inviolability of the home" when the continued suspension of habeas corpus makes any citizen liable to arbitrary arrest anywhere, anytime.

What political meaning has restoration of the "right of assembly" when a Greek using such a forum to criticize the junta can still be arrested and held indefinitely? And of what value is the "right of association" when martial law not only curbs free speech but specifically bans all strikes?

One thing above all is clear about the colonels on the second anniversary of their putsch: If they had the support they claim from the Greek people they would have lifted

martial law long ago and taken their chances in a free election.

[From the Christian Science Monitor,  
Apr. 10, 1969]

STRICT ALOOFNESS OR INTERVENTION? SUPPRESSION IN GREECE PUTS NIXON ON GRIDDLE  
(By Saville R. Davis)

WASHINGTON.—The most serious and urgent problem of the NATO alliance has been deliberately ignored by the United States. The Nixon administration has not had time to decide what to do about it.

One of the NATO allies—Greece—has been under military dictatorship, martial law, and the denial of political liberties for two years. Elections have often been promised but are not in sight. Some political prisoners have been released from jail, but censorship is still tightly enforced.

Protest has boiled up periodically, the latest to denounce the regime being the leading poet of Greece George Seferis, who won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1963.

A number of hearings on political prisoners have been held by the Council of Europe and an official inquiry is in progress by the European Commission on Human Rights. Charges of violation of the European Human Rights Convention were made by the Netherlands, Denmark, and Norway. Italy has likewise had an open dispute on this subject with the Greek military regime in recent weeks.

Alfred Friendly, correspondent and former managing editor of the Washington Post, reported from Athens this week, "... The censorship here is no laughing matter. It is corrosive to a responsible political and national life; moreover it is probably doing the dictatorship more harm than good. Where there is a news vacuum, rumor fills it. Yet rumor is surely the most dangerous threat to the goal the junta most desires: public confidence in it, and governmental stability.

"The more insecure the colonel's [Col. George Papadopoulos] regime senses itself to be, the tighter and more frantic its censorship. A vicious circle comes into being." The censorship, Mr. Friendly reported, has become "counter-productive."

The Greek question, although it is considered the hottest political issue within the NATO alliance, was carefully bypassed by President Nixon and his party on his recent tour of Western Europe to visit a number of the NATO capitals.

Last week a similar avoidance of decision was shown at the Eisenhower funeral ceremonies. Both King Constantine, who supports free elections in Greece and remains the acknowledged Greek head of state although he is living in Rome in self-imposed exile, and a representative of the Athens regime, Deputy Premier Stylianos Patakis, were impartially greeted by President Nixon at a White House reception and seated with foreign notables at the cathedral service.

The issue confronting President Nixon is whether and how long he can continue to remain officially indifferent to a regime that denies elections and political liberties to a country that is a member of the central defense system of the self-styled free world.

## PRECEDENT OPPOSED

Some of the President's foreign policy advisers argue that the United States should stay clear of the internal political affairs of Greece. Others contend that by financing and arming Greece as a NATO ally—an activity that was suspended and then partially resumed by President Johnson after the 1967 military coup—the United States is already intervening on the side of the military government.

The first group says that the United States cannot afford to establish a precedent that it intends to make and unmake regimes of other countries, using its financial and military power arbitrarily for this purpose.

The second group says that where dictatorships are already using American money and arms to support themselves against their domestic political opposition, the United States is already committed on the side of political oppression.

The first group argues that the overriding principle must be that of respect for the integrity of other countries, no matter how difficult it might be to let them work out their own destinies.

## DIPLOMATIC SIGNALS?

The second group argues that the overriding principle of the free world must be that of support for liberty and at least a quiet disapproval of political oppression within its own ranks, if it is to win conflicts with Communist tyranny.

Finally, both groups recognize that practical issue is not the open use of American power for intervention or nonintervention. It is whether the United States does or does not give diplomatic signals which tell the Greek people that President Nixon disassociates himself from supporting the Greek military regime, while giving arms that are considered necessary for the NATO defenses.

One group of the President's advisers is concerned lest such a signal play into the hands of radical opponents of the Greek regime. The other argues that responsible alternatives to the military government are now available, but that the longer it lasts, the greater the danger to the NATO alliance of anarchy and radicals.

As the situation stands now, King Constantine is available as a symbol and advocate of constitutional democracy and free elections. Former moderate conservative Premier Constantine Karamanlis and the liberal Andreas Papandreu, son of former Premier George Papandreu, are among those available as premier for a return to democratic government.

The Greek dilemma weighs on the Nixon administration at a time when it has had to face a similar problem in South Vietnam. Technically the United States takes no part in internal South Vietnamese political affairs. In fact, however, President Johnson initiated its Constitution and elections, and repeatedly used pressure on the Saigon regime both to broaden its political base, and later to join the Paris peace talks.

President Nixon likewise has found it necessary to use his influence—which includes the fact that the Saigon regime is dependent on Washington for both money and arms—for the same two purposes.

In the case of South Vietnam, with a war and a peace settlement at stake, Mr. Nixon decided that he could not stand aloof and let political forces in Saigon take their course.

In the case of Greece, where civil war is potential rather than actual, and where the morale of the NATO alliance is concerned, he faces similar alternatives, but a decision has not yet been made.

[From the Christian Science Monitor,  
Apr. 10, 1969]

## THIS ANOMALY MUST STOP

(By a staff correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor)

WASHINGTON.—The following statement by George Seferis, Greek poet who received the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1963, has been received in Washington from Athens. The Greek Government recently published an answer to Mr. Seferis but did not permit publication of his statement in Greece.

The text follows:

"It is now some time since I took the decision to stay out of my country's politics. I have tried in the past to explain my decision, but this does not mean that I am indifferent to our political life.

"From that time until now I have abstained from touching upon such matters.

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In any case, from what I had published up to the beginning of 1967 and from my subsequent position (I have published nothing in Greece from the time liberty was silenced) I believe that I have clearly shown my thoughts.

"In spite of this, for some months I have felt within me and around me that more and more it is becoming imperative for me to speak out on our present situation. With all possible brevity, this is what I would say: "It is almost two years since a regime was imposed upon us, utterly contrary to the ideals for which our world—and so magnificently our people—fought in the last world war. It is a state of enforced torpor in which all the intellectual values that we have succeeded in keeping alive with toil and effort are being submerged in a swamp, in stagnant waters. It would not be difficult for me to understand that such catastrophes do not count very much for some people. Unfortunately that is not the only danger.

"We have all learned, we all know, that in dictatorial regimes the beginning may seem easy, yet tragedy waits at the end inescapably. It is this tragic ending that consciously or unconsciously torments us in the ancient choruses of Aeschylus. As long as this anomalous situation continues, so long does evil progress.

"I am a person with absolutely no political bond and I can say that I speak without fear or passion. I see in front of me the abyss to which we are being led by the oppression which has engulfed our country. This anomaly must stop. It is a national demand.

"Now I resume my silence. I pray to God that never again may I find myself under such compulsion to speak.

"GEORGE SEFERIS."

[From the New York Times, Apr. 21, 1969]  
AT SECOND ANNIVERSARY, GREEK RULES STILL  
LOOK FOR SUPPORT

(By Alfred Friendly Jr.)

ATHENS, April 20.—On the second anniversary of their coup d'état, the military rulers of Greece and their domestic opponents are both looking outside the country for support. Neither group is receiving what it wants.

Even without fervent approval from abroad, however, the former colonels remain solidly in control. While restoring some semblance of civil liberty with one hand, they have been able with the other to tighten the social restrictions they have imposed since their tanks and troops moved into the streets on April 21, 1967, and ended 21 years of often chaotic constitutional government.

The anniversary was celebrated here tonight with a two-hour performance by marching bands, folk dances, singers, patriotic floats and fireworks before a crowd of some 60,000 Athenians, who almost filled the huge National Stadium.

The evening chill drove many from the stone stands early, but loudspeakers placed on nearby streets and in the city's central Constitution Square carried the sounds of the ceremony after them.

Although increasingly vocal in private, the regime's opponents at home are as disunited as they were the day the colonels moved in.

A recent effort to produce a joint statement of opposition from leaders of two center political parties from before the coup collapsed in bickering. The parties agreed that they would form a coalition government in a restored democracy, but could not agree that they would name former Premier Constantine Caramanlis, who has been in self-imposed exile in Paris since his electoral defeat in 1963, to head it.

Syros Markezinis, head of his own small party and a respected political figure, has also failed to rally united support, as he failed during a prolonged parliamentary crisis in 1965.

## U.S. PRESSURE FAVORED

"If the United States would understand and undertake its moral obligations to Greece," an unhappy former Center Union politician said, "we could end the dictatorship in a few months. Pressure from Washington could force them to compromise with King Constantine and restore the parliament.

"Even if they formed their own political party and rigged the elections, the democratic groups would regain the forum they have lost and be in a position to take full control quickly."

The Center Union, a coalition of center parties, was headed by Premier George Papandreou, who was dismissed from office in July, 1965, after differences with King Constantine. His dismissal resulted in a series of crises that brought the military coup two years ago.

Then, in December, 1967, the young King, a symbol of legality but not an overwhelmingly popular figure, fled to Italy after the failure of an attempted countercoup. A regent, Lieut. Gen. George Zoitakis, was named to serve in his absence.

## KING REJECTS ADVICE

In exile in Rome, Constantine has refused the colonels' offers to return as a figurehead sovereign and has spurned the advice of others that he return on his own for a confrontation.

"All he has to do is fly into the airport at Athens," said a wealthy loyalist businessman who has offered such advice to the King. "There are no instructions to airport officials to oppose him and once he was back, he could win a restoration of Parliament.

"The trouble is, neither of the two Constantines has ever had courage when they needed it," he said, referring to the King and to Mr. Caramanlis. "With American support, though, they could be persuaded to act."

American military aid to Greece through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization runs to \$30-million a year. Except for suspended deliveries of tanks and items related to them, it stands at about the same level now that it did two years ago.

Greeks who have influence with the Nixon Administration and American diplomats here see no prospect of its being curtailed or of the use of other leverage to push the military regime out.

"America is not going to pull the Greeks' chestnuts out of the fire," an influential Western observer said. "If there were some strong domestic movement for change, the United States would be delighted, but there is not such a force yet, and I do not see it developing."

Still, the prospect of losing United States or NATO support clearly makes the Government headed by Premier George Papadopoulos extremely edgy. Just before the ministerial meeting of the Atlantic Alliance this month in Washington, he announced that three of the 12 suspended articles of the new Constitution would be put into effect. The articles restored the rights of peaceful assembly, lawful association and the inviolability of the home.

According to an Athenian jurist, however, the restoration remains a legal fraud until the second major act of the regime—proclaiming a state of siege and imposing martial law—is rescinded.

Under the Constitution that won 92-percent approval in last September's referendum, that act is valid until specifically abolished. A recent Council of State ruling puts the act's provisions above the Constitution.

The apparent move toward restoration of democracy—articles establishing freedom of the press, freedom from arbitrary arrest, organization of political parties and parliamentary and local elections are still suspended—forestalled planned public attacks on Greece at the NATO session.

## COUNCIL ACTION EXPECTED

The action may not, however, succeed in placating Italian, Dutch and Scandinavian representatives of the Council of Europe when they meet next month. Motions to censure Greece or expel her from the group are almost certain to be made.

"We are all now facing the future with self-confidence and optimism," Mr. Papadopoulos said last night on a radio broadcast. "The revolution of April 21 represents the greatest and most serious effort of rehabilitation, reorganization and cleansing made since the beginning of national independence."

"Our friends have convinced themselves that a great task of a broader nature is being accomplished here," the 50-year-old leader said. "And our enemies must come to realize that they labor against us but sadly in vain."

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA JUSTICE—  
NO MARTINIS, NO CONVICTION

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 30, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the men who wrote our Constitution knew what they were doing. They had seen Congress, sitting where it did not rule, surrounded and besieged by a mob demanding back military pay. They provided for a Federal district, and commanded that the Congress should "exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever" over that district. In the very same sentence our Constitution requires us to "exercise like authority over all forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings."

The Framers of the Constitution recognized that the Nation's Capital belonged in the same category as these other essential properties. It serves the people of the Nation, is supported and maintained by the people of the Nation, and must be controlled and governed by the people of the Nation. The District of Columbia never has been self-supporting, it is not now able to pay its own way, and it never will be able to do so. It has no more entitlement in logic or in morality to "home rule" than do Fort Polk, Redstone Arsenal, the Brooklyn Navy Yard or the Chicago Post Office.

Learning nothing from the failures of the radicals who made the same mistakes a hundred years ago, we again experiment with "home rule"—and the result would have been censored from the beloved Amos and Andy series as totally unbelievable. As part of my remarks, I include an item from Saturday's Washington Post, relating to the administration of justice here in Washington. Surely Calhoun was there somewhere.

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 26, 1969]

CONVICTION OVERTURNED IN WIFE'S DEATH—  
JUDGE NOT AMUSED AS JURY ORDERS  
MARTINIS

A Washington man who was sentenced to death in 1961 for killing his estranged wife was acquitted at his third trial yesterday by a jury that sent out a request for "12 martinis" in the midst of its deliberations.

Witnesses who were in the courtroom when Judge June L. Green received the penciled note on a scrap of paper said she was not amused. She responded, they said, with a



zures off the Latin American coast, and as I informed my colleagues last Thursday, the International Longshoremen's Union has passed a resolution which could lead to their refusing to unload ships from any country illegally seizing U.S. fishing vessels. This, I would like to prevent, Mr. Speaker, and I feel that a law such as would be provided by the legislation I am introducing today would accomplish this by Government rather than by union action.

Time is important as we face the start of another fishing season off Latin America, and I urge swift consideration of this new legislation I am introducing today.

#### THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD PAY 100 PERCENT OF CIVIL SERVICE EMPLOYEES' HEALTH BENEFITS COSTS

(Mr. HOGAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing legislation—H.R. 10593—to require the Federal Government to pay 100 percent of health benefits costs for Federal employees.

I believe that the Government has an obligation to be in the forefront in providing fringe benefits and good working conditions for its employees rather than trailing behind private enterprise as has been the case. Today, many enlightened firms pay all of the health benefits costs of their employees. Surely, the time has come for the Federal Government to take this enlightened step.

Originally, the health benefits law provided that the Civil Service Commission would establish the Federal contribution within a specified dollar range, but not more than 50 percent of the least expensive low-option plan offered by one of two Government-wide carriers. Due to the increasing costs of the high option plans, the Government's share of the total premiums was down to less than 30 percent by 1966.

Public Law 89-504 increased the Government's contribution rate, restoring it to the 1960 level of 38 percent of the total premiums, and eliminated the tie-in of the Government contribution to the low option rates. However, due to subsequent rate increases, the Government's contribution has since fallen to about 32 percent of the total premium costs. Congress should act promptly to rectify this inequity.

There have been several proposals in past Congresses and in the current Congress to have the Government assume varying percentages of employee health benefits premiums. In fact, during the 90th Congress, the Subcommittee on Retirement, Insurance, and Health Benefits of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, under the leadership of the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. DANIELS) on whose subcommittee I am privileged to serve, held public hearings on legislation calling for the Government to pay 100 percent of employee health benefit premiums.

After considering these bills, the subcommittee noted:

Aside from the cost, were the Government to pay the total premium, employees would naturally choose the more expensive plans and options that provide the richest benefits, so that the only competition among health plans would be in the amount and kinds of benefits provided. Ultimately, every plan might be not only covering 100 percent of all medical expenses but exploring the inclusion of other types of related expenses.

I believe that this was a valid objection to the proposals that have been made in the past. However, my plan would meet this objection. It would set a limit on the types of coverage to which the Government would contribute, and it would retain the competition that now exists among the 36 different plans serving Federal employees.

Essentially, my plan would have the Government pay 100 percent of the cost of certain specified benefits which would be provided for all employees, annuitants and their families. In effect, this would become the low-option plan which each carrier would make available at no cost to the employee. Each carrier would then be free to offer such additional benefits as it chose, with the employee paying all of the additional cost.

The bill—H.R. 10593—which I am introducing today includes the following benefits for which the Government would pay the entire cost:

Up to 180 days' hospital coverage for each confinement;

Surgical benefits as outlined in the set schedule of fees with a maximum of \$500 for any one confinement.

Medical visits to be reimbursed at \$10 per hospital visit; \$8 per home visit; and \$6 per office visit;

Diagnostic services as provided for in a set schedule of fees;

First-aid treatment in full within 72 hours after an accident;

Maternity benefits to be treated as regular hospital benefits plus up to \$200 for doctor's charges;

Nursing care up to \$20 per 8-hour shift for up to 180 days a calendar year;

Alcoholism and drug addiction for up to 30 days per calendar year;

Mental and nervous disorders for up to 30 days per calendar year;

Dental and cosmetic surgery shall be covered only when necessary for prompt repair of injury caused by an accident.

Mr. Speaker, I want to make it clear at this point that there is certainly nothing sacred about these specific benefits that I have included in my bill. Further consideration may demonstrate that these benefits should be curtailed, eliminated, or expanded to include additional benefits. However, I do believe that this legislation is a necessary starting point which can be refined later on to establish the Federal Government as a model employer and to make Government service more attractive.

I am confident that the basic idea of this approach to providing health benefit coverage for Federal employees is sound. I feel it merits the prompt attention of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee and, indeed, every Member of Congress.

#### NIXON ADMINISTRATION SUPPLYING ARMS TO JORDAN

(Mr. RYAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I was distressed last Friday by the report that the Nixon administration has approved the sale of \$30 million worth of arms and equipment to Jordan, including another squadron of F-104 jet interceptors.

It would appear that this administration intends to continue the already discredited policy of supplying arms to the so-called moderate Arab States in the hope of exercising some influence on these countries.

Has the administration forgotten that, in attacking Israel in June 1967, Jordan used arms and equipment, including tanks, provided by the United States?

The inclusion of a squadron of F-104 jet interceptors constitutes an especially grave threat to peace, for these jets will further bolster the increasing Arab military power and embolden their determination to destroy Israel.

We all know that Jordan has been a base for terroristic attacks on Israel which have continued unabated since the 6-day war. For what imaginable purpose would Jordan use these jets and other military equipment except to attack Israel?

In addition, Mr. Speaker, I am concerned by the fact that the Department of Defense is continuing to train Jordanian pilots and army personnel and other Arab pilots and army personnel in this country. The Department of Defense has advised me in a letter dated April 22 that 94 air force personnel and 74 army personnel from Jordan are being trained in U.S. service schools during fiscal year 1969. First we equip, and then we train, the Royal Jordanian Air Force.

No matter what the history of the Middle Eastern conflict demonstrates, the same stale policies continue to be implemented. The administration continues to arm Jordan in the face of every indication that these weapons will be used against Israel, to which we have a long-standing commitment. It should also be remembered that the vaunted "influence" which this policy was supposed to insure in the past was destroyed when King Hussein and other "moderate" Arab leaders placed their forces under the control of Nasser in the 6-day war. What is there to insure that these weapons will not become an addition to Nasser's developing stockpile of weapons again—to be used when the Arabs believe they have sufficient arms to finally annihilate Israel?

Has the U.S. Government learned nothing from the bloody and tragic war that took place less than 2 years ago?

I have called upon the President of the United States to rescind immediately the sale of these weapons to Jordan and to publicly disavow any intention of approving any further agreements which would subsidize the Arabs' hostile military intentions. My telegram of April 25 to the President follows:

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true; in fact one of the participants admits its substance. I believe, and have so informed the Administrator of the SBA that this matter warrants the immediate suspension of the special assistant, Mr. Albert Fuentes.

Mr. Speaker, I include for the Record a copy of the affidavit I received, a copy of the feasibility study aforementioned, and a copy of a telegram I sent the Administrator of the SBA:

State of Texas, County of Bexar:

Before me, the undersigned authority, on this day, personally appeared Emanuel Salalz, who, after being by me duly sworn, upon his oath, stated the following:

"My name is Emanuel Salalz, I am the owner and operator of E & S Sales, San Antonio, Texas. Since early 1967, I have been attempting to obtain a loan from SBA in order to improve and continue my business. I was finally approved for a loan from SBA in the amount of \$10,000 in February, 1969. Many people intervened for me during these years and when I finally was approved by SBA I was of the opinion that the successful efforts in my behalf were made by Mr. Eddie Montez and Mr. Albert Fuentes. I reached this opinion because Mr. Montez and Mr. Fuentes never let me forget it. When I was approved for the \$10,000 I was instructed along the following lines by Eddie Montez and Albert Fuentes, 'Let us complete the research and then we will talk to you about your business loan. Don't accept the \$10,000 until we talk to you.'

"I did not accept the \$10,000 and I waited until the research was complete. I was called to a meeting in the office of Mr. Tom Guardia on a Sunday, one week before Easter. At this meeting, the following were present: Tom Guardia, Eddie Montez, G. J. Gonzales, myself and Albert Fuentes and a Mr. de la Rose who runs the Alameda Restaurant. At this meeting I was advised by Mr. Montez that it was a personal meeting before but now it was strictly business. At this meeting I was handed a research on survey report allegedly by one W. J. Garvin, Assistant Administrator, United States Government Small Business Administration, Washington, D.C., dated March 20, 1969. The report is hereto attached and made a part of this statement for all intents and purposes. Albert Fuentes told me that this report would help in obtaining for me a larger sum of money. He told me that it would be necessary for me to incorporate and to pledge to them 49 per cent of the corporation, that Mr. Tom Guardia would set up the corporation and take care of distribution of the 49 per cent. When I asked if this was legal, Mr. Fuentes assured me that it was; Mr. Montez assured me that Mr. Guardia would set up the 49 per cent properly and that Mr. Fuentes' share would be set up in trust.

"Mr. Fuentes then told me, 'I'm not going to be here very long and when I get out I have to have something to fall back on.' They told me that if I did not incorporate there would be no loan of the type as suggested in the research on survey report. I told all of them I would send my lawyer, Tom Joseph, to talk to Mr. Guardia and I left. Mr. Joseph referred me to Mr. Rudy Esquivel, Chairman of the SBA Council. I worried for about a week and finally talked to Mr. Esquivel on Friday, April 18, 1969. When I advised Mr. Esquivel about the possible conflict of interest involved here he advised me that the investigating arm of the government was the FBI. I went to the FBI and made a statement to Agent Miller in the San Antonio, Texas office."

"I have made this statement of my own free will and every statement of fact herein contained is true and correct."

EMANUEL SALALZ.

Sworn to and subscribed before me on the 24th day of April, 1969 to certify which witness my hand and seal of office.

JESSE B. CAMPOS,

Notary Public.

U.S. GOVERNMENT SMALL  
BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION,  
Washington, D.C., March 20, 1969.

Reply to Attention of E.

Subject: E. & S. Sales Co.

To: Mr. Albert Fuentes, Special Assistant to the Administrator.

As previously reported we have continued our analysis of the market outlook for a capital needs of this company and now believe that we have pursued the matter as far as we profitably can from this distance.

**The Market Outlook:** Excellent prospects for the immediate and foreseeable future, both for specialized, custom type ornamental hardware and for more standardized high volume output. A well managed firm should prosper and grow in this location.

**Capital Needs:** We have analyzed several alternative types of manufacturing facility which might be considered. The two best choices seem to be:

a. *Moving the existing business* out of the garage into a manufacturing facility, with expanded output but no basic change in operations. That is, the company would continue to design its unique ornamental hardware, contract with an outside foundry for casting services, and perform the finishing work in its own building. This would require: A building with about 5000 feet of floor space (costing \$10,000 to \$12,000 plus land unless leased space is available).

About \$20,000 worth of equipment.  
Working capital of up to \$20,000 for an annual sales volume of \$100,000 to \$150,000.

Thus total investment requirements would be on the order of \$40,000 for leased facilities and \$50,000 to \$60,000 for purchased facilities. The advantages of this choice are:

It could be set up quickly.  
It would make best use of the specialized skills of the existing company.

It can expand, to keep pace with the market.

It could later be developed into a more integrated operation doing its own foundry work.

b. *Going immediately into an integrated operation:* This is basically the choice indicated by Mr. Salalz. This would be a complete design, casting and finishing operation in a large manufacturing facility. Industry experts and our own research indicates total initial capital requirements (including working capital) to be at least \$200,000. It would need to reach an annual sales volume of up to \$1 million for efficient operations.

The principal advantage of this choice is that it would expand employment opportunities and contribute significantly to community development. It would need to move more towards standardized, mass produced hardware rather than the present custom type. It would also take at least a year before operation could begin.

**Recommendation:** I recommend alternative in (a)—the smaller, more specialized facility—as the most promising immediate source of action. Alternative in (b) would not be ruled out as an eventual solution. If the business is as successful as I believe it could be, expansion into an integrated operation could well be undertaken through a local development company or a small business investment company.

*Other considerations:* I have given the data on the E & S bid on the defense order for door handles to Mr. Bothmer. I have also been advised that several score volunteers could be made available at nominal costs to assist in management training and counseling. Finally, Mr. Salalz does not have a good accounting system and—according to reports—could not be persuaded to furnish cost and sales data needed to support a loan application. An expanded operation would require installation of an efficient accounting system.

W. J. GARVIN,  
Assistant Administrator.

APRIL 24, 1969.

Mr. HILARY SANDOVAL,  
Administrator, Small Business Administration, Washington, D.C.:

Affidavits in my possession and on file with the Federal Bureau of Investigation show that there is serious reason to believe Albert Fuentes has engaged or attempted to engage in shakedowns of SBA loan applicants. I believe that this warrants your immediately suspending Fuentes pending a full investigation.

HENRY B. GONZALEZ,  
Member of Congress.

#### A MEANS OF HALTING ILLEGAL SEIZURES OF U.S. FISHING BOATS

(Mr. PELLY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing new legislation to try to bring the Peruvians and other Latin American countries that illegally seize American fishing boats on the high seas to negotiations.

This bill would cut off imports of fish and fish products from these countries in the event of future seizures. In the case of Peru, such imports amount to a substantial dollar figure. Commerce Department figures indicate that in 1968, Peru exported \$62.1 million to the United States.

However, Mr. Speaker, such a cutoff would not be effective while discussions were going on. Let me emphasize that my bill is not to punish anyone, but rather to have disputes arising from seizures of our fishing vessels off their coasts taken to the negotiation table and to achieve some understanding.

We do not have to argue over their claim of 200 miles or over our claim of 12 miles. All we ask is that these countries honor our historic rights the same as Canada, Mexico, and the United States honor historic rights of other nations to fish in their fishing zones.

Meanwhile, I am fearful that our fishing dispute has been put aside during the discussions on the problem of Peru's expropriation of an oil plant, and I want to be assured that American fishermen are heard during the meetings now being held or to be held shortly between the United States and Peru.

However, Mr. Speaker, I have a greater fear, and that is that within the next few weeks there will be additional sei-

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APRIL 25, 1969.

The PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.:

As one who has long opposed the United States providing any military support whatsoever to the Arab States, I strongly protest the decision of your administration to sell \$30 million worth of arms and equipment to Jordan. The inclusion of a squadron of 18 F-104 jet interceptors constitutes an especially grave threat to prospects for peace in the Middle East.

The public pronouncements of Arab leaders on their continued determination to annihilate Israel make it clear that the receipt of these weapons will only encourage the Arabs to persist in their refusal to begin direct negotiations with Israel on outstanding issues, thereby prolonging the conflict in the Middle East.

I call upon you to immediately rescind the sale of these weapons to Jordan and to publicly disavow any intention of approving any further agreements to subsidize the Arabs' hostile military intentions.

WILLIAM F. RYAN,  
Member of Congress.

### CONTINUE OEO

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Mr. HALPERN) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, we have in recent months heard and read much about the Office of Economic Opportunity, about the specific programs it administers, about its worth—or lack of worth, about its future. From some critics we have heard that OEO has not been adequately doing the job of fighting poverty and that therefore it should simply be undone this year and done away with the next. Others agree with that diagnosis but call for a different cure: reorganization—they want OEO to function merely as an innovating agency in charge primarily of new, experimental programs which would presumably be transferred to other agencies if they were successful and dropped if they were not. While such an idea may have a certain appeal to social scientists, we who live in the world of political reality know that when Congress is in a budget-trimming mood, an agency without a permanent set of programs—and the concomitant protection of a set of interested participants—is about as secure as a turkey in November.

I should like to know why—amidst all the recent talk about the future of OEO—no one points to its past. The OEO is not yet 5 years old—surely that is a very short time in which to eradicate an age-old evil such as poverty. The OEO has consistently been underfunded by the Congress—surely it is difficult to judge the effectiveness of a war on poverty if it is fought with limited weapons. Despite handicaps such as these, however, OEO has managed to accomplish a great deal: Community action, Headstart, Upward Bound, neighborhood health centers, legal services, foster grandparents, VISTA—these names do not stand for failures but for solid successes; they are now part of the national vocabulary. But to the poor themselves, these programs are more than just familiar names; they are reasons

for activity in place of idleness, expression instead of silence, hope in place of what at best was apathy and at worst was despair. What happens to the poor themselves if the life of OEO is crippled or cut off? The OEO is their agency, their voice in official Washington; it must not be allowed suddenly to fall silent.

Amid all the recent talk about OEO, we seem to have heard little or nothing either from the poor themselves or from those who are often closest to the poor—the regional OEO workers. I should like to make known their opinions on this subject. Accordingly, I should like, Mr. Speaker, to place into the RECORD a resolution drafted by community action officials from OEO's northeastern region.

On March 7, 1969, the Northeast Region State Economic Opportunity Office Directors, the Community Action Agency President from each State in the Region, and Community Representatives Advisory Council members from each State met in Hartford, Connecticut. After a discussion of the basic philosophies of the Federal anti-poverty program, the Office of Economic Opportunity, and its future, the following statement was unanimously adopted by all three groups present:

We do not approve at this time the dismemberment of OEO or the spinning off of programs such as Head Start, Upward Bound, Job Corps, VISTA, Foster Grandparents, or Health Centers.

We urge the Administration and Congress to support the philosophy of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, as amended, the Community Action Agencies, the Community Action process, and particularly the principle of maximum feasible participation of residents of the area and members of the groups to be served. This statement is generated in part by the position taken by Head Start Parents, Upward-Bound students, Neighborhood Youth Corps participants and other community residents throughout the country in support of these principles.

We further support the principle of extending Maximum Feasible Participation of the people served, as developed by the Office of Economic Opportunity, to all Federal service programs, including but not limited to programs of the Departments of Agriculture, Health, Education, and Welfare, Housing and Urban Development, Justice, Commerce, and Labor, starting with the representation of the poor on Department advisory councils.

### CHICAGO TODAY

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI) is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to call to the attention of the House of Representatives the presence of something new and significant in the city of Chicago.

For many years, countless thousands of Chicagoans, middlewesterners, and others throughout America have read the Chicago's American. They have undoubtedly begun to notice a change. However, beginning today, the Chicago's American will appear in compact form and be known as Chicago Today.

This newspaper, both new in format and name, will include new features and new writers as well as its established favorites whom readers have enjoyed so long in Chicago's American.

Under this new format, Chicago Today will incorporate 200 more columns of

new space each week, thus enabling it to keep its readers even better informed. With this, the writing style will be more concise thus enabling the new format to present more and better stories. As part of presenting its expanding coverage, Chicago Today will have complete stock market tables in virtually all editions as well as the closing markets in the final edition.

In line with the new format, aimed at the "now" group, the paper has a section called "now," which in effect is a directory of where to go, what to do and how to have fun in Chicago which should be of great benefit to its readers. There will be a new feature called Focus which will enable Chicago Today's talented writers to examine in depth, the most important issues of our time both nationally and in Chicago.

Chicago has a reputation nationwide as a good newspaper town. The fact that it has four daily newspapers has made it one of the most competitive news towns in the country and this helps the readers. This newspaper will contribute to the fact that this is a "good newspaper town."

### A PROPOSAL FOR RELIEVING LOW-INCOME ELDERLY CITIZENS—HOMEOWNERS OR RENTERS—OF PART OF THEIR LOCAL PROPERTY TAX BURDEN

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. REUSS) is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I introduce today, for appropriate reference, H.R. 10615, the Property Tax Relief Act of 1969.

H.R. 10615 is designed to ease the property tax burden on those low-income elderly persons whose local property taxes are excessively high in relation to their total income by allowing them a credit against the Federal income tax for that portion of the property tax that is determined to be excessive.

The bill is modeled after Wisconsin's highly successful Homestead Relief Act, which allows a credit against the Wisconsin State income tax.

Poor elderly homeowners often have great difficulty in paying their property taxes. Frequently the homes they live in were purchased many years before, when property taxes were low and job income was coming in regularly. But now property taxes have risen drastically, especially in urban areas, and these elderly homeowners are retired and living on small fixed incomes, depleted by inflation and supplemented inadequately if at all by social security payments. The thought of moving is not a welcome one; there is often a sentimental attachment to the old familiar home and, beyond this, the task of moving is a burdensome one for the elderly.

To meet this problem, the bill provides property tax relief to those over 65 with a total yearly income of \$3,500 or less. To insure that only truly needy persons receive relief, applicants must list all forms of money income, including non-taxable income such as social security, veteran's disability benefits, public as-



sistance payments, and railroad retirement benefits.

The credit extends to elderly renters as well as homeowners—for renters it is assumed that 25 percent of the rent payment is in effect payment for property taxes.

For those eligible persons whose income is so low that they pay no Federal tax, a direct cash refund is substituted for the credit.

The refund or credit is intended to offset only that portion of the property tax that is well in excess of what is normal. It work like this.

Property taxes are considered unusually high if they exceed a certain percentage of household income. These percentages are increased, as household income increases. After determining the amount of the tax which is excessive, a percentage of this excessive part is relieved. For households with incomes over \$1,000, there is a refund or a credit for 60 percent of the excessive part; for those with incomes under \$1,000, the refund or credit is 75 percent of the excessive part.

In addition, H.R. 10615 limits the amount of property taxes that can be used in computing relief to \$300. Thus, if a householder has property tax payments of \$400 he can only use \$300 of that in computing his refund or credit.

As one might expect, the upshot of all this is a rather complicated formula. For those who are curious, the formula is in section 1603 of the bill, the text of which follows. The following table lists the size of the credit or refund which is available in some representative cases:

	Total household income	Credit or refund
Property tax:		
\$100	\$1,000	\$67.00
\$200	1,000	142.00
\$300	1,000	213.30
\$100	2,000	9.10
\$200	2,000	69.10
\$300	2,000	126.10
\$100	3,000	0
\$200	3,000	0
\$300	3,000	43.50

Because the bill is modeled so closely after Wisconsin's Homestead Relief Act, a brief look at some aspects of Wisconsin's experience with the law might be helpful.

The Wisconsin law was passed in 1964 and liberalized in 1966. In 1967, it provided tax relief of over \$6.3 million to 69,400 low income elderly families owning or renting their homes, for an average payment of \$90.78. The total relief granted came to only around 1 percent of total property tax collections in the State.

Very few of those eligible for the program have incomes high enough to make them subject to the State income tax, so that in some 98 percent of the cases property tax relief is in the form of a direct cash refund rather than a credit against income tax. In 1966, \$5 million of the \$5.1 million in relief granted came in the form of direct cash refunds. In this respect, the Wisconsin law is a kind of negative income tax, but restricted to those past their working age.

The main objective of the Wisconsin law is to relieve the low income elderly of excessive property tax burdens. But the law has also had important side effects.

A serious problem with the property tax is that, especially at low income levels, it tends to be regressive—that is, those with low incomes pay a higher percentage of their income in property taxes than those with higher incomes. The Wisconsin Homestead Relief Act has reduced this regressivity substantially.

The law has also had a beneficial effect on income distribution, since it transfers income from the general tax-paying population to those persons who are very poor, and since the poor tend to live together, to those jurisdictions that are very poor.

The Wisconsin experiment has been so successful that the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations has recommended that all States follow Wisconsin's lead in giving relief to elderly low-income homeowners and renters. See ACIR, State and Local Finances: Significant Features, November 1968, page 5. But there is no need to wait for all State legislatures to act; we can make this relief available now by using the Federal income tax system.

If this bill was passed, States like Wisconsin which have such property tax relief laws might wish to continue them as a supplement to the Federal credit.

The text of H.R. 10615 follows:

#### H.R. 10615

A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide relief to certain individuals 65 years of age and over who own or rent their homes, through a system of income tax credits and refunds.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) (1) subtitle A of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to income taxes) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new chapter:

#### "CHAPTER 7—PROPERTY TAX RELIEF FOR THE LOW-INCOME ELDERLY

##### "Sec. 1601. Definitions.

"Sec. 1602. Claim allowable as credit or refund.

"Sec. 1603. Amount allowed as claim.

"Sec. 1604. Special rules.

"Sec. 1605. Administration.

##### "SEC. 1601. DEFINITIONS.

"For purposes of this chapter—

"(1) INCOME.—The term 'income' means the sum of adjusted gross income, support money, cash public assistance and relief (not including any amount received under this chapter), the gross amount of any pension or annuity (including railroad retirement benefits, all payments received under the Social Security Act and veterans disability pensions), nontaxable interest received from the United States, a State, or an instrumentality of either, workmen's compensation and the gross amount of 'loss of time' insurance. Such term does not include gifts from non-governmental sources, or surplus food or other relief in kind supplied by a governmental agency.

"(2) CLAIMANT.—The term 'claimant' means a person who has filed a claim under this chapter and was both domiciled in the United States and 65 years of age or over during the entire taxable year preceding the year in which he files claim under this chapter. When two or more individuals of

a household meet the qualifications for a claimant, or when a homestead is occupied by two or more individuals and more than one such individual is able to qualify as a claimant, and some or all such qualified individuals are not related as determined under paragraph (3), the person or persons entitled to make a claim under this chapter shall be determined under regulations of the Secretary or his delegate.

"(3) HOUSEHOLD.—The term 'household' means a claimant and the spouse of the claimant.

"(4) HOUSEHOLD INCOME.—The term 'household income' means all income received by all persons of a household in a taxable year while members of such household.

"(5) HOMESTEAD.—The term 'homestead' means a dwelling in the United States, whether owned or rented, and so much of the land surrounding it, not exceeding one acre, as is reasonably necessary for use of the dwelling as a home, and may consist of a part of a multidwelling or multipurpose building and a part of the land upon which it is built. (Such term also includes a vendee in possession under a land contract and of one or more joint tenants or tenants in common.) Such term does not include personal property such as furniture, furnishings, or appliances.

"(6) RENT CONSTITUTING PROPERTY TAXES ACCRUED.—The term 'rent constituting property taxes accrued' means an amount equal to 25 percent of the gross rent actually paid in cash or its equivalent in a taxable year by a household solely for the right of occupancy of its homestead in such taxable year.

"(7) GROSS RENT.—The term 'gross rent' means rental paid at arms-length, solely for the right of occupancy of a homestead, exclusive of charges for any utilities, services, furniture, furnishings or personal property appliances furnished by the landlord as a part of the rental agreement, whether expressly set out in the rental agreement or not.

##### "(8) PROPERTY TAXES ACCRUED.—

"(A) GENERAL RULE.—The term 'property taxes accrued' means State and local property taxes (exclusive of special assessments, delinquent interest and charges for service) which accrue with respect to a claimant's homestead in a taxable year.

"(B) OWNERSHIP BY MORE THAN ONE HOUSEHOLD.—When a homestead is owned by two or more persons or entities as joint tenants or tenants in common and one or more such persons or entities is not a member of claimant's household, 'property taxes accrued' is that part of property taxes accrued with respect to such homestead as reflects the ownership percentage of the claimant and his household.

"(C) OWNING AND RENTING IN SAME TAXABLE YEAR.—When a claimant and his household own their homestead part of a taxable year and rent the same or a different homestead for part of the same year 'property taxes accrued' means only taxes accrued with respect to the homestead when both owned and occupied as such by claimant and his household, multiplied by the percentage of twelve months that such property was owned and occupied by such household as its homestead in such year.

"(D) OCCUPANCY OF MORE THAN ONE HOMESTEAD.—When a household owns and occupies two or more different homesteads in the same taxable year, property taxes accrued shall relate only to that property occupied by the household as a homestead for the greatest portion of such year.

"(E) HOMESTEAD PART OF A LARGER UNIT.—Whenever a homestead is an integral part of a larger unit such as a farm, or a multi-

April 28, 1969

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—Extensions of Remarks

Expansion—He originally had a four-county jurisdiction—Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, San Benito and Monterey.

Today, with geographic responsibility that does not even embrace all of Santa Clara County, he has 53 employees working at 500 S. 1st St. The advent of Medicare enormously enlarged his operation.

Just a few days ago, Cassidy gave us permission to divulge his role in tipping off the papers a couple of years ago when Medicare payments were hopelessly snarled. The result was a major publicity blast that shook the Social Security Administration from top to bottom, and achieved at least temporary improvement.

"I don't care who knows it now," Cassidy said. "I only have six months to go, and even if they wanted to fire me, it would take 'em six months to prepare the papers."

There's one great irony in the approaching retirement of Jack Cassidy. He has a government pension, of course, but as a U.S. employee—he isn't eligible for social security.

ME

## ISRAEL MUST NOT BE ANOTHER CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 28, 1969

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, an address of historical significance has been made by the distinguished minority leader of the House of Representatives, the gentleman from Michigan, Congressman GERALD R. FORD. It is a brilliant analysis of the developing situation in the Middle East and the relevance of Israel to the national security interests of the United States.

The address very correctly assesses the Communist attempts to exploit Arab-Israeli tensions. Mr. FORD has come to the conclusion that "Israel must not become another Czechoslovakia."

His address is perhaps the most masterful survey of the Middle East problem offered in a long time by a Member of the Congress. It is as timely as today's last-minute headlines and must be read by all who seek a deeper understanding of events in the Middle East.

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE GERALD R. FORD, REPUBLICAN OF MICHIGAN, REPUBLICAN LEADER, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AT THE AMERICAN-ISRAELI PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE LUNCHEON

I firmly believe that the fate of Israel is linked to the national security interests of the United States. I therefore cannot conceive of a situation in which the U.S. Administration will sell Israel down the Nile.

Concern has been expressed that the Soviet Union and France may prevail at the current Big Four talks on the Middle East. I can assure you that your government will not permit this to happen. We are conscious of Soviet ambitions.

Israel may enter its 21st anniversary confident of its manhood. Israel's record of achievement and courage makes the state worthy of that status. Israel can feel certain that Americans are aware of her dedication to freedom and of basic affinity linking Israel with the United States.

I join with those who are concerned about overall Soviet designs on the Middle East and Mediterranean. One need only follow the news reports of Operation "Dawn Patrol,"

the NATO naval maneuvers now in progress in the Mediterranean. We are aware of the unprecedented Soviet naval build-up in that region. We know that the Russians are trying to exert pressures in the Mediterranean at a time when we are preoccupied in the Far East.

Your government is not naive. Nor are the members of Congress. Let me state one fact simply and directly: Israel must not become another Czechoslovakia.

I have no illusions about Soviet policy and the attempts by the Kremlin to create a sphere of influence in the Middle East that would undermine vital American security interests and threaten the entire southern flank of NATO. The game being played by the Russians, exploiting Arab hostility against Israel, is transparent.

It is my conviction that American policy will not seek to "impose" a settlement as a result of the present Big Four Conference or outside the context of such talks.

President Nixon has pledged that Israel's vital interests will be preserved and that withdrawal can occur only by consent of the parties directly concerned, based upon a contractual agreement establishing a peace involving recognized, defensible, and just boundaries.

American participation in the Big Four Conference is consistent with efforts to test the Soviet Union's professed desire to preserve peace and to avoid a nuclear confrontation. But no accord will be purchased at the expense of Israel. As I have said, we are well aware of Soviet aims and attitudes. We are also mindful of the continuing brutal suppression of Czechoslovakia, as denounced only last Friday by President Nixon.

The U.S. Government is aware that the Soviet-made MIG's that treacherously attacked an unarmed U.S. reconnaissance plane in international airspace off the Korean coast represented the same type of aircraft and weapons systems supplied to the radical Arab states.

Our Government must therefore continue to maintain the military combat and deterrent capacities of Israel through the earliest possible supply of Phantom jets and other military hardware requirements. I am pleased to note that Israeli air and ground crews to man the Phantoms are presently receiving special training at a U.S. Air Force Base in California. The Phantoms will be ready for shipment at a time coinciding with the completion of training—a matter of months. Many of the Phantoms will be in service in Israel before the end of 1969.

We appreciate Israel's isolated geographic position, surrounded as she is by enemies. Her very life depends on airpower and civilian air links with the free world. In this connection, one must note with regret that attacks on unarmed aircraft have escalated worldwide from the hijacking of American commercial airlines to Cuba, to attacks at various European airports on Israeli airliners by Arab terrorists armed with Russian weapons, and now the criminal attack by Communist North Korean MIG-21's on an unarmed American plane in international airspace.

Are the Russians sincerely seeking a relaxation of tensions or have they merely relegated their dirty work to the fanatics and fourth-rate despots of the world?

We have heard the Kremlin profess great concern about Middle Eastern peace. But we have watched them pour naval forces into the Mediterranean. We have heard them demand American withdrawal. We have watched them build up the war potential of radical and irresponsible Arab States that refuse to enter into real peace negotiations with Israel.

Moscow is attempting to achieve indirectly what Communist and Arab pressure have failed to accomplish by military pressure

and threats. They have sought to roll back the Israelis from the cease-fire lines of June, 1967, without a meaningful peace settlement. Thus they would keep the sore open, restore the intolerable situation that existed immediately before the outbreak of the Six-Day War, and exploit any retreat by Israel and her friends to push further against free world interests.

The Soviet Union has not clarified her policy to my satisfaction. Indeed, they seem to have a variety of policies, to suit their convenience. They have one policy in the Middle East, another in Czechoslovakia, and yet another in North Korea. In North Korea they help us one week to search for possible survivors of the plane shot down by the MIG's they provided. Then, the very next week, they protest because we send a Naval force to protect our reconnaissance flights and our right to use international waters and airspace.

An assessment must be made at American-Soviet bilateral talks on the Middle East and at the Big Four meetings. It is whether Moscow is sincere in seeking a reduction of tensions or whether Russia is trying to exploit the fear of war in hope of turning a complex situation to her advantage.

Not only the Soviet Union but also Communist China is fishing in the troubled waters of the Middle East. Arab terrorists are being trained in Peking. Chinese "button" mines, mortars, rockets, and other weapons used against U.S. forces in Viet Nam have emerged in the Arab guerrilla assaults against Israel. Arab guerrilla leaders have openly proclaimed that they will reject any peace settlement that might be reached by the Big Four or signed by King Hussein or President Nasser.

Citing Chairman Mao of Communist China as their inspiration, in the Arab terrorists have proclaimed a so-called war of national liberation in the Middle East. Their aim is the liquidation of Israel and all pro-Western Arab regimes.

There is evidence that the leading Arab terrorist movement, El Fatah, is working through Arab students at various American colleges and universities to build up U.S. support for an Arab "national liberation front" similar to the campus underground mobilized for the Viet Cong National Liberation Front. Indeed, we now find that some Arabs here on student visas are working with the U.S. Committee to Aid the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong); the youth arm of the pro-Peking Workers World Party known as Youth Against War and Fascism, and its front group, the Committee to Support Middle East Liberation.

Indications of the flow of trained agitators from the Middle East have been revealed in contacts between the Arabs and the Black Panthers, the Students for a Democratic Society (S.D.S.), and other anti-democratic groups.

Our nation already is beset by disruption at our institutions of higher learning. We have no need of agitators from abroad.

I am confident that the Department of Justice will carefully examine the activities of the estimated 10,000 Arab students in the United States to ascertain possible violations of visa requirements. If they are abusing our hospitality in an unlawful manner, there should be some immediate administrative action.

We are painfully aware of how the Middle East conflict has already spilled over to our shores in the case of the convicted murderer, Sirhan Sirhan. This nation will not tolerate assassination and terrorism.

Let me reiterate that the Republican leadership of the House of Representatives identifies with your concerns. We are committed to the growth of Israel-American friendship. We share your aspirations for the preservation of freedom and justice for all.

E 3434

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — Extensions of Remarks

April 28, 1969

SCIENTISTS SAY ABM ENDANGERS  
NATIONAL SECURITY

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 28, 1969

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, orthodox views of the contemporary scientists often picture a white-smocked individual hidden among the test tubes, isolated from the outside world. The scientist is seen as removed from subjective value judgments, maximizing solutions once initial decisions are made by outside forces.

However true that picture may be—and, of course, in some cases it is—alongside the orthodox scientist always there have been those men and women who actively strive for intertwining the scientific community with the political process. For example, after World War II, the Federation of American Scientists figured in a long and futile struggle to retain civilian control of nuclear energy.

As the military-industrial-political-educational complex has risen, it has tended to draw science more and more into the political arena. For the most part, the relationship has been mutual, with the establishment supporting science and the scientific community providing the technological advances needed to advance the schemes of the establishment.

In doing so, however, the role of the scientist as a critic of the complex often was muted. Scientists were drawn into a dangerous system; security, tenure, prestige, and future became dependent upon unbridled support of the establishment.

Lately, for the first time since Korea, the military complex is coming under extremely heavy criticism from many sources. Costs of military adventurism are being measured against costs of domestic turmoil and internal decay.

Among the active participants in the current debate over our national directions are an impressive and growing list of professors and scientists, many of them with extensive backgrounds of research and consultation to the system they now severely question.

Today and tomorrow I am host for one such group, the Boston-based Union of Concerned Scientists. UCS has just completed a study of the Safeguard ABM proposal, and concluded that deploying the system would seriously endanger national security. The report—which I have distributed to each Member of the House—also raises important questions about testing the MIRV warhead system.

As one of the earliest critics of any ABM system, I fully support the conclusions reached in the UCS study. Under unanimous consent I submit the report, "ABM—ABC" for inclusion in the Record at this point:

## ABM—ABC

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, January 18, 1961: "We should take nothing for granted. Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and political machinery of defense

with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together."

We believe that any concerned citizen can follow President Eisenhower's advice, and acquire enough knowledge to evaluate the implications of ABM for national security. Our purpose in preparing this pamphlet is to provide the necessary information and our own conclusions.

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, April 15, 1969.

Curtis G. Callan, Assistant Professor of Physics, Harvard University.

Jerome I. Friedman, Professor of Physics, M.I.T.

Louis B. Friedman, Graduate Student in Aeronautics and Astronautics, M.I.T.

Kurt Gottfried, Professor of Physics, Cornell University, presently Visiting Professor of Physics, M.I.T.

Sorel Gottfried.

Robert A. Guyer, Assistant Professor of Physics, Duke University.

Roman Jackiw, Society of Fellows, Harvard University.

Kenneth A. Johnson, Professor of Physics, M.I.T.

Gladys Johnson.

Marian Low, Assistant Professor of Chemistry, Boston University.

Robert T. Ludse, Graduate Student in Chemistry, M.I.T.

Paul C. Martin, Professor of Physics, Harvard University.

Colleen Meier, Graduate Student in Physiology, Harvard Medical School.

Irwin Oppenheim, Professor of Chemistry, M.I.T.

Leo Sartori, Associate Professor of Physics, M.I.T.

Jane Zoba, Secretary, M.I.T.

The basic questions that we have asked in our study of ABM are:

Will the deployment of an ABM system make nuclear war less likely?

To what extent will the proposed ABM system increase our security in case of attack?

The first question can only be answered by evaluating our nuclear weapons policy as a whole. On examining this policy we conclude that simultaneous installation of ABM and multiple-warhead missiles (MIRV) would seriously escalate the arms race, and make the balance of terror more precarious. Nuclear war would become more likely, and the resulting devastation could be even more catastrophic than if war broke out today. These grave dangers far outweigh any marginal protection ABM might provide—particularly since the system would be so unreliable.

Arms control offers the only escape from the terrifying treadmill of escalation and counter-escalation. With our imposing nuclear superiority we can safely refrain from further weapon deployment while we vigorously pursue existing opportunities for negotiation.

## NUCLEAR ARSENALS

An appraisal of ABM must begin with a description of the nuclear arsenals held by the great powers. Each of the superpowers has about 1000 land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), but the US has many more strategic bombers and ICBM-carrying submarines than Russia. Our total number of deliverable warheads exceeds Russia's by more than three to one.

The destructive power of these arsenals defies comprehension: the total explosive power of our strategic nuclear forces is roughly 200,000 times as large as the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. Defense Department estimates of deaths in nuclear war, which run into many tens of millions, only refer to fatalities directly due to nuclear explosions. Untold millions would die from fallout, from disease, and from starvation. The fabric of civilization would be torn to shreds, and large areas would be uninhabitable.

In the foreseeable future, neither the US nor Russia will have the ability to destroy the other's nuclear forces in a pre-emptive strike (first-strike capability). Both powers have second-strike capability, the ability to ride out a first strike and then devastate the attacker. Secretary of Defense Laird's claim before the Senate on March 21 that "the Soviets are going for a first-strike capability, and there is no question about it" is totally without foundation. Just one of our 41 submarines can launch 16 large thermonuclear warheads, which could destroy as many as 16 Soviet cities. A Soviet first strike would require the simultaneous destruction of our submerged submarines, of our ICBMs in their concrete silos, and of our strategic bombers. Russia does not have the capacity to carry out even one of these acts. If anything, it is the US which is closer to a first-strike capability. Our means of delivery are more diversified, numerous and sophisticated than are Russia's. This disparity will swing even further in our favor as we proceed with deployment of MIRV, a missile that carries several thermonuclear warheads aimed at widely separate targets. The significance of MIRV is that the overall striking power of a missile force is largely determined by the total number of independent warheads, not by the total megatonnage. It is generally acknowledged that we are well ahead of Russia in the development of MIRV.

As for China, she has yet to test an ICBM, but she has carried out thermonuclear explosions. The Defense Department estimates that China will only have 20-30 ICBMs in the mid-1970s. Our first-strike capability, and China's lack of a deterrent, will be maintained for at least a decade.

## THE SAFEGUARD SYSTEM AND ITS MISSION

The basic components of the system, and their functions, are described in the Appendix. The system combines two concepts: an area-defense which employs the large, long-range Spartan missile, and a terminal-defense that uses the small short-range Sprint missile. Radars and computers track the enemy's incoming warheads, and launch and guide the intercepting defensive missiles.

In the Safeguard deployment announced by the President on March 14, the first two ABM sites will be at ICBM bases in North Dakota and Montana. The complete system calls for 10 other sites spread throughout the country (see map). [Not printed in the Record.]

On March 14 President Nixon stated that Safeguard has two purposes: to provide a partial defense of our deterrent forces in case of a Russian attack, and a thin defense of our population against an accidental or Chinese attack.

## PENETRATION AIDS

An enemy can use a wide array of counter-measures in an attempt to incapacitate or penetrate an ABM system. The US has devoted a great deal of effort over many years to develop a host of penetration aids. These include fake warheads, missiles that can jam enemy radar, and other ingenious devices. A high-altitude nuclear explosion can also be used to produce an opaque region between the ABM radar and incoming warheads. (This is called blackout.)

## RUSSIAN ATTACK

For the foreseeable future a Soviet first strike would spell disaster for Russia. Despite this universally accepted fact, detailed public discussions of a Russian attack have become very fashionable.

Everyone agrees that the proposed Safeguard system could not defend our population against a massive Russian attack. The Soviet Union must be expected to increase her ICBM force to compensate for any decrease of her deterrent caused by our ABM, just as we reacted to the rudimentary ABM system surrounding Moscow.



April 25, 1969

Pennsylvania has called for a Congressional investigation.

Last week an Assistant Attorney General of Maryland was relieved of his duties because of his involvement with one of the magazine companies whose salesmen had been talking housewives into extremely high contracts.

Local police officials in the County say that after a solicitor registers, his application is forwarded to a Federal law enforcement authority for "check out." By the time the information is returned—which can be anywhere from two to three weeks—the person "is long gone," even if he does have a criminal record.

Neighboring jurisdictions fret out such information as to whether the persons have ever been convicted of a crime and if they have, the nature of the violation. Also, the applicants are required to wait a period of time before receiving a permit.

Both Arlington and Alexandria have strict ordinances. "I see no reason why we shouldn't," Babson said.

[From the Evening Capital, Mar. 7, 1969]  
POLICE BACK DOOR-TO-DOOR LICENSE BILL—  
FEE TO SOLICITORS WOULD PAY COST

County police are backing a bill, now being drafted, that would require licensing of all door-to-door solicitors.

The need for legislation of this nature was pointed out yesterday by Deputy Police Chief Ashley Vick who said that the department receives numerous complaints about door-to-door solicitors.

Monday county police arrested an escapee from a North Carolina prison who was working as a magazine salesman for an Arlington, Va., based company.

When captured, police recovered a .38 caliber revolver from the man and loot taken from two breakins in the Edgewater area. The man, convicted of armed robbery, had only been employed for the company one day.

"You can see the value of such a law from what happened in that particular case," Vick said. "If he had gotten away, we would have never cleared the case up."

Anne Arundel County does not have a law requiring door-to-door salesmen to register with the police or even let them know they are operating in the area.

The bill, being drafted by the department of inspections and permits and the budget office, will probably be patterned on similar laws in neighboring jurisdictions.

Fees for the license will probably be set to cover the cost of the program, said Douglas T. Wendel, management analyst for the budget office.

ME

WE MUST STAND FIRM FOR  
ISRAEL

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES  
Friday, April 25, 1969

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, on April 23, I had the pleasure of addressing the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee in Washington on the occasion of Israel's 21st birthday.

I ask unanimous consent that those remarks be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I enlisted in the struggle for Israel's existence in the beginning—as far back as 1942,

when I signed a statement celebrating the 25th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration—and I am a veteran in support of all of Israel's wars.

I have been doing most of my fighting over here in Washington. But our record over here is not as good as that of Israel's army. That army has always won its wars. Over here, on the political and diplomatic front, we have failed to win the peace for Israel.

In 1948, again in 1956, and again in 1967, Israel won decisive victories against Arab governments which have been in a state of war with her. Locally, when a country wins a war against aggressive neighbors, that country is entitled to insist on a peace settlement. Not so, Israel. Somehow great power diplomacy invariably intervenes to deny her that right.

In 1948, the Arab states, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and Iraq were the avowed aggressors against the UN 1947 partition resolution. The United States and the Soviet Union both called them that in the U.N. and the Arabs don't deny it. They invaded Palestine, they prevented the establishment of the independent Arab state envisaged in the U.N. Partition resolution. They tried to destroy Israel. They tried to seize as much of the territory for themselves as they could. That is how Transjordan came to acquire the West Bank. That is how Egypt grabbed Gaza. Both tried to enter and hold Jerusalem and Transjordan did manage to seize control of the Old City and East Jerusalem.

Now no one in the U.N. then offered a resolution ordering Transjordan to go back to the East bank of the Jordan River, where her forces came from. No one told Egypt to get out of Gaza. All that the U.N. could do was to tell the parties to stand still. The U.N. equated aggressor and defender. It was neutral.

The U.N. adopted a truce resolution freezing the Israelis, the Egyptians, the Syrians and the Transjordan Arab Legion in their positions. It did not last very long. The truce was broken, there was more fighting, and then finally armistice negotiation. But never real peace.

Now instead of pressures on the Arabs to make peace, there were pressures on Israel to go back and to yield some of the territory won in that fighting, in which Arabs were aggressors. That was so in 1948, and as long as I can remember, this has been a perennial admonition.

Thus in 1948 there was a new U.N. proposal that Israel give up the southern Negev and reduce herself to a handkerchief state. That would please the Arabs. Not that it would win their agreement to peace with Israel. It was believed that it might win their affection for Washington and London. But it didn't. The plan was killed because Israel did not want to become a mini-state and the Arabs were not even willing to let her be that.

The Arabs always claim that Israel is expansionist. Yet a recent State Department document tells us that there are now 18 Arab countries in an area of 4,600,000 square miles. Yet they still insist that tiny Israel must withdraw from Israel itself.

I do not want to go into a long recital of the diplomatic blundering of the last decades. No administration, no political party is immune from criticism. But throughout this period, our diplomats seemed to think that Israel should be willing to make some concessions to buy a peace; to agree to become smaller, to accept Arab threats, boycotts, blockades, and terrorism as normal and reasonable, and to refrain from any counter action. The Israelis were asked to endure it all in silence. And there are some diplomats who believe that Israel really started the 1967 war because she frightened the Arabs by talking back to the terrorists.

Now if I were an Israeli I would find it difficult to understand the West. As long as

the Arabs insisted on a state of war, as long as the Arab governments encouraged terrorists to attack, I would want to put as much space between the Arab states and myself as possible. I would see little logic and far less security in withdrawing my forces and permitting the Arab terrorists to occupy the suburbs of Tel Aviv, Jerusalem and Haifa.

It is frequently said that Arabs are irrational on the question of Israel, and that it is difficult to deal with them because of their unwillingness to face the facts and to accept reality. But I submit that our own diplomats have themselves acquired a vast mythology—and that our policies are often based on illusion.

Some Americans seem to operate on the dubious theory that American interests are strengthened if the one pro-Western state in the Middle East is made smaller and weaker, if we join the Soviet Union in a program to rehabilitate President Nasser and permit him to reconstitute a Soviet propaganda and power center in the Middle East. But we must avoid procedures and policies which aggrandize Soviet status and power in the Near East. Thus we must not weaken Israel.

One of the ancient myths in our Middle East policy is that Nasser and his fellow Arabs really don't mean their threats and that they would like to be peace loving, but don't dare because their people would not stand for it. From this arises the simplistic and incredible doctrine that Arab diplomats like to lie to their own people and that they confide the truth in the ears of foreign diplomats.

Perhaps the most glaring example of this was the 1956-57 Suez-Sinai disaster. You remember that the Administration pressured Israel to withdraw from Suez, from Sharm el-Sheikh and Sinai and from Gaza. There were assurances that Israel shipping would be free to transit the Straits of Tiran and the Suez Canal. There was the expectation that Nasser would not return his forces to Gaza. Perhaps the Administration was justified in offering such assurances to Israel because Nasser misled us. But if we had read the Arab press and listened to what Arab leaders were telling their own people, we would have known that Nasser had no intention of making any concessions at all.

Some of us learned a lot from the Suez affair. Very early in that debate, I took the initiative and organized a group of more than 40 Republican congressmen to try to alert the Administration to the danger of pressuring Israel to withdraw from Sinai and Sharm el-Sheikh and Gaza without adequate guarantees. Others joined us. One of them was Lyndon B. Johnson and if he took a strong and positive course in resisting Soviet-Arab pressures in 1967 it was because he was one of the leading critics of our 1957 policies.

Now I accepted this invitation here today because I believe that we may be facing a recurrence of the 1957 crisis. I hope that this is not the case. The Administration has embarked on four power talks in the hope of ending the stalemate and bringing about a settlement. In the light of the 1957 experience I can understand Israel's apprehension and anxieties. We are veterans of that collision and we have a right to be fearful.

The Israelis themselves fear that they will be under great pressure to yield back territory to the Arab states without a real peace settlement. They learned in 1967 that guarantees based on assumptions are ephemeral and melt away in a storm.

The Israelis now know that they can rely on no one to come to their defense. They must stand on their own feet. Under such circumstances, they will not lightly surrender any territorial vantage points.

This time, there must be real peace, and the Arabs must freely and sincerely obligate themselves to keep it. Now I believe that the

Administration understands that. The President has himself declared that we cannot expect Israel to give up territories without a genuine peace. The President has said that the United States will not attempt to impose a peace. I do have confidence in the Administration's good faith and I believe that this confidence will be vindicated.

But I would like to add my own promise. As a Republican congressman, I did not hesitate to criticize a Republican administration in 1956 and 1957, and I will not hesitate to do so today and tomorrow if I believe that it is embarking on a dangerous course, prejudicial to a peace in the Middle East and inimical to the best interests of our own country.

I see nothing to be gained by making Israel smaller, weaker, more vulnerable. I do not believe that any of the boundary lines in this area have any special sanctity.

Boundaries in this part of the world were determined by Great Power imposition.

If Egypt has the Sinal, she owes it in large measure to the British, who wanted to be on both sides of the Suez Canal.

If Jordan has the East Bank, she certainly owed it to the British. Indeed, there would have been no Transjordan if Winston Churchill had not decided to provide a throne for King Abdullah, Hussein's grandfather.

The boundaries between Syria, Lebanon and Palestine were fixed by the British and French.

If Israel is a state, she, too, owes it in part to Britain—to Lord Balfour's Britain. But if she holds more territory today, she owes it, not to the British, but to the courage of her gallant young soldiers. Indeed, Israel's territorial claims in this area go back many centuries, long before there was a British Empire.

But territory is not the real issue in the Middle East today. The issue is the Arab war against Israel. Boundary lines are not an insurmountable problem where there is friendship and cooperation between neighbors. The demarcation lines between Israel and her Arab neighbors should serve as a highway rather than a wall.

And I am convinced that these boundary lines can be swiftly determined—indeed that every issue can be resolved—if the parties meet in good faith and with honest intention.

Let us resolve to struggle for a real Arab-Israeli peace in 1969. Let us hope that we will meet next year, not to count casualties nor to assess new dangers, but to celebrate a new dispensation for Israel. It is time that this heroic and courageous people were granted the right of all member nations of the UN—the right to live in peace.

#### VIRGINIA'S EIGHTH DISTRICT RESPONDS TO QUESTIONNAIRE

#### HON. WILLIAM LLOYD SCOTT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, some weeks ago I sent a questionnaire to every home in the Eighth District of Virginia, 158,000 homes, and received responses from more than 30,000 homes. The views of my fellow Virginians are helpful to me and I am hopeful will be of interest to my colleagues. The tabulation of the results on a percentage basis are as follows:

	Yes	No	No opinion
1. Should the method of electing the President and Vice President be changed to provide for—			
(a) Direct popular vote?	73	23	4
(b) Representation in the electoral college by congressional district rather than by State?	37	53	10
(c) Binding the States' electors to vote for the candidate who receives the most votes?	48	45	7
(d) Retain present system?	15	79	6
2. Should the Post Office be reorganized—			
(a) By placing all appointments and promotions under the merit system?	82	13	5
(b) By changing it to a nonprofit public corporation?	57	33	10
(c) By private industry taking over postal functions?	35	55	10
(d) Retain present system?	17	74	9
3. Should the Hatch Act be amended to permit Federal employees to participate in partisan politics?			
(a) Locally?	64	23	13
(b) At the State level?	45	43	12
(c) At the Federal level?	31	57	12
(d) Retain present law?	53	36	11
4. Should the 1970 census—			
(a) Be limited to approximately 10 basic questions?	70	18	12
(b) Be continued as in past years?	39	49	12
(c) Be expanded to provide additional information?	33	52	15
5. To reduce poverty in the country, do you favor—			
(a) A guaranteed minimum annual income?	16	78	6
(b) Government employment of relief recipients on public works projects?	87	9	4
(c) Tax incentives to businesses that hire and train unemployed?	73	22	5
(d) Federal welfare programs be retained as they are?	10	82	8
(e) Federal welfare programs be expanded?	11	81	8
(f) Federal welfare programs be abolished?	50	42	8
6. Should the Federal Constitution be amended to provide a uniform law throughout the country authorizing 18-year-olds to vote?	47	51	2
7. Should the temporary surtax be—			
(a) Continued at 10 percent?	37	52	11
(b) Reduced to 5 percent?	29	59	12
(c) Terminated at the end of the fiscal year?	75	17	8
8. Should the right to bail be restricted when a person accused of a felony is already on bail in connection with a prior crime?	93	5	2
9. Should military draft be—			
(a) Abolished?	25	65	10
(b) Restricted to wartime?	52	40	8
(c) Amended to determine military service by lot?	56	32	12
10. Should foreign aid—			
(a) Be restricted to friendly nations?	77	17	6
(b) Consist only of military assistance?	11	77	12
(c) Consist only of economic assistance?	45	46	9
(d) Be abolished?	33	59	8
11. Should the District of Columbia have—			
(a) Local self-government?	62	30	8
(b) A nonvoting delegate in the House of Representatives?	31	56	13
(c) Representatives in both the House and Senate similar to the States?	62	31	7
12. Should persons convicted of Federal crimes be given additional mandatory sentences if a firearm was used in the commission of the crime?	87	9	4

#### REASON FOR FAILURE OF ADOPTION OF NEW MARYLAND CONSTITUTION

#### HON. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, April 25, 1969

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, on May 14, 1968, almost a year ago, the people of Maryland rejected the proposed new constitution by a vote of 366,575 to 283,050. The new constitution, drafted by a specially elected, bipartisan constitutional convention, was considered a model for the Nation.

Its defeat left many both in Maryland and in other States surprised and disappointed.

The Baltimore Sun termed the rejection a "defeat for progress." The Washington Post saw it as a vote against "State leadership" and for "increasing Washington's control over the country."

Of the many analyses of the defeat of the new constitution, one of the best is an article entitled "Why the Proposed Maryland Constitution Was Not Approved," published in the winter 1968, edition of the William and Mary Law Review. Its author is Thomas G. Pullen, Jr., president of the University of Baltimore and a member of the constitutional convention from the First Legislative District of Baltimore County.

Mr. Pullen has had a distinguished record of service to Maryland and is one of the State's leading citizens.

His article is excellent.

He describes, as some of the explanations for the rejection of the constitution, the probable mistake of indicting an entire existing constitution, and the need to make clear to the voters the need for the new document. And toward the end of the article Mr. Pullen offers a very useful list of "do's and don'ts" for those proposing a new State constitution.

Since the modernizing of our State governments is an urgent priority, I think we could all profit from a close reading of Mr. Pullen's article: those of us in Maryland to see where we went wrong, those who live outside the State to benefit from our experience.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Pullen's article be reprinted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### WHY THE PROPOSED MARYLAND CONSTITUTION WAS NOT APPROVED

(By Thomas G. Pullen, Jr.)\*

The people of Maryland simply did not want a new constitution so they went to the polls on May 14, 1968, and turned down

\*President, University of Baltimore (Md.), Delegate to the 1967-68 Constitutional Convention of Maryland, Superintendent of Schools of Maryland from 1942 to 1964.

April 25, 1969

**TREASURER OF THE UNITED STATES**

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Dorothy A. Elston, of Delaware, to be Treasurer of the United States.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is considered and confirmed.

**DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE**

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Lewis Butler, of California, to be an Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is considered and confirmed.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Robert C Mardian, of California, to be General Counsel of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is considered and confirmed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of these nominations.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

**LEGISLATIVE SESSION**

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate resume the consideration of legislative business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate resumed the consideration of legislative business.

**COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION**

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all committees be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

**ORDER FOR RECOGNITION OF SENATOR MANSFIELD**

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may be recognized for not to exceed 10 minutes during the period for the transaction of routine morning business.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

**PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE ON ORGANIZED CRIME**

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I want to give complete encouragement and support to the rather forthright representation and presentation by the President on the subject of organized crime.

I think it was Lord Acton was said long ago that "power tends to corrupt. And absolute power tends to corrupt absolutely." Even in a free country there can develop that kind of corrupt power; and it becomes corrupt and corrosive and corrupts whatever it touches. Our forefathers took heed of Lord Acton's warn-

ing, and they established a government of limited powers, with checks and balances.

But now, nearly 200 years later, we find a government within our system which has no checks and recognizes no balances. Its members are governed by a false sense of loyalty and by a constant fear of violent reprisal. The philosophy of this government within a government is to use any means necessary to increase its power and wealth.

If by now there are those who do not know what I am referring to, I am referring to La Cosa Nostra. This vast empire has extended its influence to many areas outside of those for which it is noted. Labor unions, private enterprise, local government, and our financial institutions have all been infiltrated by its corrupt influence.

Unfortunately, our constituents are often not aware of the influence that organized crime has on everyday life. It is time that we made them aware, for, as Charles W. Eliot once said:

In the modern world, the intelligence of public opinion is the one indispensable condition of social progress.

Once a citizen is aware of the fact that when he lays down a \$2 bet somewhere, or on a number, he helps to buy heroin which is used to ruin the lives of our youth, he may be less likely to make what at one time seemed to be a relatively harmless and insignificant wager.

With the support of the public, coordinated efforts of Federal and local law enforcement can lift the black hand of organized crime from the Nation's heart. I urge full support of the President's program as set forth to this Congress.

It is time that we close the door on organized criminal activity in this country, and we had better begin today.

With further reference to the President's message on organized crime, on Monday next I am quite sure that the Senator from Nebraska (Mr. HRUSKA), as the author, and others, as cosponsors, will introduce the legislation dealing with gambling.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for an additional 3 minutes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

**THE PROPOSED POSTAL RATE INCREASE**

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, the previous administration's Post Office Department budget, submitted last January, called for raising the cost of mailing a letter from 6 to 7 cents, plus an extra penny for postcards. That administration did not, however, seek additional revenue from those flooding the mails with advertising circulars or from the publishers of magazines and newspapers.

I am pleased, Mr. President, that President Nixon recognized in his postal revenue proposal that it is not fair to ask those sending letters to bear the entire rate increase.

In addition to asking for a 1-cent increase in first-class mail, the President

has proposed increases for bulk third-class mail and magazines and newspapers. Including increases to be implemented for these two classes of mail within the next 8 months, their rates would be lifted from 16 percent to 20 percent above today's levels. These amounts are comparable to the 16 2/3-percent rise being asked for letter-mail postage.

With the Post Office Department facing the biggest deficit in its history, President Nixon felt that all of the major classes of mail users should help trim the \$1.2 billion postal deficit expected in fiscal year 1970. On an annual basis, the President's postal revenue proposal will yield about \$636 million.

Mr. President, if we support the principle that those using the mail should pay for its services, we have no choice but to revise postal rates and avoid this huge deficit in the postal service. The alternative is an increased burden which must be borne by all the taxpayers.

ME

**ISRAEL**

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, Israel is a miracle in the modern world.

Though surrounded by enemies, deluged by a torrent of immigrants, and slighted in the blessings of natural wealth, Israel has not only survived, she has prospered.

The reason is singlefold: Israel has harnessed her one outstanding attribute—a people who are strong, steadfast, patient, talented, and determined to succeed.

This week marks the 21st anniversary of Israel. There is much to celebrate.

From a nation of some 600,000 people, her population has now reached almost 3 million.

Israelis are celebrating the recovery of fertile green fields from the yellow sands of the desert.

Their nation is a haven for the persecuted who have come to establish new lives. An dtheir pride in living in the new Israel is reflected in the new cities, farms, factories, and roads—in the vibrant economy they have built on the face of their land.

All of us marvel at this noble experiment in statehood which already has so many remarkable achievements to her credit.

Yet we know that this—Israel's 21st anniversary year—is also a time of sad thoughtfulness.

For the remarkable Israelis fought a victorious war to bring peace, and still there is no permanent peace. Instead, hostilities break out almost every day.

It is our solemn hope that finally a just settlement and lasting peace will come to the Middle East.

For the state of Israel teaches of human courage, strength of will, vitality, and self-sacrifice. The commitment of her people to meaningful values gives promise for the future. There cannot be too much of that in the world today.

Mr. President, I am pleased to announce that the following 46 Senators have joined with the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. SCOTT) and me in signing the following statement which expresses



our strong support for meaningful efforts to establish permanent peace in the Middle East: Senators ALLOTT, BAYH, BENNETT, BIBLE, BROOKE, BURDICK, BYRD of West Virginia, CASE, COOK, COTTON, CRANSTON, GOODELL, GORE, GURNEY, HARRIS, HART, HARTKE, HOLLAND, JACKSON, JAVITS, MAGNUSON, MATHIAS, MCGEE, MCGOVERN, MCINTIRE, METCALF, MILLER, MONDALE, MOSS, MURPHY, MUSKIE, NELSON, PERCY, PROXMIRE, SAXE, SCHWEIKER, STEVENS, TYDINGS, WILLIAMS of New Jersey, YOUNG of Ohio, YARBOROUGH, PASTORE, KENNEDY, GOLDWATER, MONTOYA, and PELL.

The statement reads as follows:

On the occasion of Israel's 21st birthday, we offer our congratulations to the people of Israel on their progress: the absorption of more than 1,250,000 refugees and immigrants; the reclamation of the land; the development of their economy; the cultivation of arts and sciences; the revival of culture and civilization; the preservation and strengthening of democratic institutions; their constructive co-operation in the international community.

On this 21st anniversary we express our concern that the people of Israel are still denied their right to peace and that they must carry heavy defense burdens which divert human and material resources from productive pursuits.

We deeply regret that Israel's Arab neighbors, after three futile and costly wars, still refuse to negotiate a final peace settlement with Israel.

We believe that the issues which divide Israel and the Arab states can be resolved in the spirit and service of peace, if the leaders of the Arab states would agree to meet with Israelis in face-to-face negotiations. There is no effective substitute for the procedure. The parties to the conflict must be parties to the settlement. We oppose any attempt by outside powers to impose halfway measures not conducive to a permanent peace.

To ensure direct negotiations and to secure a contractual peace settlement, freely and sincerely signed by the parties themselves, the United States should oppose all pressures upon Israel to withdraw prematurely and unconditionally from any of the territories which Israel now administers.

Achieving peace, Israel and the Arab states will be in a position to settle the problems which confront them. Peace will outlaw belligerence, define final boundaries, and boycotts and blockades, curb terrorism, promote disarmament, facilitate refugee resettlement, ensure freedom of navigation through international waterways, and promote economic co-operation in the interests of all people.

The United Nations cease-fire should be obeyed and respected by all nations. The Arab states have an obligation to curb terrorism and to end their attacks on Israel civilians and settlements.

We deplore one-sided United Nations Resolutions which ignore Arab violations of the cease-fire and which censure Israel's reply and counter-action. Resolutions which condemn those who want peace and which shield those who wage war are a travesty of the United Nations charter and a blow at the peace.

The United States should make it clear to all governments in the Near East that we do not condone a state of war, that we persist in the search for a negotiated and contractual peace, as a major goal of American policy.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RIBICOFF. I am pleased to yield to the distinguished coauthor of the statement.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I am very happy, indeed, that the distinguished

Senator from Connecticut has called to the attention of the Senate a statement expressing the sentiment of nearly one-half of the Members of this body. I am sure there are many other Senators who share in this feeling that there should not be a peace imposed upon the parties. This is not to say that the good offices and good will of all nations should not be exerted to end this conflict.

That this conflict should be ended is, of course, the aspiration of all men and women of good will everywhere.

There is a great difference between imposing peace and searching for suggestions and conclusions which might aid the parties to come together at the peace table. But there can be no peace, in my opinion, unless and until the Arab States recognize the State of Israel and sit down at the conference table for discussions. There is a need for settlement; there is a way for settlement; what we need is the will.

I thank the Senator from Connecticut.

#### MORALITY AND PORNOGRAPHY

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, columnist Donald Kaul, of the Des Moines Register, usually writes with tongue in cheek, poking fun at those who take themselves too seriously. But in the Sunday Register of April 13, Kaul was deadly serious in assessing the issue of morality and pornography as it exists today.

I think that his column merits attention and I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### OVER THE COFFEE: MODERN-DAY SODOM (By Donald Kaul)

Either New York is really getting crummier or I'm getting old; maybe both.

Although I've never lived in New York, I've always considered myself a New Yorker-in-exile. Like many Midwesterners of my generation, I've been thrilled by the city's skylines and energized by the excitement of its streets.

Whenever somebody would start to say "New York is a nice place to live but . . ." I'd interject a "P h : f t t t !" or equally appropriate comment.

But now . . . I'm not so sure.

New York didn't seem quite so glamorous this trip. The sordidness, filth, corruption, decay and noise—my God, the noise—have reached a level that makes the city virtually uninhabitable.

Take Forty-second street. Forty-second street, around Broadway, has long been the dirty movie capital of the United States, the Mecca of creeps, but the perversion represented on that street today has reached truly astonishing proportions.

On Forty-second street a foot fetishist is considered, straight. The scene is enough to make the Tijuana chief of police blush.

Homosexuals, transvestites, drug addicts, male and female prostitutes, sadists, masochists, pushers, voyeurs—all walk the street there, many of them hand in hand.

Above their heads blink gaudy movie marquees, bearing titles like "Body Lust" and "Party Girl." The stores are almost without exception smut shops, with hard-core pornography displayed in the windows and promises of harder stuff to be found inside.

A British visitor, asked to comment on Forty-second street recently, said:

"It's the last 27 minutes of the Roman Empire."

And there are those who think his watch was running a little slow.

There is more degenerate activity to be found on a single block of that street on a given night than you could discover in the whole of Des Moines.

"Well," you say, taking the sophisticated view, "it's a zoo; a kind of moral leper colony. Creeps have to live, too, and it's better to have them all in one place."

But they're not all in one place. The disease is spreading throughout Manhattan.

You walk uptown on Broadway or the Avenue of the Americas—up into the mid-50s around Rockefeller Center, the Time-Life Building—and you are accosted by hordes of hookers.

Crowds of young girls—some of them couldn't be any more than 16—jam the doorways along the respectable-looking business district, offering themselves to passing men. The going price is \$25.

In the evening a lone man on the street will be approached 10 or 12 times in a single block. In the morning—9:30, say—it's not so bad. You'll only have to resist the charms of three or four pants-suited maidens.

You go to Greenwich Village. You can't go as long as three minutes without some long-haired punk asking you for a handout. Occasionally, the punk will not want a quarter; he'll want to sell you drugs.

It is unhealthy to indulge in the hypocrisy that such things as prostitution, drug addiction and perversion don't exist, but it is no less damaging to have them shoved down your throat day after day.

You are forced to learn to ignore it or go crazy. Some New Yorkers do one thing, some the other.

New York is still an exciting city; corrupt, but exciting. It's a catalogue of all the vices and virtues to be found in our culture.

I certainly wouldn't presume to advise anyone not to live there.

I mean, if you liked Sodom and Gomorrah, you'll love New York.

#### W. EARL HALL—NOTED IOWA EDITOR

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, W. Earl Hall, one of Iowa's most noted editors, died on April 12. While making his newspaper, the Mason City Globe-Gazette, a newspaper of quality and distinction, he also served well his community and State. His efforts on behalf of safety won him the coveted Dr. C. C. Criss award; he served on the State board of regents and was named "Layman of the Year" by the Iowa State Education Association in 1960. Earl was active in the American Red Cross and the American Legion.

A newspaperman his entire life, he was a man of untiring energy who always considered himself a reporter, not an editor. He once said:

"It's my basic reasoning, kind sir, that anybody who can report can step down into that lower category of writing editorials if need be. A corollary to this is that I think of myself as a reporter rather than as an editor . . . basically."

W. Earl Hall was a credit to his profession, his community, his State, and his Nation. No greater praise could be accorded any man. I ask unanimous consent that the following articles relating to Mr. Hall be printed in the Record:

First, "Coworkers Laud Hall," Mason City Globe-Gazette, April 12.

Second, "Friends and Acquaintances of W. Earl Hall Pay Tribute," Mason City Globe-Gazette, April 14.

April 24, 1969

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—Extensions of Remarks

E 3371

"In the beginning God" and the beginning has never stopped. Radio astronomers today, gazing deep into the heavens, feel that for the first time Man is witnessing the stormy creation of one or more planets like the earth. If this is so, and their observations are correct, then it may be possible within a human lifetime to chart the birth pangs of a new planet.

"THE PAST IS BUT THE BEGINNING OF A BEGINNING"

H. G. Wells wrote:

The past is but the beginning of a beginning, and all that is and has been is but the twilight of the dawn . . . A day will come when beings who are now latent in our thoughts and hidden in our loins shall stand upon this earth as one stands upon a footstool, and shall laugh and reach out their hands amid the stars.

Man will plumb his universe; our first halting steps have now been taken. To find—what? Colors unknown in the spectrum; music unscored and unplayed; wisdom untapped. Go to any marble quarry, look into it. Can anyone perceive the graceful shapes held within the marble itself, that will be released by the hand and skill of the sculptor?

The greatest happiness of the thinking man—

Wrote Goethe—

is to have fathomed that what can be fathomed, and quietly to reverence that what is unfathomable.

An so it is, and so it will always be, with Man.

And while, with silent, uplifting mind, I've trod  
That high, untrodden sanctity of Space;  
Put out my hand, and touch the face of God.

#### REMARKS OF MR. NELSEN ON INTRODUCTION OF H.R. 10482 TO ESTABLISH VOYAGEURS NATIONAL PARK IN MINNESOTA

SPEECH OF

**HON. ANCHER NELSEN**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 23, 1969

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to join the congressional delegation from Minnesota in introducing with our colleague (Mr. BLATNIK) the bill to establish the Voyageurs National Park.

A great deal of effort has gone into this proposal to establish Voyageurs Park on the part of officials of the State and local governments, sportsmen and conservationists, businessmen and individual citizen. We are all, of course, indebted to my good friend JOHN BLATNIK for all the detailed work he and his staff have put into this effort.

The benefits of this park, when established, will be received not only by Minnesotans who live in that beautiful North country, but by the expected thousands of Americans who will come to the park annually.

The natural beauty of the park setting, so essential to the greatness of the Voyageurs area will be preserved by mak-

ing it a National Park. Over 139,000 acres of land dotted with 72,000 acres of water make up one of the most scenic and historical areas in the Nation.

With the establishment of this first and only national park in the State of Minnesota, we will have achieved a great conservation goal, and we will be more able to show all Americans "L'Etoile Du Nord," the "Star of the North," the appropriate motto of our great State.

*ME*

#### MINORITY LEADER FORD OFFERS COMMONSENSE ANALYSIS OF MIDEAST CRISIS

**HON. FRANK HORTON**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, as a Member of Congress, one listens to many hundreds, even thousands of speeches and policy statements each year. This constant exposure to public pronouncements makes us appreciate even more, an outstanding and eloquent address.

This noon it was my privilege to hear such a talk, given by the minority leader. Congressman GERALD R. FORD was called upon to relate his and the administration's stance on the very delicate situation in the Middle East. At one of the highest level meetings of the year on Mideast policy, a Capitol Hill luncheon sponsored by the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, he delivered a forthright statement, outlining in plain language and compelling logic, the dynamics of this continuing crisis.

Before a group which included many of our colleagues, including the distinguished dean of the House, whose expertise and concern for this subject is well known, and including Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, I. L. Kenen and Irving Kane, leaders of the host organization, Mr. Ford tied together with sure threads, the relevance of the Middle East crisis to other Soviet and radical-inspired events in the world.

I think Mr. Ford's speech is must reading for anyone wanting an understanding of the forces seeking to destroy Israel, and to undermine the interests and purposes of our own Nation.

Under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I include the full text of the minority leader's remarks in the day's proceedings.

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE GERALD R. FORD, REPUBLICAN OF MICHIGAN, REPUBLICAN LEADER, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AT THE AMERICAN-ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE LUNCHEON, RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D.C., APRIL 24, 1969

I firmly believe that the fate of Israel is linked to the national security interests of the United States. I therefore cannot conceive of a situation in which the U.S. Administration will sell Israel down the Nile.

Concern has been expressed that the Soviet Union and France may prevail at the current Big Four talks on the Middle East. I can assure you that your government will not permit this to happen. We are conscious of Soviet ambitions.

Israel may enter its 21st anniversary con-

fident of its manhood. Israel's record of achievement and courage makes the state worthy of that status. Israel can feel certain that Americans are aware of her dedication to freedom and of the basic affinity linking Israel with the United States.

I join with those who are concerned about overall Soviet designs on the Middle East and Mediterranean. One need only follow the news reports of Operation "Dawn Patrol," the NATO naval maneuvers now in progress in the Mediterranean. We are aware of the unprecedented Soviet naval build-up in that region. We know that the Russians are trying to exert pressures in the Mediterranean at a time when we are preoccupied in the Far East.

Your government is not naive. Nor are the members of Congress. Let me state one fact very simply and directly: Israel must not become another Czechoslovakia.

I have no illusions about Soviet policy and the attempts by the Kremlin to create a sphere of influence in the Middle East that would undermine vital American security interests and threaten the entire southern flank of NATO. The game being played by the Russians, exploiting Arab hostility against Israel, is transparent.

It is my conviction that American policy will not seek to "impose" a settlement as a result of the present Big Four Conference or outside the context of such talks.

President Nixon has pledged that Israel's vital interests will be preserved and that withdrawal can occur only by consent of the parties directly concerned, based upon a contractual agreement establishing a peace involving recognized, defensible, and just boundaries.

American participation in the Big Four Conference is consistent with efforts to test the Soviet Union's professed desire to preserve peace and to avoid a nuclear confrontation. But no accord will be purchased at the expense of Israel. As I have said, we are well aware of Soviet aims and attitudes. We are also mindful of the continuing brutal suppression of Czechoslovakia, as denounced only last Friday by President Nixon.

The U.S. Government is aware that the Soviet-made MIG's that treacherously attacked an unarmed U.S. reconnaissance plane in international airspace off the Korean coast represented the same type of aircraft and weapons systems supplied to the radical Arab states.

Our Government must therefore continue to maintain the military combat and deterrent capacities of Israel through the earliest possible supply of Phantom jets and other military hardware requirements. I am pleased to note that Israeli air and ground crews to man the Phantoms are presently receiving special training at a U.S. Air Force Base in California. The Phantoms will be ready for shipment at a time coinciding with the completion of training—a matter of months. Many of the Phantoms will be in service in Israel before the end of 1969.

We appreciate Israel's isolated geographic position, surrounded as she is by enemies. Her very life depends on airpower and civilian air links with the free world. In this connection, one must note with regret that attacks on unarmed aircraft have escalated worldwide from the hijacking of American commercial airliners to Cuba, to attacks at various European airports on Israeli airliners by Arab terrorists armed with Russian weapons, and now the criminal attack by Communist North Korean MIG-21's on an unarmed American plane in international airspace.

Are the Russians sincerely seeking a relaxation of tensions or have they merely relegated their dirty work to the fanatics and fourth-rate despots of the world?

We have heard the Kremlin profess great concern about Middle Eastern peace. But we have watched them pour naval forces into

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the Mediterranean. We have heard them demand American withdrawal. We have watched them build up the war potential of radical and irresponsible Arab States refuse to enter into real peace negotiations with Israel.

Moscow is attempting to achieve indirectly what Communist and Arab pressure have failed to accomplish by military pressure and threats. They have sought to roll back the Israelis from the cease-fire lines of June, 1967, without a meaningful peace settlement. Thus they would keep the sore open, restore the intolerable situation that existed immediately before the outbreak of the Six-Day War, and exploit any retreat by Israel, and her friends to push further against free world interests.

The Soviet Union has not clarified her policy to my satisfaction. Indeed, they seem to have a variety of policies, to suit their convenience. They have one policy in the Middle East, another in Czechoslovakia, and yet another in North Korea. In North Korea they help us one week to search for possible survivors of the plane shot down by the Mig's they provided. Then, the very next week, they protest because we send a Naval force to protect our reconnaissance flights and our right to use international waters and airspace.

An assessment must be made at American Soviet bilateral talks on the Middle East and at the Big Four meetings. It is whether Moscow is sincere in seeking a reduction of tensions or whether Russia is trying to exploit the fear of war in hope of turning a complex situation to her advantage.

Not only the Soviet Union but also Communist China is fishing in the troubled waters of the Middle East. Arab terrorists are being trained in Peking. Chinese "button" mines, mortars, rockets, and other weapons used against U.S. forces in Viet Nam have emerged in the Arab guerrilla assaults against Israel. Arab guerrilla leaders have openly proclaimed that they will reject any peace settlement that might be reached by the Big Four or signed by King Hussein or President Nasser.

Citing Chairman Mao of Communist China as their inspiration, the Arab terrorists have proclaimed a so-called war of national liberation in the Middle East. Their aim is the liquidation of Israel and all pro-western Arab regimes.

There is evidence that the leading Arab terrorist movement, El Fatah, is working through Arab students at various American colleges and universities to build up U.S. support for an Arab "national liberation front" similar to the campus underground mobilized for the Viet Cong National Liberation Front. Indeed, we now find that some Arabs here on student visas are working with the U.S. Committee to Aid the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong); the youth arm of the pro-Peking Workers World Party known as Youth Against War and Fascism, and its front group, the Committee to Support Middle East Liberation.

Indications of the flow of trained agitators from the Middle East have been revealed in contacts between the Arabs and the Black Panthers, the Students for a Democratic Society (S.D.S.), and other anti-democratic groups.

Our nation already is beset by disruption at our institutions of higher learning. We have no need of agitators from abroad.

I am confident that the Department of Justice will carefully examine the activities of the estimated 10,000 Arab students in the United States to ascertain possible violations of visa requirements. If they are abusing our hospitality in an unlawful manner, there should be some immediate administrative action.

We are painfully aware of how the Middle East conflict has already spilled over to our shores in the case of the convicted murderer,

Sirhan Sirhan. This nation will not tolerate assassination and terrorism.

Let me reiterate that the Republican leadership of the House of Representatives identifies with your concerns. We are committed to the growth of Israel-American friendship. We share your aspirations for the preservation of freedom and justice for all.

## CHEMICAL BIOLOGICAL WARFARE STOCKPILE IS INCREASING

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, as more and more information becomes available on the extent of America's chemical and biological warfare arsenal, the need to examine the rationale for this controversial program and the purposes of the research now being undertaken under the sponsorship of the Department of Defense in this area is apparent. Our colleague from New York (Mr. McCARTHY), through the briefing he obtained on chemical biological warfare, and the report he has made to this body on the developing stockpile, has made a substantive contribution to the growing public awareness on this issue.

We are fortunate in being able to draw on the research of several individuals who have made thorough and provoking studies of the implications of chemical biological warfare.

I include in the RECORD today an article from the May 1969 issue of the Progressive by Seymour Hersh, former AP Pentagon correspondent, who has published several articles and a book "Chemical and Biological Warfare: America's Hidden Arsenal" on this closely guarded military program. Mr. Hersh has studied the Department of Defense's chemical and biological warfare research for over 2 years. I urge my colleagues to give close consideration to the alarming conclusions which he has reached concerning the implications of this program:

## SILENT DEATH

(By Seymour Hersh)

America's heavy investment in chemical and biological warfare (CBW) traditionally is a taboo subject in Washington. CBW is not mentioned in the Secretary of Defense's annual report to Congress on the nation's military posture, and all important references to it are censored out of Congressional testimony. In the late 1950's the generals of the Army Chemical Corps decided to make a public plea for more understanding, plus more money, and turned to a public relations firm for guidance. "Operation Blue Skies" thus emerged, complete with heavily publicized promises of "war without death" and dire warnings about the Soviet Union's preeminence in all things chemical and biological.

The effort produced more money, but with it the beginnings of a protest movement against the development of CBW weapons. The Army went underground again and probably would have remained there, but the use of gases and chemicals in Vietnam and in the ghettos and campuses of America has ended the dreams of obscurity for the CBW generals. CBW has been under increasing assault from a public rapidly becoming more aware of the Frankenstein monster in its

midst. Recent network television shows, at least two books, and many more magazine and newspaper stories have pointed out some of the obvious pitfalls of spending millions of dollars where it is not only not needed, but is highly dangerous.

Precisely how much is being spent each year on CBW is a military secret. Recently the Pentagon gave a group of Congressmen and Senators a classified briefing on CBW and admitted it was spending about \$350 million annually, far more than the Federal Government spent last year to subsidize all forms of cancer research. But even this amount, high as it might appear to most citizens, seems inaccurate. In 1963, the last year in which the cost of CBW was provided to Congress on an unrestricted basis, the Government was spending nearly \$300 million. Since then, costs have soared for the tear gases and anti-crop chemicals used in South Vietnam. Expenditures at the Edgewood Arsenal, Maryland, the military's main chemical purchasing center, were more than \$420 million in fiscal year 1969, according to a McGraw-Hill investment newsletter, and that base is only one of five major CBW facilities in the nation.

In the arsenals of the Pentagon (and in at least thirteen other nations) are chemical poisons—nerve agents such as the recently widely publicized GB—so toxic that one fiftieth of a drop, about one milligram, can be lethal in minutes; it was a nerve gas that was responsible for the death of 6,400 sheep on a Utah ranch in March, 1968, after an errant test near the Dugway Proving Grounds, a CBW research base.

Biological agents are potentially even more deadly: In 1960 the head of the Army Chemical Corps told Congress that ten aircraft, each carrying 10,000 pounds of a dry disease agent such as plague or anthrax, could kill or seriously disable as many as thirty per cent of America's population—about sixty million people.

Congress and the nation were aroused recently when it was revealed that the Army was regularly shipping 300-gallon containers of the deadly GB and similar lethal agents around the country by rail, a grave hazard in the event of an accident.

It is relatively as easy for CBW scientists to produce 10,000 pounds of a disease agent as it is for pharmaceutical houses to produce a similar amount of vaccines and antibiotics. Gas and germs can be delivered in combat situations by hand grenades, airplane spray tanks, bombs, shells, rockets, and missiles.

Since the early 1960's when CBW spending trebled within a few years, the aerospace industry has been increasingly involved CBW research. Along with it has come a reliance on sophisticated computer techniques and equipment in meteorology, biomathematics, aerobiology, and other necessary disciplines.

The heavy use of defoliants and herbicides in Vietnam (some \$100 million worth last year) has been increasingly questioned by scientists concerned about the long-run ecological dangers. There also is considerable evidence that the "riot control" gases used in Vietnam can be lethal to the weak, sick, and undernourished civilians exposed to them. One of the so-called "non-lethal" gases now in wide use in Vietnam is Adamiste, an arsenic-laden chemical that will kill upon ten minutes' exposure to concentrations of one ten-thousandth ounce per quart of air. One of the anti-crop chemicals also in wide use is cacodylic acid, which is fifty-four per cent arsenic, enough to make systemic arsenical poisoning a lethal threat to civilians living near sprayed areas.

In the past few years criticism of the CBW program has become increasingly led by scholars. The Army's main biological research center at Fort Detrick, Maryland, which has held many pseudo-scientific academic conferences in subject areas close to its needs—such as defoliation and genetics—suddenly found itself picketed by a small group of



a.m. the following day the battle broke. In spite of the overwhelming German superiority in troops and supplies, the Jews withstood the barrage. Testifying at the Eichmann trial, ZOB member Zivia Lubetkin recounted the flavor of the revolt:

Our unit numbered twenty men, women, and youngsters. Each of us had a revolver and a grenade. A whole squad had guns and some home-made bombs, prepared in a very primitive fashion. We had to light them with matches. . . . We knew that they would pay a high price for our lives. . . . When the Germans advanced on our posts and we threw those hand grenades and bombs, and saw German blood pouring over the streets of Warsaw after we had seen so much Jewish blood shed, we rejoiced. . . . Those German heroes retreated. . . . They came back again on the same day, reinforced by tanks, and we, with our petrol bombs, set fire to a tank.

The spirit of the ghetto was assuredly its most potent weapon. Reacting now with anger to what had been regarded as a routine operation, the Germans were determined to destroy the resistance regardless of cost. Humiliated by their initial defeats, the Nazis tried what they thought would be a devastating combination of fire and artillery. They first set fire to the brush factory district. Smoke burning their eyes and choking their throats, the Jews would not be burnt alive in German flames. The occupants of this area set out for the central ghetto. Some perished in the conflagration. Charred corpses filled the streets and lay in doorsteps. Smoke and flames drove thousands more out of otherwise safe hideouts. These staggered onto the sticky pavement, melted by the heat, where they wandered aimlessly, only to be captured by the Germans or shot on the spot.

The Germans hoped that the destruction of the brushmakers' district would drive the Jews to surrender. Hoping for a "voluntary" evacuation, they announced deadlines for appearing at collection centers. No amount of pleading or threats would convince the Jews to surrender. They preferred armed resistance to meek submission.

Faced with such stubbornness, the Nazis changed their tactics. They began burning private homes—one after another—to smoke out their victims. The partisans now attempted to preserve large groups of the population hiding in isolated bunkers and shelters by moving them underground. The burning of the ghetto ended only where there were no more living quarters and, still worse, when the water supply was exhausted. At this point the partisans themselves were forced underground.

With the Germans policing the streets by day, the ZOB could make raids only at undercover of night. Supplies were running desperately short. The ammunition cache was nearly depleted. Loss of communication with the Aryan world outside the ghetto meant it would be virtually impossible to put further meaningful resistance.

The Germans sent out searching parties to ferret out those who had burrowed underground. They employed sensitive sound-detecting instruments and trained police dogs. One of the most vigorous battles was fought at 30 Franciszkanska Street, where the Nazis dis-

covered the bunker of former residents of the brushmakers' district. The battle here lasted 2 days, and not a single person submitted to capture alive. ZOB headquarters was discovered on May 18. The Germans tolerated 2 hours of resistance. Then, appreciating the advantages of liquidating the organizers of resistance, the Germans tossed in a gas bomb. Whoever was not gassed committed suicide. Jurek Wilner proposed group annihilation. Lutek Rotblat shot his mother, his sister, then himself. Eighty percent of those who survived the chemical weapons perished in this manner, including ZOB Commander Mordechai Aniedewicz. The few who miraculously escaped death set off to join the remnants of the brushmakers' detachments at 22 Franciszkanska Street. The only safe access to the shelter was through the sewer system, a common thoroughfare in the ghetto. The entrance was boobytrapped with grenades ready to explode at touch. The fugitives crawled through snares and entanglements constructed by the SS. On occasion, the Germans would let gas into the mains. In a sewer 28 inches high, the sludge reaching to their lips, the surviving ZOB waited 48 hours to escape to the bunker. One of their number lost consciousness every few minutes. Thirst was the worst problem. Some of the more desperate chanced drinking the slimy waters.

On June 10, at 10 a.m., two trucks pulled up to the trapdoor at the Prosta Street-Twarda Street intersection. When the door opened, the Jews emerged from their hole, and scrambled onto the trucks. Not all were able to escape. Soon the heavy door banged shut. Not daring to tarry longer, the trucks bolted away, careening through the streets at full speed. This surviving fraction of the ZOB joined guerrilla bands fighting in the woods. The majority of them were eventually slain. The rest took part in the 1944 Warsaw uprising as the "ZOB unit." From this handful of survivors we have accounts of the Warsaw ghetto epic.

The fate of those not fortunate enough to escape was buried in the ragged heap of rubble reaching three stories high. It had taken 44 days to destroy the ghetto. Nazi officials recorded the deaths or relocations during the insurrection at 6,060. Rather than surrender, the valiant Jews of the Warsaw ghetto had preferred to end their ordeal of 3 years with entrenched resistance.

Today a statue to the ghetto population stands in a desolate square, once the heart of the district. In spite of common experiences under German occupation, the fact that many Poles risked their lives to hide Jews during the war, and the fact that many Poles also marched to gas chambers at Auschwitz and Treblinka, the Polish Government seems to have forgotten the Nazi ordeal. Otherwise, how could they tolerate, and, indeed, encourage the senseless anti-Zionist purge which grips Poland today?

In Poland competing camps in the faction-ridden Communist system consistently have exploited anti-Semitism at critical junctures in Polish history. This strategy emerged in Poland during the early post-war period. The first "takeover" government was an uneasy

coalition of Communists who had spent the war in the Polish underground and those who, having spent the war in Soviet Russia, returned to Poland with the victorious Red army. Friction between the "domestic" group and the "Muscovites" emerged during the Stalinist period. During the brief thaw which followed Stalin's death, the domestic group blamed the Muscovites for the excesses of Stalinization. The anti-Semitic campaign evolved from their charges against a fraction of the Muscovites who happened to be Jews. The same party plenum which elected Wladyslaw Gomułka first secretary of the party also set up a program for reform and issued a resolution against ethnic prejudice. Neither policy was implemented. In an effort to consolidate power, Gomułka proceeded to generously pad the party apparatus with former Stalinist partisans. This element has since expanded its power base. Since the early sixties, the Partisans have agitated against the political decay and economic stagnation of the "Gomułka establishment." Their goal is to replace it. The student riots of March 1968 gave them precisely the opportunity they sought. Seizing upon the coincidence that some of the leaders of the student protests were Jewish and that their parents occupied prominent government posts, General Moczar, Minister of the Interior, and head of the Partisan faction, launched the current anti-Semitic campaign. To protect his own political position, Gomułka took up the challenge. Just after the Arab-Israel conflict in June 1967, he blamed all of Poland's present difficulties on a pro-Israel Zionist conspiracy.

With anti-Semitism a weapon of both contending factions, the toll among Polish Jews has been heavy, and the purge continues to this day.

Both the Government of the United States and the United Nations must make every effort to combat anti-Semitism in Poland. Memory of the heroic resistance of the Warsaw ghetto should strengthen those efforts.

ME

#### ISRAEL INDEPENDENCE DAY

(Mr. McCORMACK (at the request of Mr. ALBERT) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, it has been 21 years since the foundation of the State of Israel in the land of the ancient Hebrew people. Those 21 years have witnessed many events in Israel, not the least of which have been the three wars fought between Israel and its Arab neighbors and the victories of the Israel defense forces in those three conflicts. Peace still is only a dream in the Middle East, but all men of good will hope that a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israel dispute can be found and implemented.

But, despite the wars and the constant state of alert demanded of the Israeli people, they have still been able to register tremendous growth and progress in the past two decades. The Israeli economy established unprecedented gains, averaging for the decade between 1950

to be unjust and unreasonable, it is doubtful the airlines' managements and the Board are prepared at this time to surrender the exercise of all their powers and duties with respect to the determination of rates to any mechanical formula.

<sup>143</sup> Sec. 102(d), Federal Aviation Act of 1958; Bureau of Economics, A Study of the Domestic Passenger Air Fare Structure, Op. Cit., 72; *Supra*.

<sup>144</sup> American Airlines, Inc., et al., Mail Rates, Docket No. 2849 et al., 14 C.A.B. 558, 595-599 (1951); American Airlines, Inc., et al., Domestic Trunklines, Service Mail Rates, Docket No. 6599 et al. 21 C.A.B. 8, 54-58 (1955).

<sup>145</sup> Air Transport Association, Exhibit 100, General Passenger Fare Investigation, C.A.B. Docket No. 8008 (1961) 11. (See also, Miller, Ronald E., Distribution of Total Operating Expenses by CAB Functional Class: Domestic Trunklines, 1956; "Domestic Airline Efficiency," The M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts (1963) 11; Treatment of Revenues and Expenses, General, "Report of Ernst & Ernst on Survey of Separation of Compensatory Mail Pay from Total Mail Payments to Domestic Airlines"; 18 J. Air L. & Com. 206, 216; Wheatcroft, Stephen, "Economics of European Air Transport," Table 14, *The Economics of European Air Transport*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, England (1956) 82; Speas, R. Dixon, "Operating Cost Summary, Major United States Airlines, Calendar Year in Early Fifties", Table 16-4, *Technical Aspects of Air Transport Management*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, (1955) p. 300.

<sup>146</sup> Bureau of Economics, A Study of the Domestic Passenger Air Fare Structure, Op. Cit., 70; emphasis added.

<sup>147</sup> TWA's share of the market was 32.4% in 1966, 33.7% in 1967.

<sup>148</sup> *Supra*.

#### APPENDIX 1

##### ONE TYPE OF RATEMAKING FORMULA<sup>1</sup>

[Direct operating cost + indirect operating cost ÷ (profit element (available capacity) × (load factor) × (value adjustment)) = uniform base rate (per passenger, ton or cube by class of service or equipment)]

Value of service as percent of uniform base rate (net yield)	Market demand as percent of traffic flow	Value adjustment to uniform base rate (Col. 1 multiplied by col. 2)
(1)	(2)	
106	5	5.3
100	55	55.0
75	10	7.5
66 2/3	15	10.0
50	15	7.5

Value adjustment needed in base rate..... 85.3

Example:  $\frac{\$530 + \$430 + \$240}{110 \text{ seats} \times 60 \text{ percent} \times 0.85} = \$21.50 \text{ per passenger-hour}$

<sup>1</sup> Suggested by way of substitution pursuant to subpt. E, par. 302.505 of the CAB's Rule of Practice in Economic Proceedings.

Source: Hon. John E. Moss, "The CAB Staff Study of Air Fares," Congressional Record (May 9, 1968) E4016, E4021.

#### WARSAW GHETTO DAY: IN COMMEMORATION

(Mr. RYAN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to honor today the memory of Jews of the Warsaw ghetto who rose against the Nazi SS in April 1943. It is particularly relevant that we recall their struggle, in view of the recent upsurge of anti-Semitism in Poland. The current Polish anti-Semitic campaign has purged thousands of

Jews—from the most prominent to the obscure—from positions in universities, political, and cultural life. We must condemn this recurrence of prejudice in Poland as an affront to the memory of thousands of Jews who were annihilated in the Warsaw ghetto uprising of 1943.

Before the Nazi invasion, Warsaw was the most Jewish of European cities. There were some 433,000 Jews in the city when, in early 1940, German occupation authorities began to concentrate Jews in special districts in each town and locality in Poland. A period of mass deportations began, accompanied by confiscations, arrests, and terror. Jews were the victims of unbridled violence of the SS, including looting, murder and starvation. This persecution was designed to deprive Jews of all material goods, and, through physical and mental oppression, to prepare a suitable atmosphere for genocide.

On October 16, 1940, the Germans began to corral Warsaw's Jews into the 100 square city blocks between the major railway station, the Saxon Gardens, and the Danzig Railroad Terminal. The proximity of transportation facilities was probably a determining factor in locating the Jewish ghetto, whose residents the Nazi regime planned to evacuate with maximum efficiency. One-third of the population of Warsaw was crammed, eight to a room, into one-twentieth the area of the city. A brick wall and barbed wire encaged the Jewish Poles. The Germans planned at first to starve them into docility, then to round them up and murder them by the thousands.

According to Nazi plans captured at the fall of the Wehrmacht, Poland was the first occupied area to be cleared of its non-Aryan population, prior to the implementation of the general eastern plan—generalplan ost. The Reich's strategy was to Germanize and liquidate the untermenschen of enormous areas—the Baltic States, Czechoslovakia, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, and Russia itself. The records of the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal include testimony by the spokesman of Nazi race ideology, Rosenberg, who expressed the Reich's purpose:

Europe can consider the Jewish question solved when the last Jew leaves the Continent. . . . We swear that we will not give up the fight until the last Jew in Europe has disappeared, and, until we are sure that he is really dead.

The pilot project for this operation was Poland; its death terminal, Warsaw. Most of the Jews sealed up in 2½ miles of the classical Jewish quarter of the city had neither roots nor homes in the capital. Here they were starved and systematically hunted by their captors. In spite of the various epidemics which erupted, they were denied drugs. They endured cruel Polish winters without fuel. While the rest of occupied Warsaw went uninformed of events in the sealed ghetto, hunger increased daily. It emerged from dark, overcrowded living quarters into the street, where it spoke through the mouths of beggars—the aged or the very young, who crawled under the barbed wire, before the gendarmes, to get food "on the other side." Entire families were supported in this manner.

In spite of the disease, the corruption,

violence, restrictions, and fear of betrayal, the trappings of normal community living developed in the Warsaw ghetto. The ghetto population created its own underground community. The Jews operated clandestine schools. There was even a university complete with faculty. Bomb caches were disguised as parks. Four theaters offered performances. Musicians gave concerts. Poets composed and recited verse. Painters and sculptors worked and exhibited their efforts. An illegal press distributed pamphlets and reported current events. A group of scholars collected an archive to preserve records of the ghetto as part of Jewish history. Among these documents is a draft of the opening address for a cultural evening. The unknown lecturer analyzed the common Jewish purpose:

We want to continue living and remain free and creative people. Thereby we shall stand the test of life. If our lives are not extinguished under thick layers of ashes, it will be the triumph of humanity; it will be proof that our life-force is stronger than the will of destruction.

Spurred by the certainty that the Germans offered no alternative to extermination, a resistance movement was formed of Zionist youth. Before the outbreak of war, this group was making plans for emigration to Palestine. Its national and political awareness was intense, as was its determination to defy the superior numbers and weaponry of the German troops. At first this resistance organization was viewed as too militant. A year later, however, several intended victims who had escaped from the Nazi death mills were returned to the ghetto. They verified the horrors which the ghetto population had only suspected. Between July 22 and October 3, 1942, 300,000 Jews were removed from the ghetto, the majority to Trablanka, the rest to labor camps. The numbers of the deported substantiated the tales of the escaped prisoners. Within days of the first deportations, the Jewish Fighting Organization was formed under the command of 21-year-old Mordechai Aniedewicz. The organization earned the political and religious support of the community. By the beginning of 1943, confrontation was inevitable.

Weapons were smuggled into the ghetto through sewers or by burying parties who were allowed beyond the walls of the Jewish cemetery. The number of guerrilla units formed and trained has been set at 22. The first clash between Jews and Nazi forces occurred January 18, 9 days after Himmler ordered that deportations be resumed. He had prepared to remove the last 60,000 to 70,000 Jews remaining in the ghetto. This first round was a Jewish victory in spite of the odds against them. After 4 days of battle, the Jews effectively routed the SS.

The Germans retreated to nurse their wounds and repair their wounded vanity. On February 16, 1943, Himmler ordered what he thought would mean the destruction of the ghetto. Lt. Gen. Jurgen Stroop was sent to carry out the operation. Tanks, planes, and artillery encircled the ghetto. April 19, Passover Eve, the SS moved toward the ghetto. The ZOB decreed an alert and proceeded to execute organizational measures. At 6

and 1960 a growth rate of over 10 percent per year. After an imposed slowdown of the economy beginning in 1964 had produced the desired effects, the Israeli economy is again growing at its old pace. The Israeli planners have taken great pains to diversify the industry of Israel, seeking a balance between industry, agriculture, manufacturing and services that will insure a stable and reliable economy for the future.

In the educational field, the Israeli nation has faced an arduous task of teaching an ancient language, now revitalized, to the polyglot peoples who came to the promised land. Germans, Rumanians, Russians, Moroccans, French—people from all the corners of the earth speaking all the earth's languages—have been taught Hebrew. Grown men share the classrooms with their sons in their desire to learn and to grow together. The teachers in those schools are quite often young girls, members of the Israel defense forces, who are serving their country in two ways, they are soldiers and they are teachers. The Israelis hunger for education and learning, and they respect the power of knowledge.

Much has been written about the Israeli agricultural programs, the cooperative and the collective communities which have so ably converted vast ranges of wasteland into productive and vital farmlands. The Kibbutz and the Moshav are the epitome of cooperation and democracy, where all share the work and the rewards. In the southern part of Israel is the vast Negev desert. It is here that the Israelis have concentrated their efforts to reclaim the land from the scorching sun and the dry winds and to convert the barren earth into living farms. One of the modern engineering miracles is the Israeli water conduit which carries needed water from the north of the country to the arid south.

But Israel has not been a nation of all work. In the cultural area, the Israelis have become world leaders in music, art and letters. Israeli dancers, singers and musicians travel around the world, receiving critical acclaim for their talents and their creativity. Israeli designers hold shows in the fashion centers of London, Paris and New York. Israeli artists and their works appear in the galleries of Europe and the Americas. Israeli architects and engineers raise buildings in Africa and South America. Novelists, historians and poets from Israel are read and appreciated by a wide spectrum of peoples from Asia to Scandinavia. The wide range of talents demonstrate the Israeli creativity and their innovative and imaginative approach to every aspect of modern life.

On this occasion of the celebration of the 21st anniversary of the founding of the State of Israel, we offer our heartfelt congratulations and express the earnest hope that the people of Israel will soon find the peace they so valiantly seek.

Mr. GIATMO. Mr. Speaker, today Jews throughout the world celebrate the 21st anniversary of the fulfillment of a dream, the establishment of the State of Israel. They are joined by all those who truly cherish the ideals of independence and justice.

This remarkable nation should serve as a reminder to all of us that freedom is neither easily won nor easily kept. To paraphrase the late President Kennedy, there are those who take the idea of freedom for granted. Let them look to Israel.

The dream of a Jewish homeland has survived for centuries. It could not be eradicated by Roman legions, Nazi terror or so-called holy wars. That dream still lives today in the hearts of oppressed people.

What has been done in 21 years is miraculous, Mr. Speaker. A nation built on arid land has become the garden of the Middle East. A nation surrounded by enemies has made friends throughout the world. A nation aided by the charity of others has itself become charitable.

One could write volumes of praise for this new nation and its accomplishments, but the real promise of Israel lies in its future. There is no reason to doubt that Israel could do for the entire Middle East what it has already done within its own borders.

It is absurd, Mr. Speaker, that a nation like Israel sits as an island of plenty in a sea of hunger and poverty. This absurdity is not the fault of the Israelis, for they have consistently expressed their desire to live in an atmosphere of peace which they have been denied for centuries. It is the fault of the neighboring Arab States who have refused to even recognize the right of Israel to exist.

Israel itself, believing that a gap in living standards between prosperous and poor nations is a danger to world peace, has engaged in a wide-ranging program of assistance to other developing countries. Many nations in Africa, for instance, have greatly benefited from such assistance. Considering that Israel is itself a developing nation, this program is impressive and shows a strong desire to help people in need.

Why cannot this assistance go toward improving the lot of every person in the Middle East? Why can certain Arab leaders not turn from their policies of ultra-nationalism and racism and instead help their own people? Why can the people of the Middle East, with help from the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Nations, among others, not settle their differences amicably without resorting to armed force and belligerency?

Why, indeed, can the Middle East, the cradle of civilization, not become a showcase of peace where all nations, whatever their ideology, can exist in a spirit of mutual cooperation and respect?

This is the challenge which faces Israel in the third decade of its existence. Over and over again in the past 21 years, it has shown its will to survive. That will should no longer be questioned by anyone. The Arab States hostile to Israel should admit that Israel exists and has territorial, political, economic, and social integrity.

Only then will all people of the Middle East find peace. Only then will Arab and Jew alike find truth in the ancient prophecy of Isaiah: "And they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall

not lift up sword against nation; neither shall they learn war any more."

Just as a dream of Israel became a reality 21 years ago, so may this prophecy be fulfilled. As we celebrate the past, let us pray for the future.

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, no matter how old he grows, a man remembers with poignant clarity his 21st birthday—his pride at reaching man's estate, his exultation in his youth and vigor with the whole world and a whole lifetime stretching ahead, his for the asking.

That pride and exultation for young men born in this century have, sadly, been clouded with the horrors of wars, of man's inability to live in civilized peace with his fellow man.

As with the individual, so with a nation. Today we salute with pride and affection Israel's 21st birthday, but our happiness is overshadowed by the grim realities of the hour which find these gallant people engaged in the unceasing struggle to safeguard their security.

As with the young men observing their 21st birthday in today's chaotic world, Israel was born in the aftermath of the sufferings and devastation of world war. For 21 years, its people have been fighting two battles. The first is the battle against a cruel and harsh land, almost devoid of resources and wasted through centuries of neglect and mismanagement. The enemies of the Israelis in this first battle were the swamps and the deserts, the rocky hills and desolate valleys, the arid, forbidding country that is their "promised land." The Israelis are winning the fight against the land and the elements, and the land of Israel is becoming again the land of milk and honey described in the Bible. The costs of rebuilding Israel are high, taking their toll in hard work, but the rewards are even higher, the satisfaction of building not only a home but a nation.

The second of the two battles is the continuing confrontation with the Arab States. In this battle, there is no victory because there is no peace. While Israel has won the armed conflicts that have erupted three times in two decades, she has not been able to translate those battlefield victories into conference table victories because her Arab adversaries refuse to negotiate a permanent settlement of the problem. But the Israelis are a persistent people and a people determined to have peace in their land. They have not been dismayed at the absence of progress at the peace table, but have dedicated themselves to finding and securing a lasting and just peace.

There can be no doubt that the people of Israel are entitled to the land and that there should be a state for the descendants of the Hebrews. The only source of challenge to the Israelis right to exist is the Arab bloc; the rest of the world fully recognizes the State of Israel and this includes the Communist nations which champion the cause of the Arabs. The first nation to recognize Israel on May 15, 1948, was the United States of America. Since then this Nation has not relaxed its friendship with Israel and we have not altered our commitment to the people of Israel.

Our cooperation with the Israeli people has extended from technical training to



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new farming methods. Israeli scientists and their American counterparts are working on projects that will help all mankind, not just a few people. In fact, the Israelis have become models for the underdeveloped world, training many young teachers, farmers, and scientists in schools and workshops in Israel and in countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This same spirit of cooperation could exist between the Israelis and the downtrodden people of the Arab countries surrounding Israel if only the leaders of those states would be willing to negotiate a peace treaty.

On this auspicious occasion, as we salute our gallant young ally, let us renew our bonds of friendship, our commitment to establishing a permanent peace.

The remarkable Prime Minister of Israel, Mrs. Golda Meir, who epitomizes the bonds between our two countries, stated in her memorable address on presenting her Cabinet to the Knesset—Parliament—Jerusalem, March 17, 1969:

It has been our fate that while we engrossed ourselves in constructive and creative work in our homeland, we have had to defend our lives and our achievements and take up arms against attackers and aggressors. . . . It has never been our aspiration to win victory in war, but to prevent wars. It has, nevertheless, been demonstrated that when wars have been forced upon us, we have been able to fulfill our task. And there is no doubt in my heart that if a new war is forced upon us again, we shall again be victorious. . . . We will not accept any arrangement that is not true peace. We shall not agree to any "solution" which does not guarantee that this war is the last war. Unfortunately, the Arab rulers have repulsed the outstretched hand. . . . We consented to a ceasefire. The Arab States also agreed to the ceasefire. But only a few days passed before the ceasefire lines became front lines of continuous aggression waged against us by the Arab States. In truth, the war is not yet over. Day in, day out, our sons are falling at their posts. . . . The actions and utterances of the Arab rulers give no promise of approaching tranquility.

The record clearly demonstrates that the basic obstacle to peace has been the continuance and intensification of terrorist activities, supported or condoned by some Arab governments, and the policy embodied in the Khartoum formula—"no negotiations, no recognition, no peace." Terrorist activities violate the cease-fire resolutions, and international law. They are designed to prevent peace, and force another war. And so, the central tasks facing Israel on its 21st birthday are, above all, to safeguard the nation's security and to continue to strive for peace.

I am happy to join today with like-minded colleagues in issuing the following declaration for peace in the Middle East that offers the best hope of protecting the interests and dignity of all the parties involved and permitting them to make a just and balanced peace. May this peace be achieved and may Israel and its neighbors unite in a spirit of friendship and cooperation and build together a region overflowing with milk and honey for all the peoples of the Middle East.

#### DECLARATION FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, APRIL 1969

On the occasion of Israel's 21st birthday, we offer our congratulations to the people of Israel on their progress: the absorption of more than 1,250,000 refugees and immigrants; the reclamation of the land; the development of their economy; the cultivation of arts and sciences; the revival of culture and civilization; the preservation and strengthening of democratic institutions; their constructive co-operation in the international community.

On this 21st anniversary we express our concern that the people of Israel are still denied their right to peace and that they must carry heavy defense burdens which divert human and material resources from productive pursuits.

We deeply regret that Israel's Arab neighbors, after three futile and costly wars, still refuse to negotiate a final peace settlement with Israel.

We believe that the issues which divide Israel and the Arab states can be resolved in the spirit and service of peace, if the leaders of the Arab states would agree to meet with Israelis in face-to-face negotiations. There is no effective substitute for the procedure. The parties to the conflict must be parties to the settlement. We oppose any attempt by outside powers to impose halfway measures not conducive to a permanent peace.

To ensure direct negotiations and to secure a contractual peace settlement, freely and sincerely signed by the parties themselves, the United States should oppose all pressures upon Israel to withdraw prematurely and unconditionally from any of the territories which Israel now administers.

Achieving peace, Israel and the Arab states will be in a position to settle the problems which confront them. Peace will outlaw belligerence, define final boundaries, end boycotts and blockades, curb terrorism, promote disarmament, facilitate refugee resettlement, ensure freedom of navigation through international waterways, and promote economic co-operation in the interests of all people.

The U.N. cease-fire should be obeyed and respected by all nations. The Arab states have an obligation to curb terrorism and to end their attacks on Israel civilians and settlements.

We deplore one-sided U.N. resolutions which ignore Arab violations of the cease fire and which censure Israel's reply and counteraction. Resolutions which condemn those who want peace and which shield those who wage war are a travesty of the U.N. charter and a blow at the peace.

The United States should make it clear to all governments in the Near East that we do not condone a state of war, that we persist in the search for a negotiated and contractual peace, as a major goal of American policy.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, when a person reaches the age of 21, he is said to have reached his majority; he is no longer held back for lack of maturity.

Twenty-one years ago, the independence of the State of Israel was proclaimed, therefore, by analogy, we may say that this once ancient and historic nation, which was reborn in 1948, has now reached maturity. She is a respected member of the family of nations and, what is especially important, it is a part of the free world and our sister democracy—a republic—located in the strategic Middle East.

It is important that we here in the Congress of the United States, take note of this day and express our congratulations and very best wishes to the State of Israel on the occasion of its 21st anniversary as a nation.

When the independence of the State of Israel was declared on May 14, 1948, according to our calendar, President Harry Truman gave official recognition to its rebirth within minutes after its establishment. Over the years the Congress of the United States has also recognized that time has very clearly shown this decision to be sound and in our best interest.

Here, in the Capitol of the United States, and according to our own Declaration of Independence, we maintain that "all men are created equal, and are endowed by their creator with inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

During the past 21 years, the world has seen that out of the desert has been created a new and modern state with a truly tremendous record of impressive achievement. From rocky wastes and barren sands the fondest hopes and deepest yearnings of a people for centuries have been realized in transforming a wilderness into a veritable modern Garden of Eden and a place of sanctuary for over a million homeless, dispossessed, and stateless human beings. Today there are over 2,775,000 people within Israel's borders.

For us, both Christian and Jew, Israel is indeed the holy land, the place where the Ten Commandments were given to man—the locale of the Holy Bible—a very special spot on earth, having a deep spiritual significance for the three major religions of the Western World: Christianity, Judaism, and Mohamadamism.

Notwithstanding the fact that it was in Israel where the law of love was announced, that country has been the scene of bloody strife between its inhabitants and its far larger and more numerous Arab neighbors. I view with deep concern the Russian Communist rearming of the Arab countries and encouraging them to again attack democratic Israel. It seems obvious that the Reds want to foster their brand of totalitarianism in that part of the world and obtain control over the rich petroleum resources in the Middle East. It, therefore, becomes quite clear that the concern of the United States and of the entire free world should be for a strong Israel as a bastion of democracy and a bulwark to the Communists in this strategic area.

It is a matter of grave concern and alarm to us that the Arab countries have escalated the frequency of their aggressive attacks against Israel. There is no doubt that this is an explosive situation, but not one devoid of hope. I join those who look for peace and understanding among the citizens of Israel and the Arab States, for a way must be found to guarantee the integrity and the continued existence of the state of Israel, and America can and should play an important role in achieving this goal.

On this day marking the majority as the 21st anniversary of the state of Israel, I extend to the citizens of this state my heartiest congratulations and best wishes for peace and continued progress and service to all mankind. Israel has proven her ability to develop and govern

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as a free and democratic state in the face of impossible conditions and the right to do so must never be denied her.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The Speaker, in many societies, when a boy reaches the age of 21 he is considered a man, and is then entitled to all the privileges of manhood and is bound to all the duties of a mature individual. But in some countries, boys become men at an earlier age. Because of the conditions in which they live, some men mature very quickly and must perform like men even though they may not have reached the chronological age of majority.

Such are the men of Israel, who have been protecting and building the nation of Israel and assuming all the functions and duties of men long before their 21 birthdays.

This year the nation of Israel will also be 21 years old, but that does not mean that this is the first time that the State of Israel will be old enough to carry the full burden of nationhood. For Israel, in the very first moments of its birth, was already engaged in a battle for its life and was already a respected member of the community of nations. Israel, at the moment of its proclamation as a state, already had in its past an experience that most nations live thousands of years to achieve.

On the day it was born in 1948, Israel was already the oldest nation on earth with a full record of achievement in the arts and humanities, in politics, economics, religion and social development, and in battle. Israel is indeed unique: It is a nation celebrating this year its 21st anniversary but it is a nation with 4,000 years of history.

In those 21 years, the Israelis have amassed an impressive array of statistics reflecting their growth and progress, but often statistics do not tell the whole story. For example, there have been over 500 villages founded since the Zionist movement began to build new towns to house the returning Jews, but there is no way to measure the work, the toil, the sweat, the weary muscles that went into the construction of those 500 villages. There is no record of the long nights of guard duty after a day in the fields watching for the Arab terrorists who planted bombs in the roads where the school buses travel. There is no way to account for the grief of the Israelis who lost a loved one or a friend to the sniper's bullet.

A walk through an Israeli village tells the visitor nothing of the personal histories of these valiant people. There is no way to see the marks of the Nazi tortures for those few who lived through the days of the Hitler holocaust, or to read the effects of an accumulation of persecution suffered in the ghetto of a Middle Eastern or North African country. One might detect the remnant of a European accent or see the contrasting colors of blue-eyed Scandinavians and dark-eyed Moroccans, but these clues to the past are as few as the evidence of the current devotion to God and country are many.

With a little imagination, one can taste in the sweetness of a Jaffa orange a little of the hard work that went into its growing. And one can feel the pride

of a people who are not ashamed of their love for their country or their love for their fellow man.

The record of the Israel defense forces in the three wars fought by this brave land in the two decades since its rebirth tell of military maneuvers and of planes downed and tanks destroyed, but it does not tell of the women and men of Israel who led those charges against overwhelming odds. In Israel, there is a very simple rule in battle: it is "follow me." In a nation where every square inch is the frontline, there are no secure areas where commanders sit in safety and direct the soldiers. In Israel, all the people are frontline soldiers and all share the bittersweet rewards of victory.

But despite the 10-percent growth rate of the economy or the trade relations with 100 nations of the world, the Israelis still seek the one condition that has eluded the since they began to return to the land of their fathers some 70 years ago. The green farmlands in the midst of the desert or the industries of the cities do not hold the missing element. The work of Israel farmers or the efforts of Israel diplomats have not been able to create that which they all have sought these 20 years—the Israelis want peace. The elusive peace they seek is no more present today than it was on May 15, 1948, when the nation was founded amid the barrage of battle.

Recent tensions in the area have made it clear that the Arab nations are abetting the actions of the Fadayeen commandos who raid the Israel settlements and bomb Israel roads. The President of the United Arab Republic and the King of Jordan have said that they are in agreement with the terrorists who are continuing their war against the people of Israel through stealth and insurgency. The expansion of the guerrilla war by the Arabs to the airline terminals of neutral nations poses a real threat to the peace and security of the world. And while the guerrilla fighters continue their war against the innocent civilians of Israel, the Arab diplomats continue their intransigent denial of Israeli existence. Perhaps the Arab leaders find in their consistent denial of the reality of Israel a compensation for their own failures and shortcomings.

If the impressive expansion of the State of Israel was accomplished under the strained conditions of a constant state of war, think what the Israeli people could have done in an era of peace. The greatest tragedy of the Arab-Israel dispute may be the lost opportunities to develop even further the Israeli society. Israel is a prime example of nationbuilding and a model for many emerging and developing nations in Latin America, Asia, and Africa. The Israeli foreign assistance program has been very successful in teaching young students from other nations how they can improve their own countries while still retaining their much-prized independence.

Perhaps the single greatest attribute of the Israeli nation is the innovative spirit of the people. Scientists and engineers created the National Water Carrier, which pipes vital water from the north of the country to the arid southern area of the Negev Desert, where a vast ir-

rigation scheme is converting the wasteland into productive farms and orchards. Israeli builders are now working on the petroleum pipeline between Eilat and the Mediterranean city of Ashdod. When completed, the pipeline will carry as much oil as was sent through the Suez Canal before June 1967. Israeli hydrologists and physicists are engaged in desalination projects which use fossil fuel, solar energy, and atomic energy, and their work has recently produced several breakthroughs in this crucial field. They are sharing their findings with other arid and semi-arid nations in the hope that the increase in food production will be able to alleviate the hunger of many less-developed countries.

In these cases, and many others, the Israelis have sought out new and fresh approaches to the problems that plague mankind. Not content to take "no" for an answer, the Israelis have devised methods and systems which other men have said were doomed to failure. The Israelis apparently have little respect for the impossible task; to them the impossible does not exist. Witness the inspiring victories of the Israel Defense Forces against armies of superior numbers, more modern weaponry, and strategic advantage.

In an age when the world is challenged at every hand by forces of change and the destructive negativism of the radicals, it is heartening to see one nation that still clings to the very basic tenets of hard work and fairplay. In Israel, there is no time to be disruptive or rebellious, there is too much work to be done. The Israelis are building a nation and all of its citizens are cooperating in the process. Young and old, farmers and statesmen, men and women; all share in the work and all share in the rewards. Israel remains the democratic oasis in a desert of dictators and it continues to show the rest of the world that the old values have not lost their meaning or their application in the current world.

The United States is proud that the nation of Israel is our friend, and it is with the warmest expressions of that friendship that we join with the free world in wishing the people of Israel continued success and future long life. On this occasion of the 21st anniversary of the founding of the modern State of Israel, we offer our congratulations and add our most earnest desire that the nation of Israel will soon find the peace that it so earnestly sought.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may be permitted to revise and extend their remarks and include therein extraneous material on the 21st anniversary of the establishment of the State of Israel, following the remarks of the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. McCormack).

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

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Mr. CUNNINGHAM (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for today, and the balance of the week, on account of official business.

Mr. TALCOTT (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for today, and the balance of the week, on account of official business.

#### SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. HALPERN (at the request of Mr. McKNEALLY), for 10 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. BUCHANAN (at the request of Mr. McKNEALLY), for 1 hour, on May 7; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania (at the request of Mr. OBEY), for 10 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. BLATNIK (at the request of Mr. OBEY), for 30 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. KEE.

Mr. GRAY in two instances.

Mr. RYAN during general debate on H.R. 514 on the Collins amendment.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. McKNEALLY) to extend their remarks and include extraneous matter:)

Mr. PETTIS.

Mr. ASHBROOK.

Mr. SCHADEBERG.

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin.

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts in two instances.

Mr. WIDNALL in two instances.

Mr. PELLY in two instances.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio.

Mr. MINSHALL.

Mr. SNYDER.

Mr. WYMAN in two instances.

Mr. HALL.

Mr. MATHIAS.

Mr. SKUBITZ.

Mr. LANDGREBE.

Mr. CARTER.

Mr. REID of New York.

Mr. WOLD.

Mr. TALCOTT.

Mr. LUKENS.

Mr. DENNEY.

Mr. BROWN of Michigan.

Mr. GROVER.

Mr. McCLOSKEY.

Mr. BROCK.

Mr. MORTON in two instances.

Mr. BUCHANAN.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. OBEY) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. EILBERG.

Mr. CAREY in two instances.

Mr. GALLAGHER in two instances.

Mr. RARICK in four instances.

Mr. ABBITT.

Mr. FISHER in two instances.

Mr. BOLAND.

Mr. ROSENTHAL in five instances.

Mr. ALEXANDER in two instances.

Mr. CLAY in six instances.

Mr. FASCELL in two instances.

Mr. PIKE.

Mr. ADDABBO in two instances.

Mr. BROWN of California in four instances.

Mr. SHIPLEY.

Mr. BURLISON of Missouri in two instances.

Mr. OTTINGER.

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas in six instances.

Mr. HANNA in four instances.

Mr. GRIFFIN.

Mr. DENT.

Mr. SISK in two instances.

Mr. HOWARD in two instances.

Mr. ST. ONGE in two instances.

Mr. HUNGATE.

Mr. MOORHEAD in three instances.

Mr. RYAN in three instances.

Mr. PHILBIN.

Mr. DINGELL.

Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey.

Mr. PODELL in three instances.

Mr. JOHNSON of California.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN.

Mr. STUCKEY.

Mr. GONZALEZ in three instances.

#### ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

Mr. FRIEDEL, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a bill of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 3832. An act to amend title 10, United States Code, to provide the grade of general for the Assistant Commandant of the Marine Corps when the total active duty strength of the Marine Corps exceeds 200,000.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 6 o'clock and 24 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, April 24, 1969, at 12 o'clock noon.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

698. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the need for improved administration and increased effectiveness in economic opportunity loan program, Small Business Administration; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

699. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the opportunity to use excess foreign currencies to pay transportation expenses of returning Peace Corps volunteers; to the Committee on Government Operations.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk

for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. ABBITT: Committee on House Administration. H. Res. 364. Resolution dismissing the election contest in the Fifth Congressional District of the State of Georgia (Rept. No. 91-157). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey: Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. H.R. 9825. A bill to amend subchapter III of chapter 83 of title 5, United States Code, relating to civil service retirement, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 91-158). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. MILLS: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 2718. A bill to extend for an additional temporary period the existing suspension of duties on certain classifications of yarn of silk, with amendment (Rept. No. 91-159). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. BOGGS: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 8644. A bill to make permanent the existing temporary suspension of duty on crude chicory roots (Rept. No. 91-160). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 10015. A bill to extend until July 15, 1971, the suspension of duty on electrodes of use in producing aluminum, with amendment (Rept. No. 91-161). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. MILLS: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 10107. A bill to continue for a temporary period the existing suspension of duty on certain steel (Rept. No. 91-162). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

#### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ANNUNZIO (for himself and Mr. GONZALEZ):

H.R. 10450. A bill to provide for the more efficient development and improved management of national forest commercial timberlands, to establish a high-timber-yield fund, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. REVILL:

H.R. 10451. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to establish orderly procedures for the consideration of applications for renewal of broadcast licenses; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BURTON of California:

H.R. 10452. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a deduction for expenses incurred by a taxpayer in making repairs and improvements to his residence, and to allow the owner of rental housing to amortize at an accelerated rate the cost of rehabilitating or restoring such housing; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BURTON of Utah:

H.R. 10453. A bill to provide for the more efficient development and improved management of national forest commercial timberlands, to establish a high-timber-yield fund, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. CEDERBERG (for himself, Mr. HUTCHINSON, Mr. HARVEY, Mr. RUPPE, Mr. McDONALD of Michigan, Mr. BROWN of Michigan, and Mr. VANDER JAGT):

H.R. 10454. A bill to provide for orderly trade in iron and steel mill products; to the Committee on Ways and Means.





United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 91<sup>st</sup> CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

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No. 63

## Senate

The Senate was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Tuesday, April 22, 1969, at 12 o'clock meridian.

## House of Representatives

MONDAY, APRIL 21, 1969

The House met at 12 o'clock noon. The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

*The Lord thy God bless thee in all the work of thine hand which thou doest.—Deuteronomy 14: 29.*

O Lord, our God, whose glory is in all the world and whose goodness shines in all that is fair, we commit ourselves and our country to Thy merciful care: that being guided by Thy spirit we may learn to dwell together in Thy peace and to live by Thy laws.

Grant that the work of this day may be in accordance with Thy will. Give to us health of body, clarity of mind and strength of spirit that we may do what we have to do with all our hearts.

Deliver us from the fear that destroys, from the futility that deadens, and from the frustration that discourages us. Do Thou help us to work to make our dreams come true and to dream to make our work worth doing.

Keep our Nation strong in Thee. Let us walk and work together humbly and in all good will that in faith and freedom Thy glory shall be revealed in every effort we make to share in the work of the world: through Jesus Christ by whose life we have been redeemed. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, April 17, 1969, was read and approved.

### MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries.

### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced

that the Senate had passed without amendment a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 10158. An act to provide mail service for Mamie Doud Eisenhower, widow of former President Dwight David Eisenhower.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 265. An act for the relief of John (Giovanni) Denaro;

S. 1531. An act for the relief of Chi Jen Feng; and

S. 1625. An act for the relief of Gong Sing Hom.

### COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY—REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO SIT

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on the Judiciary may have permission to sit during general debate Tuesday, April 22.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, has the gentleman cleared this with the ranking minority member of the committee? If so, he has not communicated with me.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. I have not communicated with him. However, this comes under an understanding that was had that the committee would again resume its executive session in connection with the electoral college. That is the matter before us.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I am in full accord with affirmative action in this important area, but I think it is wise that we always assume when a request is made that there has been no problem about clearing it with the ranking minority member. I would respectfully request that the gentleman defer this until at

least I have been notified that there is no problem as far as our ranking Republican member is concerned.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. I do not know if he has any objection.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I have to be sure and positive.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Here is Mr. POFF now.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. And I think it is good policy that we know in advance that we have had this cleared. Therefore I would respectfully request that the gentleman defer his request.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. I will withdraw my request for the time being, Mr. Speaker.

### REPRESENTATIVE FRIEDEL INTRODUCES BILL AIMED AT FOSTERING COMPETITION IN FREIGHT TRANSPORTATION

(Mr. FRIEDEL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today a bill—aimed at fostering competition in freight transportation and thereby easing the grave national small shipment problem—to amend part I of the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended, to authorize railroads to publish rates for use by common carriers.

Among common carriers, we have freight forwarders, railway express companies, and motor carriers who are intended to serve the small shipment public. To a large extent inequities in present law have inhibited constructive competition for this business and service has badly deteriorated.

This bill will permit railroads to publish reduced rates, that reflect economies resulting from efficient collection, consolidation, and distribution, for shipments directed to railroads for line haul carriage by other common carriers.

H 2809

April 21, 1969

Resultant economies should benefit small shipment senders and receivers and thereby serve the national interest.

ME

#### PELLY URGES INVESTIGATION OF PRO-ARAB EXTREMIST GROUPS IN UNITED STATES

(Mr. PELLY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I am concerned about what is said to be the growth of extremist hate groups in the United States and this, it appears to me, deserves investigation by Congress.

In the 90th Congress, the House Internal Security Committee issued an excellent report on the Ku Klux Klan which was prepared after an extensive investigation. It seems to me that in light of recent activities by some extremist groups in this country in support of the Arab guerrilla attacks on Israel, a similar investigation by the Internal Security Committee is called for.

According to information which appeared in the New York Times, these extremist groups are mobilized throughout our country. For example, in Detroit, a drive on behalf of the Al Fatah is being conducted by the Wayne State University chapter of the Organization of Arab Students, described as "sometimes in concert with the youth group of the Trotskyite Social Workers Party." In Philadelphia, the militant Labor Forum, an arm of the Socialist Workers Party, sponsored a pro-Arab, pro-Fatah program, on March 14. The same thing has occurred in New York City where it is reported that Al Fatah guerrillas received substantial and favorable treatment in the official publication of the Black Panther Party and a periodical of the Black Muslim movement.

Mr. Speaker, Americans deserve to know the full implications of such extremist support in their country for such a group as the Al Fatah which is admittedly and continually causing death and destruction to the peoples of Israel. In the interest of peace in the Middle East, I urge an investigation as soon as possible so that the public can learn the truth about cooperation between U.S. extremist elements and the Al Fatah.

#### PRESIDENT'S DECISION TO INSURE FUTURE U.S. RECONNAISSANCE FLIGHTS ADEQUATE PROTECTION

(Mr. BUSH asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, I heartily concur with the President's decision to see that future U.S. reconnaissance flights receive adequate protection. Timidity in responding to such unprovoked, criminal action in not consistent with American tradition. The President's action thus seems a clear affirmation that we will not be blackmailed into terminating these flights.

As the evidence clearly shows, the North Korean downing of our plane was a deliberate attack upon a plane flying in international air space. Because the danger of similar future attacks on Ameri-

can planes does exist, I think the President's recourse is a vitally necessary one.

It is imperative that we afford our men this protection that President Nixon has advocated so that senseless and unnecessary sacrifice of American lives can be avoided in the future.

The President has indicated through protecting our flights, that future aggression against our flights will meet with retaliation. This is as it should be. It is tough to conclude that the outrageous North Korean leaders responsible for this murderous attack understand anything but force.

#### PRESIDENT NIXON'S RESTRAINT DURING PLANE INCIDENT LAUDED

(Mr. BROWN of Ohio asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this occasion to express my full approval of the way President Nixon has handled the piratical action of North Korea in shooting down an unarmed American reconnaissance plane over international waters last Monday, killing 31 crewmen. The President has responded with calm, reasoned restraint in the face of this new example of aggression by a country which has long flouted international law. He has won the support of foreign governments and Members on both sides of the aisle in this body.

The President said at his news conference last Friday that reconnaissance flights of the type taken by the ill-fated EC121 had been going on for 20 years. Such flights are vital to our national defense interests. Every diplomat or military commander wants all the intelligence he can get and in this critical time, the flights should be continued. But American men in uniform cannot continue to be subject to the mortal risks of such irresponsible harassment. The President wisely decided such flights must be continued under the protection of units of the American Pacific Fleet which he has ordered into the Sea of Japan.

Mr. Speaker, the President called North Korea a bandit nation which was controlled neither by Communist China nor the Soviet Union. That country's action in shooting down a unarmed American plane 100 miles at sea was an irresponsible outrage which no nation adhering to the basic tenets of international law could support. Let us hope that by placing North Korea on notice that any future acts of aggression against American forces operating in international waters or airspace will not go unanswered. Hopefully, those with rational common-sense will prevail over the hotter heads in Pyongyang and see that North Korea adopts a manner of conduct consistent with civilized practices. Otherwise, America will be required to defend itself and every peace-loving nation in the world will sympathize with that grim necessity.

#### PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE TO SIT DURING GENERAL DEBATE TODAY

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee

on Interstate and Foreign Commerce may be permitted to sit during general debate today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

The SPEAKER. The Chair lays before the House a message from the President of the United States.

#### CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 38]

Anderson, Ill.	Frelinghuysen	Nix
Anderson, Tenn.	Fulton, Tenn.	Ottinger
Annunzio	Gallifanakis	Patman
Ashbrook	Gallagher	Podell
Ashley	Gray	Powell
Baring	Green, Pa.	Purcell
Barrett	Griffiths	Quie
Bates	Halpern	Reid, N.Y.
Bell, Calif.	Harsha	Ronan
Bingham	Hébert	Rooney, Pa.
Blatnik	Jarman	Rosenthal
Boggs	Jonas	Rostenkowski
Brasco	Kartha	Roudebush
Brock	Kirwan	Rumsfeld
Brooks	Landrum	St. Onge
Brotzman	Leggett	Sandman
Brown, Calif.	Long, La.	Scheuer
Byrne, Pa.	Long, Md.	Sikes
Cahill	Lowenstein	Sullivan
Casey	McClory	Symington
Celler	McCloskey	Teague, Calif.
Chisholm	Macdonald,	Teague, Tex.
Ciancy	Mass.	Thompson, Ga.
Cowger	MacGregor	Tunney
Davis, Ga.	Mahon	Ullman
Dawson	Martin	Vanik
Delaney	May	Watkins
Dwyer	Mayne	Watson
Eckhardt	Meskill	Watts
Edwards, La.	Mikva	Whalley
Fallon	Mollohan	Widnall
Fish	Monagan	Wilson, Bob
Flood	Morse	Wilson,
Flynt	Morton	Charles H.
Foley	Moss	Wydler
	Murphy, N.Y.	Zwach

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 327 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

#### REFORM OF OUR FEDERAL INCOME TAX SYSTEM—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 91-103)

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the message from the President of the United States.

The following message from the President of the United States was read and referred to the Committee on Ways and Means and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

Reform of our Federal income tax system is long overdue. Special preferences in the law permit far too many Americans to pay less than their fair share of

S 3382

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

April 18, 1969

Dangerous Drug Control and Addict Rehabilitation Act of 1969."

(18) Section 7651 of title 26, United States Code, is amended by deleting the words "except as otherwise provided in this subchapter and in sections 4705(b), 4735, and 4762 (relating to taxes on narcotic drugs and marihuana)."

(19) Section 7655 of title 26, United States Code, is amended by striking out subsections and (4).

(20) Section 7609 of title 26, United States Code, is amended by striking out subsections (a) (3) and (a) (4) and renumbering (5) and (6) as (3) and (4).

(21) Section 7641 and title 26, United States Code, is amended by striking out the words "opium suitable for smoking purposes."

(22) Section 2901(a) of title 28, United States Code, is amended by striking out the words "section 4731 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, as amended," and substituting "the Omnibus Narcotic and Dangerous Drug Control and Addict Rehabilitation Act of 1969".

(23) Section 3 of the Act of August 7, 1939, (title 31, section 529d), is amended by striking out the words "or the Commissioner of Narcotics, as the case may be."

(24) Section 4 of the Act of August 7, 1939, (title 31, section 529e) is amended by striking out the words "or narcotics" and "or narcotic".

(25) Section 5 of the Act of August 7, 1939, (title 31, section 529f) is amended by striking out the words "or narcotics".

(26) Section 308(c) (2) of the Act of August 27, 1935 (title 40, section 304(m)) is amended by striking out the words "as defined in section 171 of title 21," and substituting "Omnibus Narcotic and Dangerous Drug Control and Addict Rehabilitation Act of 1969".

(27) Section 302(a) of the Act of July 1, 1944 (title 42, section 242(a)) as amended by striking out the words "Narcotic Drugs Import and Export Act" and substituting "Omnibus Narcotic and Dangerous Drug Control and Addict Rehabilitation Act of 1969".

(28) Section 301(a) of the Act of November 8, 1966 (title 42, section 3411) is amended by striking out the words "section 4731 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954" and substituting "the Omnibus Narcotic and Dangerous Drug Control and Addict Rehabilitation Act of 1969".

(29) Section 1(a) of the Act of July 15, 1954 (title 46, section 239a) is amended by striking out the words "paragraph (a) of the first section of the Narcotic Drugs Import and Export Act, as amended, 21 U.S.C., section 171(a)" and substituting "the Omnibus Narcotic and Dangerous Drug Control and Addict Rehabilitation Act of 1969"; and by striking out the words "section 3238(b) of the Internal Revenue Code" and substituting "the Omnibus Narcotic and Dangerous Drug Control and Addict Rehabilitation Act of 1969".

(30) Section 7(d) of the Act of August 9, 1939 (title 49, section 787) is amended by striking out the words "Narcotic Drugs Import and Export Act, the internal revenue laws or any amendments thereof, or the regulations issued thereunder," and substituting "Omnibus Narcotic and Dangerous Drug Control and Addict Rehabilitation Act of 1969"; and striking out the words "Marihuana Tax Act of 1937 or the regulations issued thereunder" and substituting "Omnibus Narcotic and Dangerous Drug Control and Addict Rehabilitation Act of 1969".

#### U.S. POLICY IN THE MIDEAST

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the Big Four conference on the Middle East, now in progress in New York, constitutes a

very serious threat to the vital interests of America's only ally in that area, the State of Israel. I rise today to call upon the President and the Secretary of State of the United States to resist proposed "compromises" that would serve only to compromise Israel's vital interests, and with them our own.

Two of the participants in the present conference, France and the Soviet Union, are openly hostile to Israel and have repeatedly demanded that it submit itself to a return of the intolerable conditions that existed prior to the 6-day war of 1967. A third participant, Great Britain, appears eager to achieve "peace at any price" in the Middle East—but the price would have to be paid by Israel. Only the United States among the Big Four can prevent the kind of sellout that the Government and people of Israel so justifiably fear will be the bitter fruits of current negotiations. And sellout there will be if President Nixon and Secretary Rogers permit the traditional pro-Arab interests in the State Department to seize the initiative in New York.

Let us be very clear about the basic facts of the situation. First of all, as I have already stated, Israel is America's only ally in the Middle East. The Arab States are either open clients of the Soviet Union—as they were of Nazi Germany during World War II—or else they are available as clients to the highest bidder. Israel alone is fully a democracy, fully committed to the ideals of Western civilization, and unwilling to sell its birthright for a mess of armaments and oil contracts.

Second, Mr. President, Israel is the one ally we have outside Western Europe that can stand on its own feet economically and militarily in the face of threats from its own neighbors. That is an immensely sobering fact when we consider the price we have paid for such other allies as South Korea and South Vietnam. For us now to join its enemies in forcing Israel into a position where it would no longer be able to defend itself against a renewed onslaught by Soviet-armed Arab forces, would be a blunder of colossal proportions. It would be a Munich all over again. And we, like the British and French of three decades ago, would find ourselves faced with the impossible choice of either allowing a faithful ally to be overwhelmed by an aggressor or having to commit our own blood and treasure to the defense of what we ourselves had rendered indefensible.

The third basic fact we must confront is that America's own vital interests are at stake today in the Middle East. The destruction of Israel—the professed goal of the Arab States for the past 22 years—would be a disaster for America second only to the collapse of Western Europe.

To understand this fully, we need first to recognize just how dangerous the present situation really is—how close that tormented region is to a renewal of full-scale fighting. I do not say, "how close to being at war," for, of course, the Middle East is at war. Arab terrorists declared war on Israel over a year ago, and have had time and money to turn 10,000 irregulars, in four terrorist organizations, into a fighting force which actually does

make war on Israel. They have bases in Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon, they openly proclaim their deeds—even to the point of falsely but monstrosly claiming credit for the death of Israel's late, great Premier Levi Eshkol—and ceaselessly proclaim their intent "to dismember Israel as a state."

I repeat, Mr. President, they want "to dismember Israel as a state." Those are the words of the man who calls himself Abu Amar, the leader of the terrorist group, Al Fatah. He spoke them in an interview with the official Cairo newspaper El Ahram, and went on to say that Israel has a "racial character" which is "Fascist" and "must be removed."

To be sure, far more savage threats have been hurled against Israel over the years, not alone by terrorists but by the heads of Arab States. But what lends special menace to the words of terrorists is that, unlike the legitimate and politically responsible leaders of nations, such as President Nasser and King Hussein, who can never ignore the military realities that confront them, terrorist leaders can indulge in virtually any act of provocation so long as it promises at least a propaganda payoff. So, for example, when the terrorist attack on an Israeli commercial airliner in Athens was answered by a surgically clean Israel retaliatory raid against the home base of the attackers, the United Nations promptly, and hypocritically, condemned Israel, to the general applause of that portion of world public opinion which is notable more for its sanctimony than for its logic. And a subsequent terrorist attack on an Israel plane in Switzerland met with no response at all, either from the United Nations, which prefers to look the other way in such cases, or by Israel itself, which was under enormous pressure from Washington and London to "show restraint."

The point I wish to make is that while Arab government leaders can be expected to be effectively deterred from attacking Israel so long as Israel maintains its present military superiority, terrorist organizations operate under no such calculable constraints. They are free to perpetuate outrage after outrage with fear of no greater penalty than the possible loss of a few lives—a loss which, in their view, is amply repaid by the propaganda triumph it invariably brings.

But how long, Mr. President, can we expect Israel—or any other state—to tolerate the intolerable? How long can we expect this brave and vigorous nation to submit to having war waged against it and refrain from striking back in the only way that can bring the conflict to a successful and definitive conclusion? Arab governments are either unwilling or unable to halt terrorist activities within their own borders. I suspect it is more a case of inability than of unwillingness, but even if true, that is cold comfort to the beleaguered people of Israel. Sooner or later they are going to have to strike down terrorism at its source—within the protective confines of Arab State borders. And thus full-scale fighting will once again engulf the whole unhappy region.



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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

S 3881

If the Board of Parole finds that there are reasonable grounds to believe that such prisoner may benefit from the treatment provided under the Federal Youth Corrections Act (18 U.S.C., ch. 402), it may place such prisoner in the custody of the Youth Corrections Division of the Board of Parole for treatment and supervision pursuant to the provisions of the Federal Youth Corrections Act. Action taken by the Board of Parole under this section shall not cause any prisoner to serve a longer term than would be served under his original sentence.

## REHABILITATED ADDICTS

SEC. 827. In accordance with the requirements of this title an addict committed pursuant to section 807(a) may at the expiration of twelve months from the date of his final discharge petition the district court within the jurisdiction and venue of his conviction to set aside his conviction. If the court grants the petition, the petitioner shall be deemed not convicted of a crime for any purpose including disqualification or disabilities imposed by law for the conviction of a crime, additional penalties imposed for second and subsequent convictions under Federal or State statutes. A petitioner under this section although he may apply more than once, may only have one adjudication setting aside his conviction.

SEC. 828. In considering the petition under section 827, the District Court shall review the entire record of the petitioner, including his medical record and as a condition precedent to granting a petition under this section shall find as a fact that the petitioner is no longer an addict. This procedure shall be conducted in an informal manner and the petitioner has the burden of proving by a preponderance of evidence that he is no longer an addict.

## COOPERATION WITH STATE AND LOCAL OFFICIALS

SEC. 829. The Surgeon General and the Attorney General are authorized to give representatives of States and local subdivisions thereof the benefit of their experience in the care, treatment, and rehabilitation of narcotic addicts so that each State may be encouraged to provide adequate facilities and personnel for the care and treatment of narcotic addicts in its jurisdiction.

## TITLE IX—MISCELLANEOUS

## PENDING PROCEEDINGS

SEC. 901. (a) Prosecutions for any violation of law occurring prior to the effective date of this Act shall not be affected by these repealers or amendments, or abated by reason thereof.

(b) Civil seizures or forfeitures and injunctive proceedings commenced prior to the effective date of this Act shall not be affected by these repealers or amendments, or abated by reason thereof.

(c) All administrative proceedings, except those placing drugs under control pending before the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs on the effective date of this enactment shall be continued and brought to final determination in accord with laws and regulations in effect prior to the date of this enactment.

(d) The provisions of this Act shall be applicable to violations of law seizures and forfeitures injunctive proceedings administrative proceedings and investigations which occur following its effective date.

## CONTINUATION OF REGULATIONS

SEC. 902. Any orders, rules, and regulations which have been promulgated under any law affected by this Act and which are in effect on the day preceding enactment of this title shall continue in effect until modified, superseded or repealed by the Attorney General.

## SEVERABILITY

SEC. 903. If a provision of this Act is held invalid all valid provisions that are severable shall remain in effect. If a provision of this Act is held invalid in one or more of its

applications the provision shall remain in effect in all its valid applications that are severable.

## AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 904. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

## EFFECTIVE DATE

SEC. 905. This Act shall take effect on the one hundred and eightieth day following the date of its enactment.

## REPEALERS

SEC. 906. (a) The following laws or provisions of law are hereby repealed:

(1) Sections 1 and 3 of the Act of February 23, 1887, as amended (title 21, sections 191 through 193);

(2) Act of February 9, 1909, as amended (title 21, sections 171, 173, 174 through 184, 185);

(3) Section 1 of the Act of March 28, 1928, as amended (title 31, section 529a);

(4) Section 6 of the Act of June 14, 1930 (title 21, section 173a);

(5) Sections 7 and 8 of the Act of June 14, 1930, as amended (title 21, sections 197, 198);

(6) Act of July 3, 1930 (title 21, section 199);

(7) Section 6 of the Act of August 7, 1930 (title 31, section 529g);

(8) Act of December 11, 1942, as amended (title 21, sections 188 through 188n);

(9) Sections 4701 through 4776 of title 26, United States Code;

(10) Sections 7237 and 7238 of title 26, United States Code;

(11) Section 7491 of title 26, United States Code;

(12) Sections 1 through 3 of the Act of August 11, 1956 (title 21, sections 198a through c);

(13) Section 15 of the Act of August 1, 1956 (title 48, section 1421m);

(14) Section 1 of the Act of July 18, 1956, as amended (title 21, section 184a);

(15) Act of April 22, 1960 (title 21, sections 501 through 517);

(16) Section 3 of the Act of July 15, 1965, as amended (title 21, sections 321(v), 360a);

(17) Section 5 of the Act of July 15, 1965, as amended (title 21, section 331(q));

(18) Sections 2901 through 2906 of title 28, United States Code;

(19) Sections 4251 through 4255 of title 18, United States Code;

(20) Sections 301 through 316 of the Act of Nov. 8, 1966 (title 42, sections 3401 through 3426);

(21) Sections 401 and 402 of the Act of Nov. 8, 1966 (title 42, sections 3441 and 3442);

(22) Section 502 of the Act of Nov. 8, 1966, 80 Stat. 1449;

(23) Section 603 of the Act of Nov. 8, 1966, 80 Stat. 1449;

(24) Sections 1401 through 1407 of title 18, United States Code;

(25) Section 3616 of title 18, United States Code.

(b) However, no rights and duties which matured, penalties which were incurred and proceedings which were begun before the effective date of this Act shall be prejudiced because of the repeal of the above Acts.

## CONFORMING AMENDMENTS

SEC. 907. (1) Section 1114 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking out "the Bureau of Narcotics" and inserting "the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs".

(2) Section 1952 of title 18 of the United States Code is amended by—

(1) inserting in subsection (b) (1) the words "dangerous drugs," immediately following the word "narcotics";

(2) striking subsection (c) and substituting the following new section:

"(c) Investigation of violations under this

Section involving liquor shall be conducted under the supervision of the Secretary of the Treasury. Investigation of violations under sections involving narcotics and dangerous drugs shall be conducted under the supervision of the Attorney General."

(3) Section 4251(a) of title 18 of the United States Code is amended by striking out the words "section 4731 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, as amended," and substituting "the Omnibus Narcotic and Dangerous Drug Control and Addict Rehabilitation Act of 1969".

(4) Section 584 of the Act of June 17, 1930, as amended (title 19, section 1584), is amended by striking out the last sentence of the second paragraph and substituting the following new sentence: "The words opiate and marihuana as used in this paragraph shall have the same meaning as defined in the Omnibus Narcotic and Dangerous Drug Control and Addict Rehabilitation Act of 1969."

(5) Section (a) of section 7 of the Act of July 15, 1965 (title 21, section 333), is amended by deleting all words and marks beginning with "Provided, however . . ." after the word "fine" and inserting in lieu thereof a period.

(6) Section 6(a) of the Act of July 15, 1965 (title 21, section 334(a)), is amended by striking out subsections 2(A), and 2(D) and the words "of such a depressant or stimulant drug or" in subsection 2(C) and relettering (B), (C), and (E) as (A), (B), and (C).

(7) Section 6(b) of the Act of July 15, 1965 (title 21, section 334(d)(3)(iii)), is amended by striking out in subsection (3) (iii) the words "depressant or stimulant drugs or".

(8) Section 4 of the Act of July 15, 1965 (title 21, section 360), is amended by striking out subsections (a) (2), (b), (c), (d) and renumbering subsection (a) (3), (a) (4), (a) (5), (a) (6), and (a) (7) as (a) (2), (a) (3), (a) (4), (a) (5), and (a) (6).

(9) Section 8 of the Act of July 15, 1965, (title 21, section 372(e)), is amended by striking out the words "to depressant or stimulant drugs or".

(10) Section 801(a) of the Act of June 25, 1938, as amended, (Title 21, section 381(a)) is amended by striking out the words "section 173 of this title" and substituting "the Omnibus Narcotic and Dangerous Drug Control and Addict Rehabilitation Act of 1969".

(11) Section 4901(a) of title 26, United States Code, is amended by deleting the words "4721 (narcotic drugs), or 4751 (marihuana)" and by inserting the word "or" before the number "4461".

(12) Section 4905(b) of title 26, United States Code, is amended by deleting the words "narcotics, marihuana," and "4722, 4753".

(13) Section 6808 of title 26, United States Code, is amended by striking out subsection (8) and renumbering subsections (9), (10), (11), (12), and (13), as (8), (9), (10), (11), and (12).

(14) Section 7012 of title 26, United States Code, is amended by striking out subsections (a) and (b) and renumbering (c), (d), (e), (f), (g), (h), (i), and (j) as (a), (b), (c), (d), (e), (f), (g), and (h).

(15) Section 7103 of title 26, United States Code, is amended by striking out subsection (d) (3) (D) and renumbering (E) and (F) as (D) and (E).

(16) Section 7328 of title 26, United States Code, is amended by striking out subsection (b) and relettering (c) as (b).

(17) Section 7607 of title 26, United States Code, is amended by deleting all words prior to the word "officers" and by capitalizing the word "officer"; and by deleting in subsection (2) the words "section 4731" and "section 4761" and inserting in subsection (2) in lieu thereof the words "Omnibus Narcotic and

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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

S 3883

Adding still greater menace to the situation is President Nasser's recent threat to employ regular military forces in attacks on Israel by way of retaliation for Israel's retaliatory and preemptive strikes against terrorist bases in Arab States. It takes little foresight to recognize that such an act on Nasser's part would provoke an immediate resumption of hostilities, with little or no prospect that either side would be willing to settle for yet another thoroughly unsatisfactory armistice. The world would then be faced with the grim consequences of either of two outcomes: total Israel victory over and occupation of most of its neighbors—a result absolutely unacceptable to the Soviet Union—or total Arab victory over Israel—a result equally unacceptable to the United States.

This brings me, Mr. President, to the central point I want to make on this whole matter. It is that the Arab-Israel conflict has ramifications extending far beyond the borders of the Middle East. It involves the vital interests of the Soviet Union as well as those of the United States, and therefore, quite literally, the peace of the world.

Throughout its modern history, Russia has striven to achieve a position of power and influence in the eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East generally. Given its geographical position and given the economic and military stakes involved, this was not an unreasonable ambition. At least it would be difficult to make the case that Britain, France, Germany, and now the United States have some sort of "natural rights" in that area that Russia did not or does not have. But Russian claims were successfully resisted throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, and it was not until very recent years—barely a decade ago—that the Soviet Union finally established itself unchallengeably as a Middle East power. And that is the reality we must now confront, like it or not. Not only is the Soviet Union firmly entrenched economically, politically, and militarily in the area; it has chosen to tie its prestige and position to the fate of the Arab States. As a result, any definitive Arab defeat by Israel would inescapably entail a setback of historic dimensions to Soviet policy and position in this strategically crucial region. It would be foolhardy of us to suppose that the Russians would accept any such disaster in their own backyard.

How then are American vital interests involved in the Middle East? Let us put to one side—though without forgetting—the profound moral commitment we have to the State of Israel and to its 2½ million Jewish citizens who would face extermination or slavery in the event of a conclusive Arab victory. Let us instead, Mr. President, consider only the direct material consequences to the United States of the destruction of Israel.

Hard-eyed realists among us like to point out that, in the words of one editorialist:

The Arabs have nine times the Israeli gross national product, and represent an incalculably greater amount of U.S. investment potential as well as actual.

Others are tireless in their reminders to us that, as another commentator remarked:

Economically and commercially, the Arab world is very important to the United States and vital to all of Europe.

And so it is. Not even the staunchest friends of Israel have ever denied it. But contrary to what Marxist theoreticians and certain American bankers and editorialists appear to believe, a great nation's foreign policy must take into account more than the monetary value of its investments in a given area. Especially is this true when the competitors for influence in the area, as well as the inhabitants themselves, regard economic relations as strictly secondary to other values—military security, for example, or national independence.

This is precisely the case, Mr. President, in the Middle East today, where the Soviet Union has shown itself determined to achieve not only influence but dominance, and willing to pay almost any price for it short of nuclear war. To this we must add the fact that most Arab States have demonstrated time and again a willingness to subordinate economics to ideology. Were this not the case, peace in the area would long since have been achieved, and Arabs and Israelis would today be working together in one of mankind's most fruitful partnerships. The very fact that, for more than two decades, Arab leaders have been willing to sacrifice orderly economic growth to military adventurism in their lust to destroy Israel should make even the most shortsighted among us dubious about the value and security of American investments in those nations.

This much is certain: if the Arab States, bearing Soviet arms and operating under Soviet auspices, should succeed in destroying Israel, Western influence in the Middle East will be at an end. We will have lost, as I said at the outset, the one and only dependable ally we have there—dependable not only in the sense of its commitment to the same political and spiritual ideals, but in the sense as well that it has the one thoroughly stable government and the one first-class army in the whole region. The result would be a Soviet fiefdom—a Middle East in which no Western-oriented counterbalance would exist to inhibit the deployment of Soviet military and economic power throughout the area from Algeria to Iraq. How long, in those circumstances, could we realistically expect Iran and Turkey to remain outside the Russian orbit? What possible incentive could they have for resisting the immense weight of Soviet influence that would then be brought to bear?

Plainly put, Israel is the linchpin of America's position in the Middle East. And that is why it is imperative that our negotiators at the Big Four conference in New York must resist any proposed "compromise" along the lines made so tiresomely familiar by Soviet and Arab spokesmen in the United Nations. We must not attempt to force Israel to surrender the substance of military security for the shadow of vague big power "guarantees."

In the final analysis, Mr. President, peace will come to the Middle East when, and only when, the direct parties to the conflict sit down together and together

resolve their differences. This, in turn, will come when, and only when, the Arab States are prepared to concede the most elementary point in international relations: Israel's right to exist. And that, finally, will come when, and only when, Israel's own strength and America's firmness of purpose make it finally and unequivocally clear that Israel is not going to be overwhelmed by the weight of Arab numbers and Soviet arms.

That, Mr. President, should be the message that is heard loud and clear when the Big Four meeting is over. That is the message that will bring lasting peace to the Middle East.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President (Mr. SCHWEIKER in the chair), will the Senator yield?

Mr. HARTKE. I yield.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. May I interrupt the distinguished senior Senator from Indiana at this time to state that he has delivered a magnificent address, a very important address, one which should appeal to all Americans. I desire to associate myself with every statement that the Senator from Indiana has made.

We Americans have reason to be proud that we helped create the State of Israel. We are proud of Israel and the achievements of this great, brave people.

The Senator has rendered a real and needful public service in the Senate today, by speaking out boldly, as he has, in support of the State of Israel.

Mr. HARTKE. I thank the distinguished Senator from Ohio. To have his endorsement is to have the endorsement of one of the most fearless, hard-working, and perceptive minds in the Senate, and I treasure his comments.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. I thank the Senator from my neighbor State for his comments. I desire to associate myself with every statement he has made today.

#### THE PROPOSED COMMUTER TAX IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, the Washington City Council has proposed a payroll tax on the earnings of Virginia and Maryland residents who work in the District of Columbia. This is the second time in little over a year that this "commuter tax," as it is called, has been recommended by the Council.

Such a commuter tax would be unjust. I opposed the tax when it was recommended in December of 1967. I shall oppose it again.

The citizens of Virginia and Maryland who work in Washington, like all other American taxpayers, help support the city through general Federal taxation.

The current Federal budget carries the figure of \$173 million as the outlay from Federal taxes which will be given to the District of Columbia government. Indeed, payments probably will greatly exceed this figure.

Advocates say many other cities levy a commuter tax; but they do not point out that other cities do not receive the Federal subsidy that the District of Columbia does. The money for this large subsidy comes from the pockets of all the taxpayers of the United States.

Besides paying their share of District expenses through general Federal taxes,

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residents of Virginia and Maryland who work in Washington pay sales taxes when they make purchases in the city.

The level of the proposed commuter tax—one-fourth of 1 percent of earnings—may seem low, but I feel that once established in principle, the tax would rise rapidly in amount.

As a matter of fact, even before the tax proposal has come before Congress, the Washington City Council is talking about raising the level to 1 percent.

This proposed tax on Virginians and Marylanders should be rejected.

# S. 1897—INTRODUCTION OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION BILL OF RIGHTS

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I introduced today, for myself and the Senator from New York (Mr. JAVITS) and the Senator from Vermont (Mr. PROUTY), a higher education bill of rights. This measure would strengthen and expand Federal programs of financial assistance to low-income students, insuring an equal opportunity for all Americans to pursue a high-quality postsecondary education. It would also strengthen colleges and universities through cost-of-education allowances and other supplementary funds.

In 1967, the Carnegie Foundation for the advancement of education created a 15-member commission on higher education. Chaired by a distinguished educator, Clark Kerr, the commission's mandate was to examine and make recommendations regarding the vital issues of higher education which we face today and for the future. In December 1968, the commission published a report entitled "Quality and Equality: New Levels of Federal Responsibility for Higher Education." The report discusses the commission's findings to date with regard to the needs of higher education, and it recommends specific Federal action necessary to meet these needs.

The bill which I introduce today incorporates the major recommendations of the commission. While I do not necessarily endorse all of the specifics, I feel that their stress on greater Federal effort in education, and their basic suggestions on new directions which this effort should take, are sound and constructive. The report and the resulting legislation provide the basis for a full review of our Federal higher education programs. Congressmen OGDEN REID and JOHN BRADEMAS have introduced quite similar legislation, based on the Carnegie Commission report in the House of Representatives; and I am hopeful that both the Senate and the House will move ahead to consider these and other ideas. I plan to continue to work on issues in the field of higher education, and perhaps to submit further legislation at a later time.

The urgency is clear. Today's enrollment in higher education of 6 million students will rise to 8 million by 1976, or 9 million if the necessary programs to remove financial barriers for low-income students are carried out. And the imbalance at present is shocking: almost half of the undergraduate students in the United States came from the Nation's

highest family quartile, while only 7 percent come from the lowest income quartile.

As we look to the future, and especially when our heavy expenditures in Vietnam are reduced, our priorities must include a massive commitment to education at all levels—compensatory and higher. I support and will strongly work for such a commitment.

Finally, Mr. President, I would like to commend Dr. Kerr and the members of his commission—including two distinguished educators from my own State of Massachusetts, Dr. Nathan M. Pusey, president of Harvard University, and Dr. David Riesman, professor of social sciences at Harvard—for the impressive work they are doing in pointing the way to meet tomorrow's needs. It has been a pleasure for me to work with Dr. Kerr on this bill, and I look forward to the commission's further ideas and findings in this vital area.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a brief summary of the bill, the report of the Carnegie Commission, and a copy of the bill itself.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill, the summary of the bill, and the report will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (1837) to remove financial barriers so that all individuals will have equal opportunity for a postsecondary education of good quality, to strengthen institutions of higher education, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. KENNEDY (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

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*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Higher Education Bill of Rights."*

## STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

SEC. 2. It is the purpose of this Act to assist in making it financially possible for qualified individuals from all socioeconomic backgrounds to receive the benefits of higher education and to assist institutions of higher education in assuring that quality higher education is available throughout the entire Nation.

## AMENDMENTS TO EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY GRANT PROGRAM

SEC. 3. Effective after June 30, 1970, part A of title IV of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended by striking out sections 401 through 407 and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

## "STATEMENT OF PURPOSE AND APPROPRIATIONS AUTHORIZED

"SEC. 401. (a) It is the purpose of this part to provide educational opportunity grants to assist in making available the benefits of higher education to qualified individuals who need financial assistance to obtain such benefits.

"(b) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated \$900,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971; \$1,000,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972; \$1,100,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973; \$1,300,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974; \$1,400,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1975; students who receive

educational opportunity grants under this part.

## "AMOUNT OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY GRANT

"SEC. 402. (a) From the funds available to carry out this part for each fiscal year, the Commissioner shall make payments through institutions of higher education to students who receive educational opportunity grants under this part for each academic year during which the grant recipient is in need of financial aid to pursue a course of study at an institution of higher education, in an amount which shall not exceed \$1,000, in the case of full-time students or such lesser amount in the case of part-time students, as the Commissioner shall by regulation determine.

"(b) The Commissioner shall prescribe basic criteria and schedules for determining the eligibility of applicants for educational opportunity grants and for determining the amount which each such grant recipient shall be entitled to receive each year for the duration of the grant, subject to annual redetermination where circumstances change. In prescribing such basic criteria and schedules, the Commissioner shall take into account the objective of making aid under this part available to students whose family incomes do not exceed the level below which are the incomes of three-fifths of the families in the population of the United States, and such other factors as he may deem relevant, including the number and ages of dependents in the student's family, the number of such dependents attending an institution of higher education at the same time, total family income over the past several years and total family assets. Priority shall be given to undergraduate students, but the program shall also be available to graduate and professional students. No payment shall be made under this part to a student otherwise eligible to receive payments pursuant to an educational opportunity grant unless the amount of the payment for that academic year, as determined in accordance with this section, would be at least \$200.

## "ELIGIBILITY FOR AND DURATION OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY GRANTS

"SEC. 403. (a) An individual shall not be eligible to receive an educational opportunity grant under this part and shall not continue to be entitled to receive payments thereunder this part unless—

"(1) that individual has been accepted for enrollment as a student at an institution of higher education or in the case of a student already attending an institution of higher education, is in good standing there, as an undergraduate student or as a graduate or professional student; and

"(2) such student is carrying at least one-half the normal full-time academic workload as determined by the institution.

An individual shall not be eligible to continue to receive payments under this part if the Commissioner determines that the recipient no longer shows evidence of academic or creative promise and capability of maintaining good standing in his course of study, or that he no longer is of exceptional financial need.

"(b) The duration of an educational opportunity grant under this part shall be the period required for completion by the recipient of his undergraduate course of study and two years of graduate or professional study, except that such period shall not exceed six academic years less any period with respect to which the recipient has previously received payments under this part pursuant to a prior educational opportunity grant.

## "APPLICATION FOR EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY GRANTS

"SEC. 404. (a) Application for a grant under this part shall be made at such time and in such manner, and shall contain or be supported by such information, as may be prescribed by the Commissioner.



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nated and how many babies a woman has ever had.

Privacy is invaded when the Census approaches America with a long list of intimate questions in one hand and the club of jail and fines in the order. We have a question of public need for statistics and individual right of privacy. It is my position that personal privacy must carry more weight in any democracy, where the rights of the individual are supposed to be preeminent.

A third phase of Government invasion of personal privacy concerns the increasing and unwarranted invasion of personal privacy by the executive branch of Government of its millions of employees. The specter of the lie detector test, personality profile, political coercion and probes of personal lives is already diminishing governmental effectiveness and inhibiting the behavior of millions of Federal employees. Numerous examples of these and other acts have amply illustrated the need for swift action.

In the first instance, I have joined my colleague from New York (Mr. KOCH), in sponsoring the Federal Privacy Act, which is designed to protect the individual citizen from unauthorized disclosure or use of personal information collected by various Federal agencies.

In the second instance, emulating the excellent initiative taken by Representative BETTS of Ohio, I am introducing a measure on questions to be asked by the Census Bureau. Its essence is elimination of criminal penalties for failure to answer questions on all but seven subjects: name, address, age, sex, race, head of household, and number of persons in the household on the day the census is taken. Failure to respond to these questions would carry penalties. All other inquiries would have no penalty.

In the third area, Senator ERVIN of North Carolina has stood alone for several years in defense of personal liberties of Government employees. My colleague, Mr. GALIFIANAKIS of North Carolina, has likewise taken up the fight in this body. I am proud to join with him in sponsorship of the Government Employees Privacy Protection Act.

It is intended to prohibit indiscriminate requirements that employees and applicants for Government employment disclose their race, religion, or national origin; that they attend Government-sponsored meetings or lectures or participate in outside activities unrelated to their employment; that they report on outside activities; submit to questioning on their religion, personal relationships, or sexual attitudes through interviews, psychological tests, or polygraphs; or that they support political candidates or attend political meetings. Coercion of employees in regard to bond purchases, charitable contributions, and disclosures of financial assets and activities are also covered. Right to counsel is provided in disciplinary cases, as well.

Mr. Speaker, these bills are a beginning, showing us how significant these intrusions are. Exorcism of these evils is essential if we are to remain a free society. People have a right to be let alone, free from unwarranted invasions of privacy. Congress has the power to

act, and should. Liberty we allow to slip between our fingers today is liberty denied our posterity tomorrow.

#### YES, VIRGINIA, THERE IS A FOREIGN OIL DEPLETION ALLOWANCE

(Mr. PODELL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, by now most Americans know about the oil depletion allowance—the method used by our oil industry to evade the major share of its tax responsibilities. Since this is merely the topmost portion of the oil iceberg, I feel it is proper to discuss overseas aspects of this depletion allowance. Yes, Virginia, there is a foreign oil depletion allowance, enabling our oil and gas industry to derive vast tax-free revenues from its foreign production at American taxpayer expense.

The percentage depletion allowance does not cease at water's edge. Its 27½ percent is applicable to production of American oil companies abroad. In 1960, \$633 million was deducted, and figures have skyrocketed since, with major oil production overseas.

Its justification? The same as for domestic production—because of unusual risks and high costs of exploration and development. Again truth shifts like mercury when used as an excuse by the oil industry.

Dry holes are hard to come by in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Drilling costs are minimal because oil is so close to the surface. Still, the depletion allowance is the same in these countries as here. In addition to the 27½ percent oil depletion allowance, oil companies possess other significant tax privileges for foreign operations. Royalty payments to foreign governments, especially to Middle Eastern despots, may be offset against taxes the company owes in the United States. Under our sieve-like tax laws, royalties are recognized deductions from taxable income. However, if the American company pays income taxes to a foreign government because of its foreign operations, amount of such taxes may be deducted from tax that would otherwise be due the United States. In other words, a fat tax credit.

Naturally, the credit is preferable to a deduction. If the foreign government cooperates, and they almost always do, our struggling little oil company obtains a major tax break at expense of the American Government and taxpayers.

Most of these foreign countries are not overly concerned as to how they obtain revenue. Perhaps that is why "taxes" are far higher than "royalties" paid them. Even the most ardent supporter of a domestic percentage depletion allowance is hard put to justify a tax credit for such royalty payments. No wonder it is dubbed the "golden gimmick."

There is also a special deduction against taxable income for U.S. companies operating in the Western Hemisphere, which of course includes oil-rich Venezuela.

Many U.S. companies operating abroad

pay little or no Federal tax on foreign operations even though, after paying all foreign royalties and taxes, their income exceeds hundreds of millions of dollars—primarily because of the depletion allowance. It was not an intent of Congress to extend percentage depletion allowance to foreign operations. No one then realized it was to be used as a hose for theft from our tax system.

Concept of an oil depletion allowance for exhaustion of oil and gas properties was originated in 1913 as a domestic measure aimed at obtaining greater domestic production during periods of world crisis. In 1926, when percentage depletion was adopted, there was no substantial foreign petroleum production by American companies. Under present tax law, percentage depletion for numerous minerals is restricted to domestic production only.

Supposedly, percentage depletion allowance and other tax benefits for overseas operations are aimed at encouraging oil companies to locate new oil sources in the Middle East and other areas in case of emergency. With the Middle East in constant crisis, it is the height of folly to encourage American efforts there with a massive, subsidized giveaway program. The recent enormous Alaskan strike makes such an argument even more specious. Oil industry arguments for retention of such privilege at expense of our people are as meaningful as a whale farm in the Sahara or an orange grove in Greenland.

America's citizenry spends billions to subsidize overseas oil operations while we restrict domestic production and American consumers are unable to obtain the foreign product at a lower price because of oil import quotas. Is this sense? Then so should we add witch hazel to martinis.

The trauma of April 15 is over. We are all shuddering over aftereffects upon our solvency. All except bloated oil barons, who, bursting with profit gained at expense of all of us, gaze benignly down at millions of us, writhing in financial agony because of their privileges. They dare us to challenge their power and privilege, contemptuously brushing aside pleas for elementary fairness.

Congress gave the oil depletion allowance. What Congress gave, Congress may take away. I have introduced a bill to remove the oil depletion allowance entirely. Another bill has been introduced to remove it from overseas operations, in which I have joined. We have the opportunity to remove several tax shackles now binding America's lower and middle income taxpayers. Let us act.

#### ME THE FALLACY OF THE ARAB REFUGEES

(Mr. PODELL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, more and more these days we are forced to listen to anguished howls by Arab propagandists and apologists over the fate of Arab refugees. Last month, when I visited Israel, I had the opportunity of personally

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visiting several refugee camps in Gaza, where I observed at close hand what the true situation is.

UNRWA is doing significant work, and has aided in the successful effort to adequately feed and clothe these people. Make no mistake about it; they are quite adequately fed and clothed.

The festering sore is unemployment, as these people spend their time in mounting frustration. Jobs are what they require. Jobs are what their fellow Arabs can provide them with. Jobs are what their fellow Arabs deny them. It is a fact that every Arab country but Jordan denies these people access, so they can work gainfully.

Arab terrorists use them as pawns in their deadly game of international murder. Has anyone ever given a thought to the fact that during the last 20 years, 4,500,000 Europeans were forced out of Arab countries? More often than not, they were driven out at the point of a gun, or at least with a shadow of violence hanging over their heads.

The 2,200,000 Italian settlers were forced out of Libya and Egypt; 1,700,000 French left Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco. Over 700,000 Jews fled Iraq, Yemen, Egypt, Libya, and other Arab countries. Four and a half million Jews who lived in these countries for countless generations left everything behind. The Arabs took everything, as these people left with only clothes on their backs. The piteous plight of the few brethren who remained behind is ample testimony to the fate they narrowly escaped. Even now the Jewish community of Iraq and those few Jews left in Egypt live existences of persecution and terror.

Now we hear anguished caterwauling over the Arab refugees. Arab States had an opportunity to place 700,000 Arab refugees from Palestine into homes of European people who fled Arab countries. Instead refugees were placed and are being kept in camps that have cost millions of dollars—contributed by people of the world, especially Americans. There are many, including the Arab countries, who have a vested interest in maintaining these refugees in the same squalid misery they are in now. It is the most brutal thing Arabs have done to their own people. Palestine was never an Arab country. It never had an Arab Government. Palestine has been occupied since the time of Caesar by Greeks, Romans, English, and other nations. Its only legal government was the Jewish one of over 2,000 years ago.

Now we are confronted with the spectacle of Arab States, possessing populations which are more than 80 percent illiterate in some cases, spending billions on Russian arms in hope of obliterating Israel, while ignoring awesome social needs of all their citizens, natives as well as refugees.

#### THE SLUMBERING BEAST OF GERMAN MILITARISM STIRS UNEASILY

(Mr. PODELL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, Maj. Gen. Hellmut Grashey, deputy army inspector of the West German Army has criticized parliamentary control over the military. He spoke sharply of the parliamentary control agency dealing with military affairs—terming it an instrument spreading mistrust in the ranks. He indicates that the attempt to build a West German Army along democratic lines is a sop to the Social Democrats in return for their support of disarmament. This general has been called in by Defense Minister Schroeder. The Nazi-lining political party in West Germany has issued a statement supporting Grashey.

Mr. Speaker, again the ghosts of the past rise like specters to stalk the hearts and minds of millions in the Atlantic community. Again Prussian memories awaken, stretch, shake the shades of slumber from their eyes and roar defiance of democracy through the mouth of a German officer—one of the highest ranking officers in his nation's armed forces.

Again is heard a distant rumble of the goose step and that ghastly cannonade of Krupp guns sounds distantly down the corridors of history. Again we hear drums roll and trumpets blare the "Horst Wessel Lied," as brown-shirted legions take to the streets. If we cock an ear carefully, is there not a last echo of the Austrian corporal to be heard?

Do not the pronouncements of this man sound as if they echo the sentiments of Von Roon, Moltke, Seeckt, and Mackensen? Do we not hear the collective click of a thousand pairs of heels and a Prussian "jawohl" to orders to exterminate millions? Only the concept of democracy can guarantee an end to blind obedience that brought destruction upon Germany and made her an outcast among nations for so long. How dare this general seek to resurrect the basic concept of Prussian militarism that commands obedience and stifling of all disagreement.

Now we live in a thermonuclear age, where there is no room for concepts such as "alte kameraden," "Weltanschauung," or a "Drang Nach Osten."

Days of strident nationalism spearheading a military state armed by the Krupps are over. Times of the Prussian grenadiers are finished. Eras of the bruscut, monocle, jackboot, and iron discipline are gone forever. Any German general who dares stand up for them, calling into question a moderate, democratically inclined West German regime has no place in the military forces of a free world.

We have seen enough Sedans, Verduns, Normandys, and Buchenwalds. We have seen enough coal-scuttle helmets and Mauser rifles in the hands of blindly obedient automatons. I praise the Social Democrats of West Germany for their courage. It is my fervent hope that General Hellmut Grashey will be dealt with accordingly by the Government of West Germany. Let him go to a well-deserved retirement so he may attend the neo-Nazi veterans reunions instead of commanding troops.

#### THE AMSA BOMBER MUST NEVER GET AIRBORNE

(Mr. PODELL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, I was astonished to note that Mr. Laird has it in his mind and plans to commit the United States to a new multi-billion dollar bomber program that could cost more than the proposed ABM. While we struggle desperately against an obsolete ABM, we are to be saddled with a new harpie in the form of this bomber.

The Advanced Manned Strategic Aircraft, or AMSA, would be supersonic at high and low speeds and carry more bombs than craft it would replace. Mr. McNamara resisted attempts to build this useless monster, but allowed research money for it. Now Mr. Laird demands \$100.2 million—\$23 million more than the previous administration requested—to complete AMSA research. This is why he cut two squadrons of the FB-111. We have been riddled of one useless piece of expensive flying rubbish, only to have it replaced by an even worse, more expensive one. Instead of enriching one military contractor, we see another lined up for an indefinite turn at the public feeding trough.

If the contract is drawn up, we shall be locked into the AMSA program, committed to its development and forced into guaranteeing it untold billions. Most of this information is confirmed by the Pentagon. Should Congress approve this fund request, the Air Force would be authorized to design, test, and flight test experimental craft. Approval of the extra \$23 million would authorize flying prototypes. Remember the XB-70? It cost us more than \$1 billion, and all we obtained were prototypes.

Purchase of some 240 of these flying dinosaurs would cost anywhere from \$12 billion to almost \$20 billion. What would we receive? A manned bomber in an age of missiles. A last hurrah for the "wild blue yonder." We would be reincarnating at stupendous public expense the romantic dreams of aging generals who remember "good old days" of thousand bomber raids and cities in flames. "Off we go" is their cry, carrying the U.S. Treasury with them as they fly off into the last sunset.

Mr. Speaker, this is the ultimate outrage. An Air Force spokesman concedes each AMSA would cost at least \$40 million. Are we to accept this? Has Congress' power to control appropriations assumed the status of an appendix? Is not the ABM a useless, expensive enough boondoggle? Do we not all know what will happen?

Appropriations will be shuttled or rammed through the Congress, complete with a closed rule. Debate or honest questioning will be stifled. Years will pass as more and still more billions are appropriated. Questions will be answered by mere patriotic slogans and invocation of spirits of George Washington, Valley Forge, John Paul Jones, Robert E. Lee, Chateau-Thierry, and Pearl Harbor. Teddy Roosevelt will charge and Mount Suribachi will be stormed. Finally,

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# EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

ME

ISRAEL TODAY

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 14, 1969

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, I have been calling the attention of my colleagues to a series of articles written by Miss Carol Stevens Kovner, written in Israel and giving a vivid firsthand account of the feelings in that nation. Miss Kovner is managing editor and foreign correspondent of Kovner Publications, a newspaper chain in the East Los Angeles area. Following are four more in this series of articles.

[From the Eastside Sun, Feb. 27, 1969]

THE VIEW FROM GAZA: MOST DENSELY POPULATED AREA ON EARTH

(By Carol Kovner)

The road into Gaza town from Beersheba is through a large Moslem cemetery, where little girls play in the dust between the monuments and young men loiter against them watching traffic pass.

The unrest rippling through the Gaza Strip these past weeks was not evident among the townspeople who were conducting business, what there was, as usual. The bus depot is also a market place, the most uninviting imaginable. Israeli passengers on the bus, which runs every half hour from Beersheba, were for the most part Jews originally from Arab countries who had come for produce bargains to be wrangled over in their native Arabic. Getting into a rickety cab we careened through the town to the UNRWA compound.

Gaza town is very ugly. Aside from its two refugee camps, it is poor and rundown, bullet holes unrepaired in its buildings and the majority of the population in worn clothing. The reason is because the Gaza Strip is the most densely populated area on earth, with three times more population than the Netherlands, most populated of the European countries. What money there is goes for food and medicine and education.

The Strip has 70 per cent refugees on the UNRWA registration and the rest local population. The huge labor pool has forced the wages of nearly all down to a subsistence level. The only sources of work available, as there is no industry to speak of, are in other Arab countries for the graduates of UNRWA schools and for local labor in the citrus fields, fishing, or handicrafts for the women, mainly embroidery sold through an UNRWA shop in town. Practically the sole employer of Gaza refugees on a meaningful scale remains UNRWA.

UNEF also provided some jobs, the secretary of the UNRWA Director told us at the compound, openly resentful of the moveout. Her attitude reminded us of the Poverty War organizations, many of which were also temporary in nature. When they are discontinued there is great resentment because employees have lost good jobs they may not be able to replace. The UNEF troops departure ordered by Nasser left many refugees dependent again only on the UNRWA dole, a 1600 daily calorie diet—a reducing diet in the U.S.

Israeli authorities understand this employment situation. After Dyan toured the Strip recently he told the Israeli public that the unrest is due to the difficult economic conditions there, urging that 35,000 work hours be allotted to the West Bank and Gaza to maintain a decent economic level. The Military Governor of the Strip, Tat-Aluf Mor-

dechal Gur, has also said there would be fewer acts of terrorism if the standard of living was raised. Israel should invest more in industry and vocational training, he said.

At the Gaza UNRWA Headquarters, Mr. Geaney the Director had gone to trouble-shoot at the vocational training center where the students were out of classes and "demonstrating in sympathy to the political situation," a phrase used by most Palestinians we talked to about the strikes. Mr. Filfil, a translator at UNRWA, drove us over to see the center, which was what we had come for. Mr. Geaney was trying to persuade the students to return to class. He said later they would probably return by the end of the week.

The students, who live on the premises in new dormitories were well dressed and well behaved. Most were young men in their twenties. They were sitting in groups on the lawn. The large airy well lighted rooms stood empty, the new equipment imported from Europe lying idle. The teachers waited to see what the students would do.

They were meeting in delegations with the principal, Mr. H. Hammad, a harried Palestinian who had studied in Haifa, then gone on scholarship to England. The students were striking in sympathy to the political situation, he told us. There were 513 at present, but only 1 in 6 were accepted who applied. Since 1954 when it began there have been 1496 graduates all taught by refugees who were given scholarships abroad in England, Switzerland, Sweden, and returned to teach.

What was the employment situation for graduates? There were 380 graduates not able to work in Gaza and not being accepted by the Arab countries, as before the war. Only local residents, not refugees, are taken for labor by the Israelis, untrained labor mostly.

Mr. Hammad said there was enough money and equipment for vocational training; in fact, too much attention was being paid to the vocational training school. It is understandable that he felt this way with his graduates not working and the school being expanded to 556 in September.

Back at UNRWA Headquarters, which was as poor and rundown as the rest of Gaza town, we talked with Mr. Geaney. He has been in Gaza since July, 1967 and with UNRWA since 1952 when he had also served in Gaza. The students can't do less than their colleagues he said, because there is great cohesion among them. If they act any differently, they are looked down upon.

This checked with what an Israeli official had told us in Beersheba, that the people in Gaza are afraid to cooperate remembering 1956 when Gaza was returned to Egypt and "collaborators" were killed. Now they create disturbances so that they can have a piece of paper to show they have been in prison for making trouble for the Israelis. It is not like a school demonstration in Los Angeles where the students are demanding improvements long overdue.

The Jerusalem Post said, "It is widely believed that the demonstrations are instigated by local political activists with the aim of emphasizing the Palestinian element, especially in view of the Four-Power negotiations on the Middle East. They have concentrated on school children to evade counter-measures."

Besides the economic situation and the school strikes in Gaza, the shortage of doctors caused by the Egyptians leaving worried Mr. Geaney. Most doctors come on a voluntary basis or for a very low salary. There are no mental hospitals in Gaza. Mental patients are sent to Israeli hospitals.

There is a \$9 million budget for 313,152 registered refugees. (Non-refugees number 141,000.) Those not in the eight camps num-

ber 113,378. There are 39,305 registered children not on the UNRWA ration list because of lack of funds. Somehow, they get fed, though, Mr. Geaney told us. When a refugee becomes a wage earner of 1120 liras per month, his ration is cut. Were the rolls inflated, we asked. That has been greatly exaggerated, he said.

There is no vocational training for girls, but there are two six-month sewing courses a year that women can take, and embroidery is encouraged. UNRWA provides for up to the 9th grade in separate girls and boys schools.

What about the anti-semitic textbooks that were used by UNRWA schools and found by the Israelis when they took over the Gaza Strip, we asked. Many were objectionable, he said, and are not being used now. UNESCO has taken over that responsibility. In order for a student to graduate in a host country, it was necessary for UNRWA to follow that country's curriculum, it was felt. A strong position was not taken because the students would not be accepted in the Arab universities unless they studied these textbooks. Only a few students leave for Amman or Beirut at present. Higher education is at a standstill now in Gaza, he summed up.

The stumbling block may be the Arab university examinations, but we still feel that distributing hate textbooks was a peculiar thing for a humanitarian organization like UNRWA to do. An Israeli told us that Jewish children are not taught to hate the Arabs because first it is your enemy you kill with hatred, later it can be your brother. . . .

Why can't Israel annex Gaza and work with American Jews and the international community to settle the refugees, we had asked the Israeli official in Beersheba the day before. No, he said, it is a political problem and we can't. In Gaza it would not be the same as Jerusalem where there is daily contact and the reality of the united city.

In Newsweek Magazine, in answer to Nasser's interview in the same magazine, Prime Minister Eshkol has said, "any refugees returning now to Israel would be a time bomb. We cannot take them back but we are ready to pay compensation."

The only solution the Israelis feel is for the Arab countries to take them in, because for one thing, Israel hasn't the water to support them. Then almost 50 per cent of the Israelis are of Oriental background. This means they came from the Arab countries, so most Israelis feel it was an exchange of populations. An exchange, Arab politicians like Nasser, have turned into a convenient political football which is not a life or death issue to them, says Eshkol.

So the 380 graduates of the Gaza Vocational Training Center run by UNRWA, ready for careers in radio, TV, mechanics, what the Arab world needs most, vegetable. As idle as the ships in the Bitter Lakes and as caught.

[From the Eastside Sun, Mar. 6, 1969]

TWO STUDENTS KILLED IN TERRORIST BOMBING OF JERUSALEM SUPER MARKET

(By Carol Stevens Kovner)

While the Friday morning dynamite took the lives of two immigrant students and injured nine other shoppers in the terrorist explosion at the Jerusalem SuperSol market, I was interviewing a woman who calls them freedom fighters.

Wife of the former Jordanian Ambassador to England before 1967 and onetime Defense Minister, Mrs. Anwar Nusseiba is a pretty young darkhaired woman, softspoken and the mother of six children, two grown daughters, with families. She has a reputation as a militant feminist and a militant nationalist.



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Her husband is now legal consultant to UNRWA.

The Nusseiba home is on the former border between East and West Jerusalem, next to what is left of the Jordanian Army Headquarters, mostly rubble. To reach it from Mea Shearim or the Jewish Orthodox Quarter, you can cross the former Mandlebaum Gate area and pick your way across the old no-man's area where there is a new street but few sidewalks. The house looks battered from the outside because it was in the most furious part of the battle for Jerusalem, but it is pleasantly furnished inside.

Both the Nasseiba family and the El Ghoussein, her family from Ramla, are old wealthy landowning families. The Nusseibas have held the key to the Holy Sepulchre since the 12th Century. "We owned property in Ramla, orange groves, in Gaza, all over the area," Mrs. Nusseiba told me. "My mother grew up in wealth and I will never forget when we left, she had to beg for a blanket to cover me. We had to walk 90 kilometers to Jordan."

I responded to her painful memory, but I also remembered a girl I had met on the Greek ship coming to Israel. Her mother's wedding ring, all that was left to her after property, business and belongings had to be left behind, was taken from her before they would let her leave Egypt. It is a familiar refugee story Mrs. Nusseiba told, but I have heard countless Jewish versions the past months recent refugees from the Arab countries, not Europe. From communities that are hundreds of years old, or were. There are two sides to the coin.

"They want to live peacefully they say," she went on. "Look at what they are doing with Jerusalem. Katamon. This is all Arab property. Is this a legal thing?"

Katamon is a very poor district geographically situated on the outskirts of Jerusalem, a slum really. It is where thousands of refugee families from the Arab countries were settled in haste in jerry-built stone and stucco apartments that look as if they will tumble down any minute. Many who live there still wear Arab dress, but they are all Jewish. Old Bucharians, with rags wrapped Oriental-style around their heads and necks against the Jerusalem cold, ride every day on the bus with their grandchildren who dress well and speak Hebrew. But the old folk still speak Arabic. Katamon could be an Arab village if you did not know the origin.

The Pioneer Women nursery for working mothers I visited in Katamon is filled to overflowing with the children of the immigrants, tiny boys with little black cheek curls, little girls, all very dark skinned. Just over the back fence outside their playground is the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv railway. Before the 1967 War, the Jordanian border was on the other side of the tracks, a few hundred feet away.

Why are they there? Because before the 1967 war, Jerusalem was the dumping ground for thousands of destitute families and they had to be put into homes and quickly. Not clapped into camps for 20 years and left to rot as in Gaza, but absorbed into the only country that would accept them all, the sick and destitute and the old.

"In the long run, we are going to live together" Mrs. Nusseiba said once, "but we don't want all this conflict they are creating. We don't want their rule. In Jerusalem they are bringing their people here . . . there should be a Jewish side and an Arab side, but one city with some legal connection." This was a rare moment of logic in the stream of resentment and hatred she poured out on the Israeli occupation. "The Jews are the last people in the world to do this to another people," she cried.

"After 2000 years of being refugees, 20 years you can't go back? I have to laugh when I talk to them and they say they can't go backward."

The woman who showed me the Katamon nursery had been in tears the whole trip. A boy who had shown great promise had just been killed the morning before. His father had been a brilliant general in the 1956 war and killed in Sinai. In Tel Aviv a friends sister-in-law is slowly going mad, crying her womb is poisoned. She lost her 6-year-old daughter to the violence of Arab villagers who raped and killed her. She has just lost her son while doing his term in the army. Go backward 20 years to what, they would ask if they were alive, these sabras who were born in Israel.

"Politics is the real barbarian," Mrs. Nusseiba told me. "It is a monster to the Arab people." With their politics the world is killing the Palestine people. The Russians, the British, they are killing us. Where is the human consideration?

"Why do they feel with the Jews? Do they expect us to live under his thumb?" she asked. "It is my land, my water, my history! But it is very difficult to go back. If we could have the 1947 partition, we could have some of the Arab rights."

"The freedom fighters" she exclaimed as her face lit up. "How can they be called terrorists?" At that moment the bodies of the two students were carried away, in the market I would have been in if I hadn't been talking with Mrs. Nusseiba, for the SuperSol is where I shop every Friday morning.

"We want our name, our nationality, same as any nation in the world." What about the idea of a federation of states in the area, I asked her. It might be a good idea, she said, but I don't know politics. She was one of the most politically-minded women I have ever met.

When asked at a public meeting whether he favored an independent Palestine state General Dayan said, "Were elected representatives of the occupied territories population to approach Israeli government and negotiate for peace, I would advocate we sit down together."

He administers the areas with as light a hand as possible. In the recent school strikes, he went to Gaza and the West Bank schools and told the students and their teachers the Israelis would not interfere with their demonstrations if they were contained in the schools. The Israel government has lifted some of the restrictions on employment from Gaza to ease the situation there a little. Although the Vocational School in Gaza that I visited erupted the next week, it is quiet now.

The terrorism and unrest is to be lived with, say the Israeli leaders, if necessary, for a long time. Until there is an agreed peace and secure borders.

[From the East Side Sun, Mar. 20, 1969]  
SOME REALITIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST—ROOTS OF MANY PROBLEMS SCRUTINIZED  
(By Carol Stevens Kovner)

There is a small suburb outside of Jericho, on the West Bank, near the Jordan River. It was used as a winter home before the 1967 war, initiated on this front by the Jordanians, by many Jordanian and Arab diplomats and businessmen. It is abandoned, the once luxurious homes empty, plumbing torn out, light fixtures gone, windows and doors smashed. Goat droppings litter the floors of the rooms. One home was obviously used as a stable this winter. Mortar shells lie scattered around the gravel streets. Trees and shrubs are dying for lack of water and fences are pushed over at crazy angles. A Jewish star is on the wall of one house.

The Israel Defense Forces were quartered here for one year following the victory, then left, promising compensation to the owners for all damage by them. When we visited it we found a fresh cigarette box from Amman on the ground. The two Jordanian Arabs and the Israeli journalist with me were con-

vinced that the Fatah were using the houses as a day hideout.

One of the Arabs, who was born in Jerusalem, was working as a policeman for the Israelis. We were curious why he was co-operating so openly with them. "The Fatah will get you," the Israeli joked with him, but he was very young and serious about his job. "I must work," he said simply. "I can't work in a factory."

When we entered Jericho, he removed his jacket and in the suburb where we found the Amman cigarette box he was frightened. Later he said he was coming to America to work for his uncle in New York. There are Jews in New York, too, we told him. "Are you planning to do what Sirhan Sirhan did to Kennedy?" the Israeli joked. The boy smiled, "Politics and business are separate."

We lunched at a large restaurant that had been popular with tourists before the war and now was empty, the patio pool full of scum. "Jazz music" or machine gun fire sounded in the streets while we ate. A swimming pool was filled with Israeli soldiers getting relief from the muggy heat.

We visited a former refugee family that had settled in Jericho. The Israeli who was a historian and worked on the Dead Sea Scrolls dig had known them for years. The host, dressed Kuwaiti style in a long white robe, was very hospitable. There were three brothers and four wives with 27 children living in three houses next to each other. It was a happy family, prosperous seeming. The children wandered in to be teased by the Israeli and to shake everyone's hand around the room. They were part Negro, descended from slaves.

On the way back to Jerusalem, we passed huge deserted refugee camps built of mud wattle and slowly melting back into the red earth in the salty ominous air. High above, plastered against a cliff like a bird's nest, was a Christian monastery. Below, in a fruit tree grove was a mosaic synagogue floor with the Hebrew words "Peace upon Israel." As it was getting dark, the Judean hills would soon be dotted with the flashlights of soldiers, looking for Fatah terrorists who traveled at night to get into the city. Very few did.

One hundred terrorists were rounded up in Jerusalem after the SuperSol explosion in which two students were killed. Most were residents of East Jerusalem, Gaza and Ramallah. Evidence was found proving the Fatah cells in Jerusalem were being directed by the Egyptian government.

A chain was reconstructed from professionals in Jerusalem, including a clergyman of the Anglican church in Ramallah, a prominent doctor, a lawyer, and teachers, that extended to an escaped woman terrorist now based in Amman. From evidence, said the police spokesman David Barelli, who announced the cracking of the ring, it was obvious that she received her orders from the Egyptian Embassy in Amman. Enough explosives was discovered, some in private houses, to blow up the heart of Jerusalem. While the terrorists were being rounded up, crowds of children in fanciful Purim costumes paraded the streets of Jerusalem for days and life went on normally.

The group is believed responsible for much of the student demonstrations in Gaza and the West Bank this winter. Israelis are inclined to wink at the demonstrations by school girls because they feel the youngsters are easily led at that age, by radio or by leaders such as those arrested in Jerusalem. They feel the schools are not up to standard anyway, and the additional missing out of classes hurts the students most. Not the Israelis.

Shooting along the Suez Canal, initiated by the Egyptians says General Odd Bull, Chief UN Observer, has cost them heavily. In the exchange which has gone on intermittently for days, and seems a political ma-

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neuver to many, for the purpose of attracting big power attention to the area before the talks, Suez oil refineries, and tankers were hit, and Major General Riad, Egyptian Chief of Staff was killed.

The sudden death by heart attack of Israel's Prime Minister Levi Eshkol will put Golden Meir at the Helm until the next elections. The former foreign Minister, she is reputed to be a hardliner, unlike Eshkol who would take second best when he could not get first best. Eshkol kept the quarrelsome political parties in the National Unity Government together and it looks as if the same government will be kept until November.

There are many jokes in Israel about Mrs. Meir not listening to the "people in the street," only her Labor Party or the Old Guard. A cartoon by Dosh, showing a startled young Israeli looking at the reflection of Golda Meir in a mirror (she is 70) sums up the mood of the "street," the young Israelis.

[From the Wyvernwood Chronicle, Mar. 27, 1969]

## ISRAEL'S IRON JEWISH MAMA—PRESS CONFERENCE WITH PRIME MINISTER MEIR

(By Carol Stevens Kovner)

At her first press conference after being sworn in as Israel's first woman Prime Minister, Golda Meir rejected categorically a Four-Power solution to the problems of the Middle East.

Referring to the idea of a new United Nations peace force composed of the United States and Russia, she was mildly surprised at Russia being one of the two, "since its contribution to peace in the area has been so outstanding." Russia was never the staunchest friend we have ever had, she added at another point in the press conference with a wry smile.

She described the "evaporation" of the UNEF troops just before the 1967 war (the Egyptians asked them to leave), and said, "we are asked to put our faith in the same force for the third time . . . So what? Will it be any different than 1949 and 1967? You all know what happened—they were asked to leave and they left."

On West Bank policy, she said, "As long as there is no peace agreement with us and our Arab neighbors, we stand where we are. We will do our duty to all the inhabitants of the West Bank. We will do everything possible for welfare, education and so on. They will find out it is not so terrible to live with us."

"I don't understand the world sympathy to the lack of will of Arabs to come to a peace settlement. The question is this, are the Arabs ready to live in peace with us? It is too simple. Maybe that is why it is so hard to explain to our friends."

"Until they are, NOTHING will happen. The Arabs have to be faced with the problem. We say yes to peace . . . they have 101 answers, but not one to open the road to a peaceful solution."

She told reporters she was ready to go to Amman to meet with Hussein for negotiation, although Golda Meir in Amman is not exactly what the little King, as he is called in Israel, needs right now. Between Nassar and the terrorists, he doesn't need the Iron Jewish Mama, too. "I don't think he has any doubts. He knows Israel is ready to meet him. If he is prepared, certainly we are," she told reporters.

"Nobody has proved to us why it is so outlandish to expect a signed peace settlement. The only peculiarity is that the party that won the war is asking for the agreement. It is not something new for Arabs and Israel to sign an agreement . . . but it seems we must now convince our friends there is no alternative to a peace settlement."

On negotiating with the Fatah, "not today, not for several years from now can we consider them as partners in negotiations. Their

heroism is expressed in marketplace murders. That does not make them a partner for negotiation to my mind."

"Jordan civilians may have been hurt but no one can say rightly that Israel attacked civilians. If Fatah bases are built near civilian villages, we are sorry about hitting them, but no one can compare THAT with marketplaces. A supermarket is not the military base of the Israeli Army."

Regarding the new settlements in the occupied areas, she said, "How many settlements did we put up in the first months after the war? If Israel is worried about security, it is its duty to do everything possible, if necessary to put up settlements on the other side of the 'Green Line,' so that children don't have to sleep in shelters."

It would be too good, she said with gentle humor, if there was an agreement right away with President Nixon. It is natural to have different views, not necessarily contrary ones. The talks with the President and his cabinet will go on.

But the United States and our other friends must realize we must have borders that will not tempt the Arabs to attack us, as the former borders on the Golan Heights (transformed to one long underground fortress overlooking the farms below), she explained.

Asked what Israel would do if the Four Powers try to force Israel to an imposed solution, she said, "When life depends on decisions, a little country will take them. We will not depend on the good will of Nassar or a UN force—we want secure borders. The Arab countries must have no natural advantage over us. We do not fool ourselves—war breaks out between those countries with peace agreements."

Golda Meir looked in good health, her voice clear and feminine, her manner positive and down-to-earth. Her face normally stern, lit up when someone asked her if she considered herself a "stopgap" until the October elections. "Did I call myself a stop gap," she laughed.

Mrs. Meir has been 48 years in Israel. She was born in Kiev, Russia in 1898. Her family moved to the US, to Milwaukee, in 1906. She still has a pronounced midwestern accent. When she married she moved to Israel with her husband. She had a son and a daughter. Some of her long government experience was gained in the Mo'atzet Hapo'alot or pioneer Women in 1928 which launched her on her public career. She came out of retirement to become Secretary-General of the Mapai and later the united Israel Labor Party. In August, 1968, she again resigned.

She was reluctant to accept the premiership because, she said "Obviously I am not an infant. It was the decision of my party to take this post—I took it."

## HONOR PAID TO REPRESENTATIVE TIM LEE CARTER OF KENTUCKY

## HON. MARLOW W. COOK

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, April 15, 1969

Mr. COOK. Mr. President, the young people of the Fifth Congressional District of Kentucky have shown down through the years that they recognize the outstanding qualities of leadership which have been exhibited by their Representative, Dr. TIM LEE CARTER. To pay tribute to him, they came from all over southeastern Kentucky to a dinner in his honor which was held at Cumberland Falls State Park near London, Ky.

Representative CARTER knows that a

student or a young person who is interested and involved is much less likely to want to take over administrations and tear down college buildings. He has gotten the young people of his district involved and interested in government, both in Washington and at home, and I think it is in part a tribute to Dr. CARTER that the campuses in his area have not experienced such unrest.

I ask unanimous consent that a newspaper account of the dinner in his honor, published in the Columbia Statesman, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

## COUNTYANS AMONG 400 AT FALLS TO PAY TRIBUTE TO DR. CARTER

(By Phil Aaron and Ed Waggener)

On Saturday night, March 15, 1969, over 500 young men and women from the 24 counties of Kentucky's Fifth Congressional District gathered to pay their respects to and show their appreciation for their Congressman, Dr. Tim Lee Carter. It was an event unparalleled, without precedence in the Republican Party of Kentucky.

These young partisans were not protesting; they were not rebelling, striking, or seizing control of a university, nor were they honoring a retiring or past leader. They were, however, pledging an affirmative vote of confidence in a man who has earned their respect and support.

Their plea, in effect, was: Congressman Carter, we want more of the same.

Tim Lee Carter has gained the overwhelming support of those constituents of his under 30 because he understands them and has gone to bat for them. It seemed an appropriate night for this tribute; that same night Kentucky high school basketball teams were making their final eliminations for the "greatest show on earth"—the Kentucky State High School basketball tournament. Carter himself was once a high school roundball coach and he himself directed three teams to the Sweet 16. But when everyone else in Kentucky was thinking basketball, an overflow, turnaway crowd wedged into DuPont Lodge, at Cumberland Falls, Kentucky, to show their appreciation for Dr. Carter.

In Kentucky, citizens gain the right to vote when they reach the age of 18. Dr. Carter has made an effort to solicit the views of this younger, come-alive generation, and in turn he exhibits some of the zeal and exuberance they have for his campaigns. In an age where the typical American has a potbellied midriff bulge, Kentucky youth are proud to read that their 58 year old Congressman has defeated Olympic champion Bob Mathias in a game of handball in Washington.

Many of today's youth regard their parents as old fogeys who don't understand them. Carter has attempted to keep in touch with the problems and concerns of the younger set, and has help from his teenage son, Billy Star. When Congress did not renew its summer intern program for college students, he continued to provide the valuable experience of a summer in Washington, out of his own pocket.

But most important of all, Carter has built up a rapport with his younger constituents through his actions in Congress. He has had enough integrity to stand and be counted. He was one of the first Congressmen to attack our Vietnam involvement on the floor of the House. He has pointed out the inequities in the selective service's draft, even though he himself volunteered as a combat medic in World War II. He voted for the unpopular income tax surcharge because he believed failure to do

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so would have disastrous effects upon our economy. And he opposed a salary increase without grandstanding. We hill people like for our congressman to perform this way.

On the political side, Dr. Carter has endorsed candidates in controversial campaigns on issues of conscience and principle even though it was evident that his district would vote heavily for another candidate. Perhaps his greatest contribution is his grasp of perspective. Congressman Carter not only says today's youth will be tomorrow's leaders; he believes it enough to put into practice what he preaches.

A side that rarely comes to light is his depth of knowledge as a scholar of Kentucky history and of Abraham Lincoln. Among his favorite Lincoln quotations is, "I shall be governed by the will of my constituents on all subjects upon which I have the means of knowing what their will is." Dr. Carter has led in the causes his people would have him to.

## OPERATION FISHBASKET

HON. LOUIS FREY, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 15, 1969

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker, I recently read a column by Bob Miller in the Vero Beach Press-Journal and commend it to my colleagues of the House.

I am extremely proud of Bob Miller and constituents of mine who were worried about their fellow human beings, worried enough to bring great quantities of food to those who supposedly needed it. I think we can all agree that the problem of hunger in this country should not be ignored, but must be solved. I think we can further agree that the use of hunger as a political football is to be avoided.

The article follows:

BOB MILLER SEARCHES IN VAIN FOR  
IMMOKALEE'S HUNGRY MASSES

(By Bob Miller)

It all started on these pages, so it is only fitting it should be brought to a conclusion here.

"Operation Fishbasket" was actually a worthwhile project when subjected to deontological thinking. Whether the need was actually as acute as portrayed or not, the participants in its doing should be commended highly for their efforts. And this is the way it was.

Last week, this writer, after perusing several articles in journals conveying the events transpiring in our great state, concluded there was a need in an area that could be filled by an excess in another area. The excess being that of bluefish being caught in the Indian River area, as opposed to the reputed lack of good food in the farming district in Collier County, or, more exactly, Immokalee.

## APPEAL

I appealed to all of the good citizens hereabouts to contribute what might otherwise be a waste to what I considered a worthwhile cause, that of transporting fish which might have been thrown away to indigent farm workers. Because many of our area's citizens have hearts as big as all outdoors, the appeal met with not only an excess of fish but many other staples of food that were purchased and donated to the cause.

So much was donated that I had to make another appeal for transportation to get it to its destination. Hobart Brothers Company met the appeal with the loan of a pick-up

truck. Not only that, but Bob Dempsey, who works for Hobart, offered to drive the truck on his day off. Ed Belanger, brother-in-law to Dempsey, also gave us his day off to assist in the transporting of the fish 'n food to its southern destination.

Saturday morning found the three of us with a load of fish leaving from the Vero Beach Fish Camp. Another stop in Ft. Pierce added another 800 pounds of food which was brought about by the generosity and efforts of Henry Beuttell and his friends. That left us with one big truckload of food and we were on our way.

As the crow flies it is not too great a distance from Vero Beach to Immokalee. However, unless you have an amphibious vehicle, it is best that you skirt the edge of Lake Okeechobee, which we did. If you think there is one highway that can be traversed the whole way, forget it. You have combinations like highways 27, 29, 89 and several other lesser known access roads that lead to the highways.

## NEW COUNTIES

The trip was interesting in that it went through several counties that I had heretofore not traversed. I was most impressed with the name of Hendry County. It was quite obvious that the name was derived from the fact that Joe Hendry lives there. If he doesn't own the whole county it would surprise me. He at least owns a lot of land that has to its credit many head of cattle and at least three or four oil wells.

We stopped at a place called Labelle and had lunch. Now here's a place that poverty couldn't possibly exist. There's enough beef on the hoof in that area to start a packing house that would be the envy of Chicago. We had three hamburgers and three Cokes to the tune of \$2.50.

## DESTINATION

We finally arrived at our destination—Immokalee. We immediately set about looking for people with their eyes sunken into their heads and their stomachs bloated with hunger. It was apparent that they were not to be found in the downtown area, so we stopped at a gas station. It was obvious this place needed something, although it might not have been food. We prevailed upon the owner to give us some much needed information as to the whereabouts of the starving masses.

He allowed as how he didn't know of such masses so we were a little more explicit. Where is the migrant laborer's camp that houses the migrant farm laborers? Again our informant allowed as how there wasn't exactly any particular place where they all stayed, but if you looked around you could probably find them almost anywhere.

This was made quite obvious by the fact that several persons of unknown heritage gathered around the truck and became very informative. Some were from Texas and others from New Hampshire or other far-away places. When queried on the location of their starving brethren they all looked at me as though I were sort of stupid.

## HUDDLE

Ed called a huddle and it was concluded that they were hiding their indigents from all outsiders and particularly members of the press. With this we called upon the gas station owner to put us in touch with the local welfare office representative. He commented that he didn't rightly know who that was, but he would call someone who would help us find him. A few minutes that seemed like hours (we had now become quite a spectacle), a gentleman arrived on the scene and introduced himself as Stan Wrisley, editor of the Immokalee Bulletin.

After a short conversation it was concluded that we needed the services of Captain Harold M. Reece, who among other things, is the local Episcopal minister, president of the Immokalee Migrant Committee and head of the chamber of commerce.

We picked up Captain Reece at his house and then set off in search of some starving migrant workers. We visited a certain section of the laborers' quarters where it was known that one worker with a total of 16 children did have quite a time making ends meet. An interview with this father of 16 revealed that he was rather disposed to working two jobs to keep his family fed, but he was also steadfast in his feeling toward all those d— politicians that kept stirring things up.

## QUOTE

He said, "We don't need that kind of folks coming down here. All they do is make it look bad for us and good for them. There ain't none of my kids go hungry no time and ifun they do I'll sure go out and get it (food) for them." He further stated, "If they would quit giving themselves raises every time they turn around, they would be more left for the poor folks."

Our next stop was at a camp where it was reported that Indians were living under the most primitive of conditions in thatched huts with mud floors. That the living conditions were such there is no doubt. However, the report failed to mention that this was a way of life for these people and they prefer it that way. Their total outlay for utilities, rent, etc. is \$5 per family per month. I couldn't help but note how clean the area around the houses was, and the array of flowers that bloomed in front of almost every door. The fact that there was a good looking 1968 Ford station wagon parked in front of the door of one house, owned by the tenant, gave the subject of poor conditions its full perspective.

## POLITICS

So it would seem that Senator McGovern and his erstwhile political efforts have no real foundation. They have debased a small southern community in an effort to gain recognition as a humanitarian by using a smattering of truth out of context. Conditions are poor, there is no doubt about that, but so are they in some areas of Indian River County and for that matter almost every community in the United States.

We did however succeed in putting our wagon load of food in the hands of Miss Blake Palmer, the county nurse, and its distribution will be allotted by one Marion Feather, the local social services worker and truant officer. We were assured that its distribution would meet with our intention and that only those who were in real need would benefit by our efforts.

## NICE PEOPLE

There are a lot of nice people in Immokalee and I am most gratified that I was afforded the opportunity of meeting some of them. They were most cordial and invited me to visit any time and explore the existing conditions to my heart's content if I so desired.

So in the dusk of another Saturday, Bob Dempsey, Ed Belanger and Bob Miller wound their way home satisfied with the fact that our job had been done as most of the people who so generously contributed their time and efforts would want it done.

TWELFTH ANNIVERSARY OF WASHINGTON METROPOLITAN AREA COUNCIL OF GOVERNMENTS

HON. WILLIAM B. SPONG, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, April 15, 1969

Mr. SPONG. Mr. President, on April 11, the Washington Metropolitan Area Council of Governments marked its 12th



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needed to carry on the National Cooperative Soil Survey. This provides a sound basis for determining good land use, and is used extensively by local planning boards, highway departments, park and recreation boards, engineers, architects, as well as builders, developers, and other landowners and operators.

In Indiana districts have an immediate need for 72 man-years of technical service in addition to the budgeted positions to meet their scheduled workload. Eleven of these needed man-years are in the Ninth Congressional District, and the shortage is adversely affecting the conservation effort therein. Ohio County formed a district a year or so ago. To date no funds have been available to staff this new district. The part-time technical assistance that has been made available comes from the adjoining Dearborn County soil and water conservation district, which further dilutes the assistance to that district.

In the light of these needs and the impact of the soil and water conservation movement on the lives of my constituents, the national budget appropriation for technical assistance to soil and water conservation districts should be \$130 million.

Within the total program of the Soil Conservation Service are the Public Law 566 small watershed projects which have gained tremendous popularity. These projects are aimed at full development of the soil and water resources in an area, and serve to reduce costly flooding, reduce erosion and sedimentation, provide water for industry and rural and urban areas, create water-based recreation developments, and significantly improve the quality of the environment.

In the Ninth Congressional District there are 16 applications on file in various stages of completion. A breakdown of these projects is shown as follows:

Completed: Elk Creek.

Approved for construction: Stucker Fork, Muddy Fork of Silver Creek, Twin-Rush Creek, and Dewitt Creek.

Planning completed and awaiting authorization: Delaney Creek.

Planning completed and undergoing review: Lost River.

Planning authorized and underway: Upper Vernon Fork, Lower Vernon Fork, and East Fork of Whitewater River.

Preliminary investigation completed: Whitewater River (Fayette County), and Upper West Fork of Whitewater River.

Preliminary investigation studies underway: Silver Creek and Blue River.

Applications awaiting service: White Creek.

On most of these projects, local people have spent considerable time and money to organize conservancy districts, and secure land easements and rights-of-way. In some cases moneys were borrowed and interest is being paid to provide their portion of the costs for this watershed development. All this activity was predicated on the Federal Government providing their share of the agreed amounts of money for planning and construction on schedule. Preliminary investigations are currently being delayed in Blue River and Silver Creek due to lack of watershed planning funds. This is holding up the

local organization of conservancy districts, which are necessary before the Soil Conservation Service can proceed with work plan development.

Construction plans are either ready, or will be ready, to contract in fiscal year 1970, amounting to \$7,993,000 for the State of Indiana. If the present national budget appropriation is allowed to stand, only about 25 to 30 percent of this construction could be started.

Based on the state estimate, the three operational watersheds in the Ninth District—Twin-Rush, Stucker Fork, and Muddy Fork of Silver Creek—which have construction planned in the amount of \$1,713,000 during fiscal year 1970, would be forced to delay approximately 65 to 75 percent of their needed improvements.

It required much initiative, enthusiasm, hard work, and local money on the part of my constituents to advance their watershed projects to where they are now. I do not believe we should so lightly regard this local effort, in which we encouraged the action, and then say:

No, we cannot assist you now. You must live with your flood problems until some indefinite future time.

Instead, I strongly believe we should encourage this local initiative whenever and wherever they have the courage to move forward as my constituents have done.

A study completed in Indiana identified 44 additional potential watersheds in the Ninth District that have problems and needs that can be overcome by action under the Small Watershed Act. With these additional potential projects installed the Ninth District could receive annual benefits amounting to \$2,300,000 from flood prevention and drainage improvements, have 3,000 man years of additional employment, create 200 new jobs and 69 new or expanded businesses, 15 additional water supply reservoirs, sufficient to supply 91,000 people, 18 new recreation developments, and the increase in the annual payroll would be at least \$1,480,000 per year. The reduced pollution from sediment would be very significant (1,600,000 tons per year) and the cost of antipollution efforts would be reduced by nearly \$300,000 per year. The total need for application of soil and water conservation practices would be accelerated, and when all projects were installed, would have a value to the land in the Ninth District that would exceed \$40 million.

For the benefit of these people, as well as many others in Indiana, the Soil Conservation Service national budget appropriation should be placed at no less than \$8 million for watershed planning, and \$80 million for watershed operations.

Last year I reported to this committee that there was not a resource conservation and development project in my district, but that careful evaluation was being made of the outstanding successes being achieved in the Indiana Lincoln Hills resource conservation and development project. The conservation action programs being achieved on the part of local people in the Lincoln Hills resource conservation and development project was too much of a temptation to over-

look. Today I am happy to report that the application for the Historic Hoosier Hills resource conservation and development project has been prepared and submitted for planning approval. However, I am most unhappy about the delay in getting this application approved. I sincerely urge this committee to support the \$10,252,000 in the budget for resource conservation and development and to add to this every dollar possible.

Mr. Speaker, I know that this is a time when every Federal dollar must be spent wisely. But, we must also move ahead with certain proven domestic programs for the well-being of our own people. In my opinion, the benefits attained through the work of the Soil Conservation Service is of tremendous value to our Nation. I sincerely hope the increase in budget appropriation outlined in this statement, will be favorably considered.

*ME*

## HOW ARAB PROPAGANDISTS AND THEIR FRIENDS WORK IN AMERICA

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 15, 1969

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, the activities of several official Arab propaganda agencies operating in the United States have reached scandalous proportions.

The Arab Information Office, for example, maintains headquarters in five major American cities, through which it engages in a heavily financed program of propaganda activities. It is registered as an official spokesman for the 14 countries of the Arab League.

The general tenor of these propaganda activities is well indicated by the fact that the authorized maps of the Middle East, issued by the Arab Information Office, do not even indicate the existence of the State of Israel. As long as the Arab States do not admit the existence of Israel, the hope for peace in the Middle East, or even the possibility of opening direct negotiations there is obviously very small.

Of even greater concern, however, is the fact that another officially sponsored Arab organization, devoted to securing support for illegal guerrilla operations and schemes of terrorism against a peaceful neighbor, is actually maintaining an office in this country under the guise of providing information. I refer to the Palestine Liberation Organization, headed by a man named Yasir Arafat. It is the business of this group to organize guerrilla bands to invade Israel. It is shocking to learn that such an agency maintains an office on Second Avenue, in New York City.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that the activities of this Palestine Liberation Organization exceed the limits prescribed for the operation of friendly information services in this country, as defined by the terms of the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

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Moreover, I believe that the duties of the United States regarding our relations toward a country with which we are at peace, Israel, require us to put an end to the activities within our boundaries of any agency such as the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Mr. Speaker, the background of this entire matter is well discussed in an article appearing in the current issue of *Prevent World War III*, a magazine published by the Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc., of 50 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y., which should be of great interest to my colleagues:

HOW ARAB PROPAGANDISTS AND THEIR FRIENDS  
WORK IN AMERICA

It is a commonly heard complaint from Arab quarters that their cause has "no voice" in America. In point of fact, the exact opposite is the case.

Each of the 14 Arab states has its own delegation—and usually its own information officer—at the United Nations. On top of that, the Arab Information Center, operating for all of the Arab League states, maintains headquarters in New York, Washington, Chicago, San Francisco and Dallas—plus a representative in Florida.

There is also the Palestine Arab Delegation—which purports to represent the indigenous Arab inhabitants of Palestine, but is actually the registered agency of the Arab Higher Committee of Palestine, headed by Haj Amin el-Husseini, better known as the former Grand Mufti of Jerusalem. (He was once Hitler's "special advisor" on the "final solution of the Jewish problem.")

Most reprehensible of all is the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)—an agency established and financed by the Arab League states for the express purpose of organizing guerrilla units to invade Israel, in order to bring an end to what it insists upon calling the "Zionist usurpation" there. This agency is openly dedicated to defiance of United Nations peacekeeping resolutions, and it publicly proclaims its goal of ending the existence of the State of Israel. Yet, it is permitted to operate with offices in the United States, although its bellicose purposes are clearly set forth in papers filed with the Foreign Agents Registration Section of the Department of Justice.

One might well ask whether the United States is not in fact acting contrary to its obligations to countries with which we are at peace in providing haven to such an agency as the PLO; and one must certainly say that in permitting it to operate within our borders, we are leaning over far backward to make things easy for Arab war-promoters.

ONE-SIDED VOICES

The mere presence of so many Arab state delegations at the United Nations provides a kind of built-in advantage for certain propaganda purposes. When Security Council debates are televised, for instance, the number of minutes given to Arab spokesmen and their supporters is invariably several times greater than that given to Israel and her usually less-verbose friends.

On these occasions, moreover, the Arabs have generally seen fit to play fast and loose with the ordinary rules of diplomatic courtesy, while objecting to any slight technical deviation from the rules by those on the other side.

For example, during the debate following the Six Day War, the Ambassador of Saudi Arabia delivered vituperative attacks against both Governor Nelson Rockefeller and the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy, on the ground that they had donned yarmulkes when attending as guests at a Jewish High Holiday service! One may well imagine the reaction in Cairo if an American spokesman had made similar personal attacks upon

members of the United Arab Republic government.

Even the American press was attacked—most especially, the *New York Times*, which Arab propagandists keep insisting is "Jewish owned." Yet, it is impossible to report U.N. debates on the Middle East without giving more space to the Arab spokesmen than their opponents, because of the mere factor of number. A line by line survey of the *Times* coverage of two months, including 30 days before the Six Day War and 30 days afterward, in fact shows 59.3% of the space given the Middle East during that period to be "pro-Arab" and only 40.7% to be "pro-Israel." Yet, it continues to be a constantly repeated—though untruthful—theme of Arab spokesmen that "the American press is against us"—because it is "Zionist controlled."

It is true, of course, that the Arab-Israeli war was more fully reported on television from the Israeli side than from the Egyptian side. But the explanation here was very simple: the Israelis welcomed any reporters, including cameramen, who could find transportation to follow their forces. On the other hand, the Egyptians locked up all American correspondents in a Cairo hotel, under guard, and kept them there during the hostilities. Under these circumstances, the Arabs are hardly justified in complaining that few pictures were taken of their armies; after all, a cameraman cannot cover a war from a hotel room.

THEIR MAP OMITTS ISRAEL

The well-financed Arab Information Center publishes a slick-paper monthly, a fortnightly news service and innumerable pamphlets; sends speakers to uncounted religious and civic groups; provides free films and maps to colleges; recruits participants for radio and television programs—and stands ready to supply any high school debater with a 10-pound assortment of literature. (Indeed, its supply of printed material is one of the largest available at any information agency of any government maintaining outlets in the United States.)

Unfortunately, not all of the material from this source is as accurate as might be hoped. For example, to this very hour of writing, the well-printed maps of "The Arab World" continue to show Israel only as a cross-hatched area marked "Israeli occupied territory of Palestine." Less partisan persons might be pardoned for asking whether, after 20 years of recognition by the United Nations and most of the countries of the world, an Arab map might not at least show the existence of the State of Israel—even if President Nasser might prefer to wish it out of being.

The expenditures of the Palestine Arab Delegation are much smaller than those of the Arab Information Center with its numerous branches), but its activities are a matter of special concern, because unlike most foreign propaganda agencies this "Delegation" concerns itself very directly with internal affairs of the United States.

For example, when President Johnson announced that negotiations would open for the possible sale of new aircraft to Israel, the "Delegation" sent him a scathing telegram and released it to the press. When Vice President Humphrey and President-Elect Nixon spoke in support of the same purpose, they were also favored with telegrams accusing them of courting "Zionist votes" and "harming" American interests. We know of no other purportedly official diplomatic group which conducts itself in such a manner—and it is unquestionable that an American information representative in Cairo, resorting to the same methods, would be hustled out of the country at once, or put in jail.

NEO-NAZIS AIDED

Even more reprehensible, however, is the relationship which this agency has built up

with some of the more extreme hate-groups in the United States, where the obvious effort is to set American citizens of different religions against each other. At one period, indeed, the "Delegation" actually permitted a self-avowed neo-Nazi group, the National Renaissance Party, to use the Arab postage meter for the purpose of mailing out the "Party's" own vicious anti-Jewish publication. On another occasion, "literature" written by the Palestine Arab Delegation was made available for printing in *Common Sense* (described in a staff report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities as "the source of some of the most vitriolic hate propaganda ever to come to this Committee's attention")—and the material actually appeared in two editions of *Common Sense* even before the Delegation got around to issuing its own pamphlet edition. Other hate-literature from the same source has been extensively used by Gerald L. K. Smith, and equally notorious American anti-Jewish agitators.

It is one thing to advocate a national cause; it is something quite different for a foreign agency to try to stir up dissension in a country with which peaceful relations presumably prevail.

We should emphasize here that the Palestine Arab Delegation is not a self-supported group of agitators. It has filed its official registration papers with the Department of Justice (Foreign Agent Registration No. 1459) as an agency of the Arab Higher Committee for Palestine, with headquarters at Almansurieh, Lebanon; and the Higher Committee's Chairman, the former Grand Mufti, is listed as residing in Egypt, near Cairo. Early publications of the "Delegation" list support from the four Arab states surrounding Israel, but more recently only the Higher Committee's sponsorship has appeared. The "Delegation" is recognized at the United Nations, to the extent of appearing before various official committees, where it claims to represent the Arab Palestinians. These facts make its uninvited intervention in America's domestic affairs all the more inexcusable.

STUDENTS USED AS AGITATORS

A survey of this subject would be incomplete without mention of the Organization of Arab Students in the United States and Canada, which has units on over a hundred American college campuses. The United States welcomes students from all parts of the world, and tries to help them secure an education—but in this particular case, the students who belong to the Organization are also told to consider themselves as political spokesmen for the views of their home governments. The Organization prints an elaborate magazine, which contains some of the most violent anti-Israel propaganda that we have seen—and its national convention it entertains speakers from the Palestine Liberation Organizations. Apart from other considerations, it seems hardly appropriate for an organization of foreign students, with obvious support from outside governments, to engage in such activities while its members are guests in our own country.

At its last-year's National Convention the Organization of Arab Students honored Dr. M. T. Mehdi as its "Man of Year." Dr. Mehdi, a former employee of the Arab Information Center (at its San Francisco branch), now heads The Action Committee on American-Arab Relations, an ostensibly domestic agency which describes itself as "an organization dedicated to better American-Arab understanding."

Dr. Mehdi's principal claim to fame, however, is the authorship of a book entitled "Kennedy and Sirhan, Why?"—the outrageous theme of which is that the Jordanian assassin of the late Senator Robert Kennedy ought to be thought of as a political prisoner, instead of being tried for murder in the ordinary way in the courts of California.

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"Sirhan's act is not an ordinary case of murder; it is a political act and political assassination. Hence traditional legal devices and legal remedies cannot adequately provide proper defense for the accused," we are told. Mehdi, in effect, tries to make Sirhan's terrible crime into a mere incident in the war between Arabs and Israelis (with the late senator classified as an Israeli protagonist). The idea is thus suggested that Sirhan should be treated as "a prisoner of war," with Kennedy classified as "a casualty in that war."

Must our government tolerate this? In short, Arab propaganda runs the entire gamut from slick-paper appeals intended to influence people with cultural and intellectual curiosity, to the stirring up of race hatreds, the organization of guerrillas, and even a quasi-exculpation of assassination.

Some aspects of this agitation are almost certainly contrary to American law, and are certainly in violation of good public policy. There is no excuse to permit the intentional stirring up of group hatreds in this country by people acting in the name of a foreign government, and our international obligations are clearly inconsistent with allowing the continued operation of militarist-terrorist groups like the Palestine Liberation Organization.

#### WARREN BLASTS REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

**HON. JOHN R. RARICK**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 15, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, every law-abiding citizen agrees that "free people require a free judiciary." The communications breakdown results in the word "free."

This was a weak excuse for Chief Justice Earl Warren to berate the elected Members of the U.S. Congress, for their mandated duty to their constituents to act within the framework of the Constitution to correct power-grasping decisions of an arrogant Supreme Court, which has treated the Constitution as if it were some archaic scrap of paper. Or perhaps the Chief—quick to defend judicial revolution, dissent, and change—fears legislative process with the people having a voice in Government.

Strange and erratic behavior for an appointed official—even Warren—to openly profess his disapproval of the constitutional system by attacking reform measures proposed by the U.S. Congress.

A responsible, constitutional judiciary is essential and indispensable—the very essence of this Government—to maintain law and order. This is why governments are established among men. And it is only because of Mr. Warren's secessionist departure from his duty under the constitutional plan that many Members of the U.S. Congress have felt compelled to introduce bills and amendments to restore a constitutional judiciary, having integrity and the confidence of the people.

Few will be persuaded by Mr. Warren's plaintive plea over what he called the litigation explosion. For he and his fellow usurpers are alone responsible for

any "litigation explosion." Their many, many maverick decisions against the American people—their seeming dedication to rewrite our basic legal concepts and laws were his Court's own fault—not the Congress or the American people.

Most humorous of the Chief's retaliatory pouting against Congress was his claiming the High Court decisions added a "civilizing aspect to our society."

Only an individual oblivious to what is taking place in our country—the murders and rapes, criminals running rampant, anarchists carrying the flag of the enemy, millions of dollars in property damage, homes destroyed, little children denied prayer—would have the audacity to boast that his role in unleashing the criminal element on our people has any relationship to a better society.

Mr. Speaker, I include a report by Lyle Dennison, from the Evening Star for April 10, 1969, as follows:

WARREN HITS EFFORTS TO CURB COURT'S POWER  
 (By Lyle Denniston)

Chief Justice Earl Warren has rebuked congressmen who tried to take away some of the Supreme Court's powers, telling them: "A free people require a free judiciary."

Warren's comments in a speech here yesterday, marked the second round of criticism he has aimed at Congress in the last month.

A few weeks ago he bluntly accused the lawmakers of depriving the high court and lower courts of the full amount of money they need to do their work.

Yesterday's speech, which was oblique and indirect compared with the earlier one, appeared to be an answer to the effort in Congress last year to deprive the justices of some of their authority to decide criminal law issues.

When Congress attempted to include these curbs in the new anticrime law, the effort was beaten but only by narrow margins.

Warren's response came indirectly as he used the historic figure of Daniel Webster to make his point. The chief justice was speaking at a ceremony marking the anniversary of an 1819 Supreme Court decision in a case in which Webster was the winning lawyer. The case upheld the royal charter of Dartmouth College and laid the basic foundation for much of American Business law.

Warren recalled that Webster, as a member of Congress, had been "stern and unswerving—in his opposition to legislative attempts at retaliation to unpopular Supreme Court decisions. The chief justice praised Webster for his "tireless effort to protect and sustain the independence and the integrity of the federal courts, and their authority to give meaning to the language of the Constitution."

After quoting Webster as saying that the judicial power was "essential and indispensable to the very being of this government," Warren said that those "underlying premises" remain valid today.

The chief justice also returned to his earlier theme that adequate facilities must be provided for the courts so they could handle what he called a "litigation explosion."

He commended lawyers who work without adequate pay in handling unpopular criminal cases and said these lawyers "can rightly insist that there be an allocation of public resources" to attain the "goal of equal justice under law."

Defending the advances the high court itself had made in the field of criminal law, Warren said the result has been to add a "civilized aspect to our society."

#### AN AMERICAN AFFRONT TO CHILE?

**HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL**

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 15, 1969

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, Mr. David John Gladstone, of Falls Church, Va., has called my attention to an article which appeared in the March 28, 1969, edition of the Chilean newspaper, *Politica Economia Cultural*. The article details the plans of the publisher of an anti-American, pro-Communist newspaper to obtain an \$800,000 loan through the AID program in Chile, to improve the facilities of his newspaper, now referred to in Chile as the "official bulletin of criminals."

Mr. Gladstone asked:

Would you please find out why my tax dollars are being used to support Communist newspapers in Chile?

In an effort to comply with his request, I have today written to the Secretary of State to obtain full details on this proposed loan. I urge my colleagues, who, I am sure, would share Mr. Gladstone's and my concern over such misuse of taxpayers' funds, to join me in urging the Department of State and the Agency for International Development, to look into this loan, and, if the facts are as stated in the *Politica Economia Cultural* article, to deny it without delay.

The article reads as follows:

#### AN AMERICAN AFFRONT TO CHILE

The loans allocated to Chile by A.I.D. (Agency for International Development) during this year are close to 30 million dollars obtained from various sources which reach from the purchase by Chile of farm surpluses down to the fluctuations in the price of copper. These funds are intended to be used by manufacturers, farmers and businessmen working in Chile who need some of the almost 300 items classified as soft goods for consumption, or of the almost 70 items included under "capital goods." Item 84.34 corresponding to "Printing Machinery" has just fallen under the rapacious hands of Dario Sainte Marie, proprietor of "Clarín" the paper which has accumulated the greatest number of convictions in the Chilean courts of justice for violation of the laws, and which even makes the toughest of its readers blush with its headlines, obscenities, insults and derision at the human and spiritual values of the country.

Hiding behind the apparent impersonality of international accords Volpone (Dario Sainte Marie's nom de plume) ordered printing machinery from the United States, applying for a credit close to \$800,000. Using as his tool the terror developed by his paper, in the best Chicago racketeer style, he obtained the approval of his application by the Banco del Estado (the Chilean State Savings Bank.) This bank will endorse the bills drawn on and accepted by Volpone so that in turn the Banco Central de Chile will connect the operation with A.I.D.

Three years ago Dario Sainte Marie (Volpone) tried to fool the Export and Import Bank with a similar deal. But the authorities of that international credit establishment, better acquainted than A.I.D. with Volpone's moral stature and the consequences which such a credit would have on



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the prestige of the Eximbank refused the credit. Unworried Volpone turned then to his Communist pals and obtained in Leipzig the machinery he wanted. At present the insults and attacks of "Clarín" against the United States, its armed forces and its rulers are printed with equipment imported from Communist Germany. This has increased the love of the Communist Party towards "Volpone" and it is thus that there is a permanent relationship between the "Clarín" of Volpone and "El Siglo" the Communist newspaper in their mentions of Vietnam, Cuba, racial conflicts in the United States, and the turns of internal American politics. What "El Siglo" says with dullness of the comrade, "Clarín" repeats making fun and deprecating the role of the United States in the preservation of world democracy.

Officials of A.I.D. in Chile have blushing disclaimed responsibility for this deal which will strengthen the anti-American repository of insults, explaining that the Agency grants the credit so the Chilean Government which in turn operates it through its own channels. According to these officials all A.I.D. does is to determine each year the total amount of the grants in aid, and to hand over the list of consumer goods or capital goods available to be used under the "A.I.D. Letters of Credit" which are granted at very low rates of interest.

The explanation, nevertheless, does not free the diplomatic agents of the U.S. from blame. Without their approval no credit operation can be materialized. And this is recognized by the very Banco Central de Chile which advises the commercial banks (by Circular letter No. 1052 of 30 Aug. 68) that it reserves the right to withdraw the dollar currency it has furnished "if, for any reason the [importation] cannot be completed."

And it could not be otherwise because if A.I.D. disclaimed all responsibility, passing it on to the officials of a government foreign to that which is granting the credits, it would be possible for "El Siglo" the property of the Communist Party of Chile to use A.I.D. credits to install a modern print shop and to attack with American machinery obtained with credits granted to underdeveloped countries "Yankee Imperialism" and "Yankee murderers." And this has been the usual language of Volpone and of "Clarín" towards the United States on every occasion when its people have had to face a problem.

The politics and the national and international goings on of the United States are subjects of lively discussion and worry in Chile. The occupation of Santo Domingo, the conflict in Vietnam, the assassinations of John and Robert Kennedy, the Bay of Pigs, or the meddling of Ambassador Dungan to speed up the Agrarian Reform of Chonchol (head of the Agrarian Reform program until late 1968) have divided the opinion of Chileans into rabid pro and con groups. But it can be certain beforehand that the approval of the A.I.D. loan to Volpone to increase his anti-American and anti-Chilean artillery will be rejected by the majority of leaders and serious members of both the right and left areas, including those in power who are already alarmed by the jump in criminality, of corruption and immorality developed and stimulated by Volpone and "Clarín" deservedly considered the "Official Bulletin of Criminals" in Chile. There is no more refined pornographic or criminal press than that produced by Volpone and his cohorts.

American diplomats in Chile cannot evade public judgment if they do not alert their Government against the indignation which the granting of this credit to "Volpone" will arouse. Nor will they be able to justify themselves before the new president and the new regime which will be governing Chile after 1970. How will American diplomats face the new President of Chile when he shows them the dirt of "Clarín" luxuriously printed in American machinery de-

livered to Volpone through the unbelievable generosity of the American people?

And if the Senate and the House of Washington which are so jealous about the use of foreign aid question A.I.D. officials about this loan to Volpone what reasonable explanation will they give? Or do American diplomats in Chile ignore that Volpone's very wife forbids "Clarín" from entering her home fearful that her small daughters will be corrupted by reading the paper their father publishes? Or are there private plans by A.I.D. to impede the development of Chile by promoting crime, immorality, shamelessness, and public corruption?

This would be the only explanation for the inconceivable loan of \$800,000 granted for Volpone to bite even harder the gentle hand which helps him with unbelievable blindness.

Chileans may disagree among themselves on the American policies in Chile: for some the "Copper Agreements" may be ruinous, for others Ambassador Dungan's efforts to harden Agrarian Reform were fatal; but for the immense majority of the country, for all the decent people, the affront to Chile should the A.I.D. loan to Volpone be finalized, will be uneradicable.

#### WITHHOLDING OF CITY INCOME TAXES FROM THE COMPENSATION OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 15, 1969

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, on March 10 of this year, I introduced H.R. 8526 which authorizes the withholding of income taxes imposed by incorporated cities with a population of 60,000 or more from the compensation received by Federal employees.

Under present law, Federal agencies are already authorized to withhold State income taxes from the pay of Federal employees and to return such collections to the States when State officials have requested such withholding.

My bill would simply enable larger incorporated cities also to enter into agreements with the Secretary of the Treasury which would provide for the withholding of city income taxes owed by Federal employees by the Federal department or agency employing such individuals. Since this measure would apply only to our larger cities, it will not impose too heavy an administrative burden upon those Federal agencies which withhold such taxes.

The Treasury Department in the past has supported similar legislation which would give larger cities the same assistance the States now receive in collecting income taxes owed by Federal employees.

Cities, caught in a financial bind as they attempt to provide the growing requirements of their citizens for additional and improved schools, housing, health and welfare facilities and services, and transportation systems, are finding it increasingly necessary to add income taxes to those which they are already levying to finance these needs.

Further, those cities which do impose an income tax are experiencing some difficulty in collecting the amounts owed by Federal employees. Just last month

the Finance Administrator of New York City complained that about 20 percent of the Federal employees working in the city had escaped paying the city income tax. He indicated that "the root of the problem was that under Federal law the city could not require Washington to withhold local income taxes from the weekly or biweekly earnings of its employees."

Enactment of this measure will enable our cities to more efficiently and promptly collect the income taxes to which they are legally entitled. At the same time it will prove less painful to Federal employees if such amounts are withheld as they earn their income.

For these reasons I urge your support and early approval of this measure.

#### THE VULNERABLE RUSSIANS

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 15, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in reference to our relations with the Soviet Union, the present period has been defined as "an era of negotiation rather than confrontation." Whether this definition is accurate and valid or ill-founded and misleading is a subject for much debate. Psychopolitically, we are being confronted by the Russians on every front, even within our own domestic environment. Nonetheless, if we believe this is an era of negotiation, then obviously, even in this case, we should approach it with knowledgeability, background, and insight.

The book, "The Vulnerable Russians," furnishes these necessary requisites for negotiating with the Russians. The numerous favorable reviews given this work point this out in a variety of ways. For example, as the review below shows:

This is a much-needed book that should serve to startle Americans out of their cold war complacency.

Authored by Dr. Lev E. Dobrinsky of Georgetown University, the book enables us to understand why diplomacy and negotiations are themselves mere instruments utilized by the highly vulnerable Russians to advance their cold war objectives. Copies can be obtained at the Georgetown University Bookstore, White Gravenor Building, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. The following review, written by Geraldine Finch in the October issue of Free China Review, explains in part the significance of the work:

THE VULNERABLE RUSSIANS  
(By Lev E. Dobrinsky, reviewed by Geraldine Finch)

In the dedication of his book, the author bares its essence: "To all freedom fighters, particularly the unsung heroes of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army which in World War II . . . fought both the Nazis and the Russian imperio-colonialists. Their supreme sacrifice . . . renders historically inseparable the far-flung events of our American Revolution, Ukraine's independence and the freedom of every non-Russian nation, as well as the Rus-

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Many honors have come Daniel's way—the Star of Italian Solidarity (First Class), given by Italy to foreigners who have performed outstanding achievements for the Italian nation; the Croix de Merit, by the Republic of France for work on the President's People-to-People Committee; the Service to Mankind Award, by the Sertoma Clubs; the Military Cross, by the Virginia Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy; the Distinguished Virginian Award, by Virginia Exchange Clubs. Daniel is a Baptist, Legionnaire, Kiwanian, Elk, and Mason. In addition, he's an excellent golfer who, friends say, shoots in the 70s. Golf is the Daniels' recreation. They have a married son who works for the Alcoholic Beverage Control Board (ABC) in Danville.

One day during the campaign, a reporter asked Daniel what he thinks, in the light of the myriad problems facing the nation at home and abroad, is the biggest challenge the United States faces in the years ahead. "To keep America America," he replied.

#### KING HUSSEIN: A STATESMAN WITH A PLAN FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

#### HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 14, 1969

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, King Hussein of Jordan has long been admired in this country for his courage, vision and steadfastness. Now, in a brilliant and well-reasoned speech before the National Press Club, he has clearly shown that he is a statesman of the first rank. His eloquent and moving plea for peace and the moderate and reasonable terms offered by the Arab States are impressive evidence that many Arabs sincerely and genuinely desire peace with Israel. Because of the timeliness of his remarks, I insert excerpts from his talk, as reported in the New York Times, in the Record at this point in my remarks:

#### EXCERPTS FROM HUSSEIN TALK

For 18 months—since the unanimous adoption of the Security Council Resolution of 22d November, 1967, and the appointment of Dr. Gunnar Jarring as the United Nations Special Representative, there have been no recognizable signs of progress toward a just and peaceful solution.

This has been a surprise to me because from the very beginning Jordan's attitude had been a positive one. We have from the outset agreed to accept every single one of the principles of the resolution and so indeed has the United Arab Republic. We are still waiting for Israel to do the same.

Consider this, for example: If, before the war, on the First of June, 1967, the Arabs had agreed to terminate the state of belligerency with Israel, to provide her with guaranteed access to Sharm el Sheikh and the Suez Canal, to recognize her right to live in peace and security, and to agree to provisions which would finally solve the refugee problem—if the Arabs had agreed to such terms on the First of June, 1967, such a move would have been so dramatic and such a concession on the part of the Arabs that Israel would very likely have found it impossible not to acknowledge the magnanimity of the offer; and so would everyone else in the world.

The fact of the matter is that the Arabs are making Israel that same offer today, and the Israelis are rejecting it.

#### STRESSES 1967 U.N. RESOLUTION

Future peace in the Middle East must stand or fall on the implementation of the November '67 United Nations resolution. We have agreed to abide by its provisions, and so far the Israelis have refused to do so.

Their contention that "negotiation directly" between the parties involved is essential to agreement is a rather curious and "arbitrary" position.

#### SEES A NEED FOR SPEED

I predict that if progress toward a solution is not made within the next very few months, not only will no one be willing or in a position to talk about peace, but no outside force, even with the best of intentions, will be able to divert the area from permanent conflict and eventual war.

Perhaps unwillingness to give up the territory Israel overran during the war is not the only reason she is unwilling to accept the United Nations resolution—and that is the provision concerning the Palestine refugees.

These were people who were driven from their homes during wartime. Their homes and their land are occupied by the enemy. And they don't want to find refuge in another country. They want to go back to their homeland.

Can anything be done about it? Not by anyone but Israel. They have traditionally taken the position that the Palestinian refugee problem is not their problem—that it is up to their fellow Arabs to look after them.

#### WOULD NOT STOP GUERRILLAS

The danger of the refugee problem is not a question of looking after their physical needs. The United Nations, with generous aid from the United States, has been doing this for almost a score of years. It is a question of their rights. Once these rights have been restored—by Israel's acceptance of their right to repatriation or compensation—then the final step toward peace will not be far off.

That is why when I am asked "Why don't you stop the fedayeen, the commandos, in their raids against Israel?" I reply, "I would stop them." It is their land that the Israelis are occupying and they see no way out for them except to struggle to achieve their rights.

Again about the commandos. I am frequently asked, "What good does it do you to seek a peaceful solution when members of the resistance forces say they will not accept it?" And my answer to that is simply this: "There is no difference in my aim in seeking a peaceful settlement and their aim in a settlement by conflict."

It is the intolerable situation that produces the commandos, not the commandos who provoke the situation.

#### ASKS PART OF JERUSALEM

There is no basis for any negotiation, since Israel has not yet accepted the [U.N.] resolution. This would require that Israel realize that she must withdraw her troops from all the territories which she occupied in June, 1967.

Moreover, any plan for withdrawal must include our greatest city—our spiritual capital, the holy city of Jerusalem. To us—Christian and Moslem Arab alike—Jerusalem is as sacred as it is to the Jews. And we cannot envision any settlement that does not include the return of the Arab part of the city of Jerusalem to us with all our holy places.

In conclusion, may I sum up for you just what it is that we are prepared to offer Israel? And this I am speaking for President Nasser as well as for myself.

On our part, we are prepared to offer the following as a basis for a just and lasting

peace, in accordance with the Security Council resolution.

1. The end of all belligerency.
2. Respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all states in the area.
3. Recognition of the rights of all to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of war.
4. Guarantees for all the freedom of navigation through the Gulf of Aqaba and the Suez Canal.
5. Guaranteeing the territorial inviolability of all states in the area through whatever measures necessary including the establishment of demilitarized zones.
6. Accepting a just settlement of the refugee problem.

In return for these considerations, our sole demand upon Israel is the withdrawal of its armed forces from all territories occupied in the June, 1967, war, and the implementation of all the other provisions of the security council resolution.

The challenge that these principles present is that Israel may have either peace or territory—but she can never have both.

#### TAX REFORM IN PERSPECTIVE

#### HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 14, 1969

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, Congress must act soon to reform our current tax system. Over the past months I have studied various components of the Federal Government's fiscal programs, and today I submitted for consideration by the Committee on Ways and Means a statement outlining my positions on tax reform, surtax extension, and overall Government spending. I now present that statement for the Record:

STATEMENT ON TAX REFORM PRESENTED TO COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS BY REPRESENTATIVE GEORGE E. BROWN, JR., APRIL 14, 1969

Mr. Chairman, from all over America the uproar over our current tax system steadily grows in intensity. And a few pertinent statistics indicate why I think there's good reason for such griping. For example, since 1958: the average American pays 78% more taxes to all government units—federal, state and local; but, average per capita income has risen only 56%; and, consumer prices have climbed over 20%.

No wonder the middle income American—the man or woman who heads a family with a total income between \$7,000 and \$20,000—is upset.

True, over the same period, both the quantity and quality of services offered citizens by government have increased dramatically—per capita expenditures by all government units went up 85% between 1958 and 1968—but the rising cost of government has been a prime contributory factor to recent inflationary pressures. In addition, distribution of the tax burden has not been even, with middle and low income earners carrying a heavy and unequal share of the rising costs of government.

Many of the complaints I receive deal with federal tax levels—and especially with the tax surcharge—although a further look at statistics presents a somewhat different perspective.

Again, since 1958, all taxes have risen 76¢ on a per capita basis, yet it has been the

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articulation of basic truth, by the force of his expressions, and by his constant consideration for those of us around him.

Soldier and statesman, his life was one of distinguished and disciplined devotion to service.

Ike's life and achievements and the high principles for which he stood will continue to serve over the years as an inspiration to us all.

I join my colleagues in extending my heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Eisenhower and family at their great loss.

# CONGRESSMAN DANIEL OF DANVILLE: A TOUCH OF ALGER, AND A FOUR-POINT PROGRAM FOR SUCCESS

## HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 14, 1969

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, all of us are familiar with the fact that one of the freshmen Members of the House, the Honorable W. C. "DAN" DANIEL, of Virginia, is a former national commander of the American Legion.

In his term as national commander, he was one of the most widely traveled and active holders of that important office. During the course of his tenure, he made more than 700 speeches and is widely recognized throughout the country for his active interest in military affairs, service to veterans, and as a eloquent exponent of patriotism.

Not all of us, however, are familiar with the totality of DAN's activities and I would, therefore, like to insert in the RECORD at this point a very fine article which appeared in the February edition of the Commonwealth magazine which is the monthly publication of the Virginia State Chamber of Commerce. Our colleague, DAN DANIEL, is the current president of the Virginia State chamber and prior to his election to Congress last November, he served as a member of Virginia's General Assembly.

DAN has had a colorful and active career and has come to Congress at a time when his background and experience can be most useful to this body and to the Nation. He is a member of the House Armed Services Committee and typical of his usual performance he has quickly assumed an important role in that committee's activities. He is well liked among his colleagues and highly respected by all who know him. Indicative of his fine qualities of leadership is the fact that he was elected President of the group of freshman Members of Congress at the beginning of the session and has lost no time in familiarizing himself with the total operations of the Congress.

I commend the article from the Commonwealth magazine to the reading of the Members of the House and include it herein with my remarks:

CONGRESSMAN DANIEL OF DANVILLE: A TOUCH OF ALGER, AND A FOUR-POINT PROGRAM FOR SUCCESS

(By Melville Carico)

President Nixon made a speech at a breakfast for newspaper editors in Washington,

D.C., in the 1950s and afterwards Marion Saunders, editor of the Danville Register, found himself in a small group chatting with the then Vice President. Saunders casually asked Nixon if he happened to know Dan Daniel, then national commander of the American Legion, from Saunders' home town.

"Oh yes," Nixon replied. He recalled having met Daniel at Legion conventions which he had addressed and then added: "He's the kind of young man we need in Congress."

"Dan Daniel is a Democrat," Saunders advised Nixon.

"That doesn't matter. He's the kind of young man we need in Congress," Nixon replied.

Voters in Virginia's 5th Congressional District, where agriculture and industry are combining harmoniously into a prosperous economy, apparently felt the same way last November as Nixon did years ago.

Daniel, then a member of the Virginia House of Delegates and assistant to the chairman of the board of Dan River Mills, won the House seat which since 1953 had been held by former Gov. William M. ("Bill") Tuck who, at 72, wanted to retire from public life.

And, in winning, Daniel got more votes than his Republican opponent and an independent combined—a remarkable political feat when projected against the political turmoil that gripped Virginia last fall.

It is even more remarkable, almost unbelievable, personal story of success in an age that scoffs at Horatio Alger for a man born 54 years ago one of eight children of a tenant farmer near Chatham.

His resignation as assistant to the chairman of the board of Dan River Mills before going to Washington symbolized this success. He started as a laborer in the dye house at 40 cents an hour, having gotten the job because of his brawn.

He plans to serve out his term as president of the Virginia State Chamber of Commerce, which expires in April, unless a conflict should develop with his duties in Washington.

He had to resign, too, as Danville's representative in the Virginia House of Delegates where, in eight years, he reached the "inner circle" of legislators who provide the General Assembly leadership and creative thinking.

He was on four major House committees—Privileges and Elections, Education, General Laws, and Finance. There are many members who would give their eye teeth to be on even one of these committees which, together, handle nearly all of the important legislation.

Daniel carries to Washington a business background gained from his years with Dan River Mills and as frequent spokesman for the entire southern textile industry, particularly on tariffs and world marketing; a farm background growing out of his boyhood and his years in the farm district; an enviable knowledge of world affairs gleaned through years of coming up through the ranks of the American Legion to national commander, and of travel as a member of the President's People-to-People Committee.

His experiences have led him to question the wisdom of continuing economic foreign aid but, at the same time, he feels Virginia and the South have great opportunities in developing foreign markets for their products.

John T. Connor, then Secretary of Commerce, appointed Daniel to the Regional Export Council in 1965 and in 1967, he spent three weeks in Europe with Gov. Mills E. Godwin Jr. participating in Virginia's first overseas trade mission to acquaint European markets with the State's agricultural and manufactured products and its tourist attractions.

"We cannot continue to shoulder the fi-

nancial burdens of the world," Daniel said in a speech on the Marshall Plan.

He wants to see the Merchant Marine expanded and is worried over what has been the reluctance of the United States to build nuclear-powered merchant vessels. "We are losing the wet war of the sea," Daniel warned in one campaign speech.

During his campaign for a seat in Congress he talked often about the rising crime rate, the looting and burning in the cities. In the General Assembly, he was a member of the Virginia State Crime Commission.

"The time has come to be harsh with those who refuse to live with the organized rules of society," Daniel said in a recent speech. And in another, he suggested that "We are the victims of an era of permissiveness."

Daniel, like many of the Southern congressmen who are returning to Washington, will be raising questions about some of the leftover programs of the Johnson Administration involving millions of dollars in appropriations, including the "War on Poverty."

"No one wants to stop worthwhile rehabilitation programs which will help to eradicate poverty, but you and I realize that in the name of fighting poverty a multitude of sins have been committed, and I say that they must not be allowed to continue," Daniel declared in a campaign speech.

Based on his own experiences, Daniel is convinced that the key to success is fourfold: education, discipline, training, and work. They paid off for him, because there is nothing in his boyhood background, using today's widely accepted yardsticks, that would be considered encouraging.

During the depression of the 1930s, he was in the Civilian Conservation Corps and when he applied for his first job at Dan River Mills he had not finished high school. Only his size, a strapping 200 pounds, got him a job.

A long time friend of Daniel's, a newspaper man, says he believes Daniel took the first big step when Dan River Mills put in a program to provide high school classes for its employees. Daniel was the first to sign up. Many fellow workers were not interested. He was the valedictorian of the plant's first graduating class—an event that led to a job in the company's personnel department.

Daniel had been a patient in the tuberculosis sanatorium at Blue Ridge. In fact, it was there that he met Mrs. Daniel, the former Miss Ruby McGregor of Pittsylvania County, who was working there. He has been cured.

When World War II started, Daniel tried to volunteer five times, was rejected five times because of his lung condition. He finally got into the Navy on the sixth try, but was soon discharged because of the lung condition which five times before had kept him out.

Tobacco farmers in Virginia have a Congressman who can question the government's anti-smoking campaign.

"I'm the only one in my family who didn't smoke and I'm the only one who had any lung trouble," Daniel often says.

Daniel was first appointed by President Eisenhower to membership on the President's People-to-People Committee, and in the fall of 1959, he went to Russia to assess the feasibility of this concept toward improving foreign relations. In 1956, he had been on a similar mission to the Arab countries; in 1959, to the NATO countries of Western Europe and Israel. Then, in 1960, he went to Mexico; in 1961, to Canada. He has been to Vietnam twice and he did not miss the opportunity to seek out Virginia boys on the battle lines.

"I don't believe you can buy friends over the bargain counter," Daniel says. In world affairs, he says, the United States must always be able to deal from a position of strength. As for the leadership in Russia, Daniel says, "A Communist is never more dangerous than when he smiles to shake hands."



[From the Terre Haute Star]

His openly friendly and sincere character, although at times a matter of consternation to his political associates, endeared him to both great and small.

[From the Terre Haute Tribune]

In his military role he did as much as any man to save the world from totalitarianism. His abiding concern as president was to build a more stable world order.

# THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT: A CHRISTIAN PROSPECTIVE

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 14, 1969

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, one of the most vexing problems facing America today is the seemingly insoluble situation which continues to fester in the Middle East. I was recently privileged to read an address by Rev. John T. Pawlikowski, of the Catholic Theological Union, in Chicago. Father Pawlikowski entitled his address to the Hyde Park Kenwood Council of Churches and Synagogues "The Middle East Conflict: A Christian Perspective." I believe there is much wisdom in Father Pawlikowski's words, and that his thoughtful presentation does much to dispel many of the common misconceptions about the Middle East today. It is my great pleasure, Mr. Speaker, to insert Father Pawlikowski's address at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The speech referred to follows:

## THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT: A CHRISTIAN PROSPECTIVE

(By John T. Pawlikowski, OSM, Catholic Theological Union)

The Russian novelist Leo Tolstoy once remarked that "certain questions are put to mankind, not that men should answer them, but that they should go on trying." The highly complex Middle East situation in which we must deal with the rights of Jews and Arabs against the background of a power struggle between a Russia and an America with nuclear weapons may often seem to be one of the questions to which Tolstoy was referring. I do not propose to offer any final solution this evening. But I will try to clear up what I conceive to be some misconceptions blocking a possible solution.

My interest in the Middle East problem is both moral and political. In fact, I do not think you can separate the two aspects. A political solution which would not consider the question of the rights of the local peoples is not morally justified as far as I am concerned. But neither is a solution which appeals to moral principles but lacks political and historical sophistication. An example of the former is the recent interview with William Polk, head of the Adlai Stevenson Institute of Foreign Affairs at the University of Chicago, which appeared in the Chicago Daily News. Though I highly respect Dr. Polk's knowledge of the Middle East exhibited in such a book as *The United States and the Arab World*, his position in the Daily News interview seemed to dictate a settlement almost exclusively on the need to avoid a nuclear confrontation between the United States and Russia. American self-interest seemed to be primary in his mind. I do not for a moment wish to deny the seriousness of the nuclear threat inher-

ent in the tense situation. But Dr. Polk fails, in my opinion, to adequately consider either the rights of the Israelis or the Palestinians in his projected solution. A particularly striking example of the lack of political and historical sophistication in handling the problem from a moral point of view is the recent *Commonweal* issue on Israel, especially the lead article by Arthur Southwick.

To begin to evaluate the Middle East situation from a moral point of view, I believe the following considerations are essential.

(1) As a Catholic, I am seriously disturbed by the continued lack of recognition of the State of Israel by the Vatican. This is a source of some irritation to the Israeli government, and rightly so. I am not at all convinced the Vatican should be involved in the diplomatic game of recognizing governments. But it so happens that this is the case at present and there is no immediate change in the foreseeable future. And the recent visit of President Nixon to the Pope underlines the Vatican's continued importance. I strongly suspect that the traditional theology of Christianity which relegated Jews to a life of perpetual wandering for the murder of the Messiah played an important role in the original decision not to recognize Israel. This was the reply given by Cardinal Merry de Val, then Secretary of State, to Theodor Herzl, the founder of modern political Zionism, when Herzl came to the Vatican to speak about a Jewish national homeland. There is still a residue of this theological anti-Semitism present in the Vatican according to Fr. Cornelius Rijk, head of the Vatican Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations. But the principal reason given for non-recognition today is fear for reprisal by Arab governments against their minority Catholic population. The fear may be real. Yet I feel that justice of the larger situation demands that the Vatican take a risk and abandon its narrow internal Catholic concern. Some may say, what value would papal recognition have at present given the current esteem of papal pronouncements in many quarters of Catholicism. I feel the principal value would lie in increased pressure on the thirteen or so other so-called Catholic nations (principally Latin nations) which have refused to recognize Israel because of the Vatican attitude. This lack of recognition frequently constitutes a difficult problem for Israel at the United Nations where she must sometimes deal with a security council the majority of whose members do not recognize her. Vatican recognition would also remove the lingering impression that there is something immoral about the very existence of the State of Israel, a fact that Arab propaganda has played up on occasion.

(2) Christians must become much clearer in their notion of the recent history of the Middle East and of Zionism in particular before making any moral judgments on the current situation. The American Christian majority has, on the whole, been deprived of any real knowledge of modern Middle Eastern history because of the preoccupation of our educational system with American and Western European history. This situation should be corrected. Many Americans, despite the claim of the Arab nations that their point of view receives no hearing in America, have swallowed the Arab line that Zionism is a dirty word, that it is synonymous with militarism and expansionism. Zionism is anything but a rigid univocal concept. Once it is granted that a Jewish national homeland is vital to Jewish survival, Zionism takes on different meanings for different Jews. This has been the case from the very beginning of modern Zionism. Herzl's views were not fully shared by Ahad-ha-Am, Martin Buber or Labor Zionism. And there is hardly complete agreement in Israel or in the diaspora on what Israel's policy should be today. An Israeli

such as Jack J. Cohen, in a major article in the *Reconstructionist* (Arabs and Jews. From Dilemma to Problem", Vol. XXXIII, No. 11, Oct. 6, 1967) has expressed the belief that the Israeli government has not done enough for its Arab citizens. Zionism has fundamentally represented an attempt to insure Jewish survival (and what, I may ask, is wrong with wanting to survive?) through the concept of a nation-state. Now there is nothing sacred about the nation-state concept. I certainly stand with those who see the need for a movement towards a more global form of government. But realistically that day is not yet with us. How many Americans are willing at present to relinquish some of their sovereignty to a world or regional government? Until we are willing to do this, I fail to appreciate how anyone can give the impression, as some Christian writers have that the Israeli preoccupation with nationhood is somehow philosophically and politically old hat. Let us not fall into the trap of judging Israel by some form of political eschatology.

(3) Christians must begin to take a realistic attitude towards the Israel-United Nations issue. So often Christian writers have given the impression that Israel should place her fate fully in the hands of the United Nations. For Israel to act otherwise would be somehow immoral. This was the attitude conveyed by some of the writers in *The Christian Century* series on the Middle East shortly after the June '67 war. I am a strong supporter of the U.N. and firmly hope that one day it might even become more important than at present. But U.N. diplomats are hardly disinterested humanists. The dominating factor is still power and a *quid pro quo* mentality. And in terms of political clout at the U.N. the Arabs have sheer numerical power. And numbers are terribly important for a nation such as Spain seeking support over Britain on the Gibraltar issue. Let us also not forget that it was capitulation by U Thant that precipitated the present crisis in May of 1967 and that continued Arab attacks on Israeli children and farmers for years from the Golan Heights and elsewhere as well as recent attacks in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv have gone officially unnoticed at the U.N. while the Beirut attack received the strongest of U.N. condemnations. Israeli cynicism about the U.N. in the present crisis is not totally unjustified.

(4) The demographic changes resulting from the U.N. settlement of the British Palestinian Mandate need to be placed in proper perspective. The impression is often given that Israelis are living on stolen land which the Western nation granted her as a quilt offering for the genocide of the Nazi period. Some demographic changes were inevitable in a rational solution of the Mandate issue, changes that affected both Jews and Arabs. It should be remembered that Jews had been occupying a considerable part of the territory that is now Israel for years before 1948, having purchased the land through special funds set up by Zionist leaders. And there has been a continual Jewish settlement in the area from biblical times. Prior to the British Mandate the area was in the hands of the Turks. The U.N. partition plan of 1948 called for the creation of an Arab and a Jewish homeland in Palestine. It was the Arabs who rejected the plan and went to war. This Arab refusal has been primarily responsible for the tremendous suffering endured by the Palestinian refugees for twenty years. Here is another vital distinction that one must make when dealing with rights in the Middle East. It is not Jordan or Egypt or Syria or Iraq that have suffered injustice in Palestine. Only the Palestinians can make such a claim. And their problems are due much more to the actions of their Arab neighbors and to Russia than to Israeli policy. If the U.N. partition had been accepted, I am sure the Palestinians who are in many ways the most creative

and Chekov. The music of Bach, Beethoven and Brahms, by Leonard Bernstein, Pablo Casals and Segovia. The teaching of every learned educator and scholar. The art of Picasso and Dali. The explorations of Jacques Cousteau, who took them to the depths of the seas never before seen by man. Documentaries of such magnitude as the four hour special ABC did on Africa, and played it in prime time on Sunday night.

When has man ever had access to so much culture, so much art, so much science, so much history in the making, prepared by so much creative intellect and presented with so much genius. Never, that's the answer! Never!

And how does anyone think almost 200 educational stations got on the air? The broadcasters donated millions of dollars worth of equipment, trained their staffs and continually gave them cash handouts, that's how.

I have seen the pilots of every new show, and I have listened to the rationale of every series from the heads of the networks, and I can tell you that they do have the sense of obligation our detractors turn blind eyes and deaf ears to. There's not one whit of violence in any of them. The networks have all but broken their spines bending over backwards, complying with today's social demands. Not only are there no new westerns or private eye series, but quite a few of the old ones are missing.

Does anyone know of another industry with any more moral commitment? Yet all they ask us are loaded questions like, "Do you still beat your wife, or when did you stop?"

It's time our story was told in its true perspective, and I don't mean to let George do it, or at the national level. That's already being done. I mean for each and every one of you to help them do it at the local level; and it makes no difference if you're ABC, CBS, NBC or an independent station. The only competition should be who does it best.

It won't take superlatives either, because, there's so much truth on our side, that adjectives aren't necessary. Let's be proud of what we are, and let's tell it like it is.

That's about all the sweet charity I can muster up on that subject so early in the morning. Except, perhaps, to recall that I spoke my piece about it, in this very room, from this very platform on this very day, four years ago. And I mention it, only because in my business as a program analyst and forecaster, when I'm right nobody remembers... but when I'm wrong nobody forgets.

So let's tell everyone! Let's tell every Senator. Let's tell every Congressman. Let's tell every Commissioner. Let's tell every citizen's committee, but most important, let's tell the people in our own hometowns, and let's use their own airwaves to tell them.

The public is entitled to weigh the facts for themselves, instead of the fantasies they are being breast-fed. I for one think they are ready to be weaned.

Besides, the life you save may be your own.

#### ABM REBUTTAL

**HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 14, 1969

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I know of no issue more important to the future of our country and world peace than deployment of an antiballistic-missile system. We are told that such a system is necessary to the national

defense and therefore the Nation must bear the cost. Distinguished scientists have taken issue with the rationale underlying the administration's arguments for the antiballistic missile—notably the position expressed by Dr. Ralph Lapp. I am pleased to place before my colleagues an editorial from the April 11 edition of the Trenton Evening Times which suggests that the administration meet Dr. Lapp's arguments before it determines finally to go ahead with this questionable decision to deploy the ABM. The editorial reads as follows:

[From the Trenton (N.J.) Evening Times, Apr. 11, 1969]

#### ABM REBUTTAL

In announcing his decision to deploy a "substantially modified" version of the Sentinel antiballistic missile (ABM) system, President Nixon said the system would protect U.S. Minuteman missile sites and assure a U.S. retaliatory capability in case of attack. If this were indisputably so, it would be wrong to oppose deployment of the ABM as many congressmen have continued to do.

The threat to our retaliatory capability was spelled out by Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird, who said that it would arise in the mid-1970's out of a growing force of Soviet offensive weapons, including the SS-9 intercontinental ballistic missile. There is "no question" the defense chief said, that the Soviet Union is "going for a first strike capability"—that is, elimination of our retaliatory capability—with its SS-9.

There has since been some indication that the administration was seeking to modify the emphatic nature of Mr. Laird's statement. Nevertheless, the administration's case for the ABM rests on the contention that steps are necessary to protect Minuteman missiles against SS-9 attack.

This contention was rebutted in an analysis prepared by Dr. Ralph Lapp, scientist-author and informal scientific consultant to Senate opponents of the ABM. Dr. Lapp's detailed study concluded that, on the basis of the most pessimistic Defense Department assumptions, the SS-9 force could not eliminate the Minuteman as a deterrent force. He presented arguments to show that the strongest conceivable SS-9 attack in the mid-1970's would leave 760 of our Minutemen intact. This would be more than enough deterrent to give any would-be attacker pause.

Dr. Lapp's contribution may be likened to that of one speaker on one side of a debate of extraordinary significance. On its outcome depends the expenditure of billions of dollars for a nuclear shield that is either needed for our protection or would represent a cruel deception and a colossal waste. Dr. Lapp has gone directly to this point of need for the ABM. Unless his arguments can be refuted, the deployment called for by Mr. Nixon would be unbearable folly.

#### TRIBUTE TO THE LATE HONORABLE DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER

**HON. JOHN T. MYERS**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 14, 1969

Mr. MYERS. Mr. Speaker, the world has lost a friend with the death of former President Dwight David Eisenhower. He dedicated his entire life to his Nation and mankind around the world.

General Eisenhower's devotion to

man's fight against tyranny, his constant quest for peace, his sense of justice and equality place him alongside the great leaders this Nation has known.

The memory of this old soldier's devotion to God and country will never fade away so long as this Nation cherishes the ideals he championed in a lifetime of service to his fellow man.

In the brief period since his passing, tributes to his life have come from around the world. To me, President Nixon struck the most significant theme when he eulogized that General Eisenhower's life reminds us "there is a moral force in this world more powerful than the might of arms or the wealth of nations."

The citizens of the Seventh Congressional District of Indiana, who gave General Eisenhower overwhelming support in his two presidential campaigns, joined the world in paying tribute to this great man as demonstrated in this sampling of editorial comment from district newspapers:

[From the Bloomfield Evening World]

May God grant that generations will continue to produce such men who place great value on religious faith, family and country.

[From the Bloomington Courier-Tribune]

Among General Eisenhower's most important qualities was his ability to bring men of diverse views together and to infuse them with his own spirit of generosity and service in a common cause.

[From the Bloomington Herald-Telephone]

The kind of man you'd want your son to be.

[From the Brazil Times]

Not since George Washington has America seen a leader such as Dwight David Eisenhower. Had he lived forever the world could never repay her debt to him.

[From the Crawfordsville Journal & Review]

There was something about this most uncommon common man that inspired confidence and faith that no matter how beset the nation was by crises and challenges, nothing dire would happen so long as Ike was there.

[From the Greencastle Daily Banner]

General Eisenhower was so many things that most Presidents are not—a military hero and a national symbol—that it became customary to minimize his accomplishments as a political leader.

[From the Plainsfield Messenger]

A soft-spoken man, Eisenhower's image of being the nonpolitician but possessing that man you could trust look, will be greatly missed in government.

[From the Putnam County Daily Graphic]

This man has a world that will remember and never forget one of the men who did not ask or hesitate but gave of himself, all of himself, for the betterment of his world.

[From the Rockville Republican]

He was a humble man. He was a good man. And was there ever a man more human?

[From the Terre Haute Saturday Spectator]

The name of Eisenhower is deeply carved in the marble tablets of history, as a leader, a man of integrity, outstanding character and compassion.

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and educated of the Arab peoples could have a well-developed national homeland. Instead their rightful homeland is in the hands of Jordans (a fact which Palestinian commando leaders have acknowledged recently with some animosity in statements appearing in *The Christian Science Monitor*) and they have been treated at best as second class citizens in other Arab countries which have used the hate-Israel slogan to cover up internal problems. This is especially true for the U.A.R., Syria and Iraq. One has to wonder if the June '67 crisis was not a way President Nassar hoped to avoid the internal challenge to his one-party regime which surfaced in the student riots at Alexandria and elsewhere. And the internal political situation of Iraq and Syria hardly needs further comment. Jordan has been caught in the middle of a political squeeze. Left to itself, Jordan would have made peace with Israel long ago.

Let me say emphatically that I believe there cannot be a morally justified settlement of the Middle East problem without the creation of a Palestinian national homeland along the lines of the 1948 plan, joined perhaps in some sort of economic union with Israel and Jordan. I do think the states have to be politically separate. The current Palestinian proposal for a single Jewish-Palestinian state is unrealistic at present.

The major world powers ought to help the growth of the new Palestinian state in anyway they can, either directly or through an agency such as the World Bank. Even from a strictly political viewpoint the Palestinian, through the recent organizational mergers, are now strong enough to prevent any effective peace in the area if they fail to receive some form of national identity.

(5) Christian writers on occasion have criticized certain Israeli actions in such a way that it would seem Israel had no right to exist if it was guilty of any failures whatsoever. Earlier on I spoke of an erroneous application of political eschatology to Israel. Here we have a case of a false application of moral eschatology to Israel. There is legitimate room to question some Israeli policies. Israelis themselves have, and are doing, precisely this. But even if one were to judge certain actions of Israel as morally wrong, this fact does not automatically rule out the continued existence of the state. If such eschatological criteria of absolute morality were applied to our own country, I ask you what the verdict would be? Certainly my conscience troubles me when I read of Israeli use of napalm in the June '67 war. And certainly I worry about the possibility of a war mentality being forced upon Israel. But I must judge these aspects against the total picture of rights and wrongs and against the fact that the Israeli government is not dominated by militarists. In fact, the recent party merger in Israel has strengthened the doves.

On particular issues such as the status of Jerusalem there is room for discussion and disagreement. I personally wish to remain open on the subject at present. Let me insist, however, that my motive here is not any fear of Israeli control of the holy places nor a desire for U.N. control (which the Danzig and Tangles situations show to be impractical). My reason is based on the feeling that some Palestinian control of East Jerusalem might be vital to the economic stability of the state. I would be inclined at present towards Arab and Israeli sector, but with free access to both parts of the city by Palestinians and Israelis. A temporary U.N. presence of some sort might be necessary for stabilization. But I remain open on the issue.

(6) Christians should also be aware of the danger that American policy in the Middle East might not be determined in the future by considerations for all the peoples in the area. The Middle East desk at the state de-

partment has been traditionally pro-Arab. It took a maverick president named Harry Truman to go against the state department and recognize Israel in 1948. And what Michael Harrington has termed the social-industrial complex might begin to play a decisive role in policy formulation during the business-oriented Nixon administration. Oil is one aspect of the problem, another is the potential consumer market for American goods in Arab lands.

(7) Something should also be said about the Jewish charge of Christian silence on the Middle East and the Christian counter-charge that Jews over-reacted. I believe that in this exchange there has been something less than adequate sensitivity to the other's problem by both sides. Christians were ignorant of the importance of Auschwitz and all it symbolizes in contemporary Jewish theology and literature. As the novelist Elie Wiesel has said, Auschwitz and June '67 were intimately connected. Christians were also shortsighted in not realizing the close connection that exists for many Jews between what Christian would classify as the political and the religious spheres. Jews are a people, an important aspect of which is a religious tradition. The survival of Jewish religion is linked in the eyes of Jews to the survival of the people. And for an increasing number of Jews, after Hitler this means the survival of Israel. The Christian cannot simply brush off Israel as a political issue that has absolutely no place in interreligious dialogue. Although some Jewish spokesmen may have given the impression of wanting one hundred per cent support of Israeli policy, the principal Jewish leaders have no such ideas. Apart from any dialogue considerations, they are merely asking for a moral affirmation by Christians of Israel's right to survive in the face of another genocide threat. In fact, my research shows that important for most of the major non-fundamentalist Protestant groups and a number of Catholic leaders did unequivocally affirm Israel's right to exist. Silence is perhaps better applicable to Catholics than Protestants, especially to Catholic leaders. Unfortunately, many of those who did speak out had their priorities in the wrong order. They began their statements with a criticism of particular Israeli policies before coming to their affirmation of the absolute non-negotiability of Israeli independence in any peace settlement. The National Council of Churches principal (second) statement on the crisis is a perfect example of such a confusion of priorities. This confusion has greatly added to Jewish resentment.

On the other hand, I do feel that some Jews were not entirely sensitive to the dilemma faced by Christians when the crisis broke. Christian leaders in the peace movement were simply unprepared emotionally to react so quickly to war in another part of the world. And let me add this was not only a Christian problem. Jewish groups also had to face it as a special memorandum from the UAHOC central office testifies . . . Ordinary Christian overwhelmingly supported Israel, though some may have done so on the basis of an anti-Communism that would embarrass many Jews. It must also be remembered that the Catholic Church has only recently broken down its conception of church-state identification and in the eyes of many Catholics the Jews were falling back into a trap that had proven so disastrous for them. This is a highly complex issue, although it needs further re-thinking in Catholic circles.

The Jewish-Christian dialogue was really quite limited prior to the war and Israel appeared on the agenda only infrequently. So the average Christian must at least be partially pardoned for his failure to understand how deeply American Jews could feel about Israel. In fact, the June '67 crisis brought to a head a growing sense of Jewish peoplehood among diaspora Jews. This made it difficult

for many Jews to understand why Christians could not appreciate their new enthusiasm for Israel and Jewish peoplehood. Some Jewish leaders whose opinions I value highly have said to me privately that they feel diaspora Jewry stills needs to do some serious thinking about the precise relationship they should have to Israel. It is interesting that black American writers such as Malcolm X and Albert Cleage have a deeper appreciation of what Israel can mean to non-Israeli Jews than do most white American Christians.

The present hour thus demands from Christians an idealistic drive for peace and justice for all peoples in the Middle East combined with a realistic understanding of the tactics needed to achieve this goal. Concretely this will involve recognition of the right of Israel to exist as an independent nation with security and to have access to the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba; creation of a Palestinian national homeland; a greater sensitivity for the meaning of Israel to diaspora Judaism; and a concern lest American foreign policy turn its attention to peace without justice in the Middle East in order to aid American business interests. Only with such an approach can we hope for some daylight in the present Middle East crisis.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

HON. EDWARD G. BIESTER, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 14, 1969

Mr. BIESTER, Mr. Speaker, President Nixon and the American people have lost in the death of former President Eisenhower, a powerful voice and good counsel at a time when we can ill afford that loss.

Few men in American history have given so much to the American people. I join with all Americans in mourning his passing.

I would like to take this opportunity to insert two editorials in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD regarding Dwight D. Eisenhower from the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin.

The articles follow:

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Bulletin, Mar. 31, 1969]

#### A LEGACY OF DECENCY

As long as free men cherish their freedom, Dwight Eisenhower will stand with them, as he stood during war and peace; strong, confident and courageous.—President Nixon proclaiming today as a national day of mourning.

Most men who make their mark upon the world and who die in greatness leave behind as their legacy some specific deed or thing, or some words expressing inspiring or profound thoughts.

Dwight D. Eisenhower has given more. He has left behind, for all who will accept it, a legacy of decency.

As 34th President of the United States, as most respected citizen in retirement, as General of the Army, Mr. Eisenhower held to a strong and basic faith in his country and its people.

There was, he was certain, a strength, a resolve and a basic goodness in the land and in its people. To him the qualities of honesty, tolerance, self-reliance and patriotism were not to be described as old fashioned. They were part of each day.

When Mr. Eisenhower saw these qualities held up to ridicule he became concerned. He



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saw the young people of today as perhaps the finest the nation has ever produced. But he expressed fear that so many of them have been taught nothing of responsibility and self-discipline or the real meaning of life.

"You accepted hard work and a concern for others as a way of life," Mr. Eisenhower once said in describing his formative years. "We would have sneered at anyone who said we were underprivileged or anything like that."

Mr. Eisenhower was indeed, as President Nixon said yesterday, a product of America's soil and America's ideals. Mr. Eisenhower was, as he said in his London Guild Hall speech in 1945, from the "heart of America."

There is a tendency today to brush aside the qualities that were so much a part of Mr. Eisenhower as something of value only in a past, unsophisticated and simplistic era. But in truth they are as relevant and more needed today than ever before in the nation's history.

And, despite the cynicism and the skepticism that is part of America today, the vast majority of the nation holds to the same beliefs that Mr. Eisenhower held—a faith in themselves and in their country and a respect for their fellow man.

The difficulty today, as it has been in other periods of this country's history, is that it is difficult to hear the voice of this majority above the shrill shouts of those who seek confrontation rather than conference and conciliation.

President Nixon, in the eulogy delivered yesterday in the Rotunda of the United States Capitol said that these days of national mourning should also be days of gratitude for the inspiration and the strength which Mr. Eisenhower has given his countrymen.

These days can be something more. They can be days of rededication to the basic beliefs and the truths that were Mr. Eisenhower's. They can be the time of acceptance of Mr. Eisenhower's legacy of decency.

Nothing, in a nation so divided and torn by dissent, could be a finer tribute to a man who believed that his nation's future rested upon its moral strength.

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Bulletin, Mar. 30, 1969]

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

There is nothing wrong with America that the faith, love of freedom, intelligence and energy of her citizens cannot cure.—Dwight D. Eisenhower.

The Eisenhower presidential years now seem a time of serenity and untroubled acceptance of the virtues which make us a great people.

The era has a placid, sunlit quality to it. This tranquility and amiable consensus derived from circumstances and General Eisenhower's demeanor, his faith in God and belief in America, and in the American people.

The circumstance, of course, was the relatively brief period of calm intervening between the end of one war, the Korean War, and the gathering storm of another, the Vietnam War.

Probably no President could have made such a respite more purposeful.

His contribution was a renewal of the spirit, a general sharing of his instinctive sense of decency, a time of weighing values and the inevitable reassertion of the virtues which went into the making of the nation.

As recently as last summer, he told the GOP National Convention by television from his hospital room that the vast portion of the people are law-abiding and proud of their country and ready to sacrifice on her behalf—that all but a tiny percentage of Americans are patriotic, optimistic and loyal.

Dwight David Eisenhower was sure about important things like that, things which perhaps he made sound more simple than

they are, but which are nonetheless the basis of Americans' faith in their country and in one another.

Ike, as the American family called him with fond familiarity, trusted his countrymen and his countrymen trusted him. That relationship—the affection, confidence, and respect—may not come through in the history books. Youngsters, even today, may not feel it. But it explains a great deal about the America of the nineteen-fifties, about Mr. Eisenhower's years in the Presidency, and about the inexhaustible reservoir of goodwill on which he drew among the generation of World War II.

It was this great confidence, this respect that helped to elect him President; Americans had ample cause to remember and be grateful for the services of the commander in Europe who carried such massive responsibilities in the battle against Nazi evil that threatened this nation and mankind.

But it was more than gratitude or the remembrance of past glory that put the general in the White House. In 1952 the Korean War was the sort of agonizing issue that the Vietnam War is today. Americans trusted Mr. Eisenhower to find a solution to it. They were willing to accept what he would do as necessary, in the nation's interests, honorable.

And something else: the American political atmosphere was also befouled then by those who spread fear, hate and distrust to gain their ends. Mr. Eisenhower did much to clear the air in the fifties simply because he was the kind of man he was—towering above the demagogues in public esteem, restrained, patient, moderate in speech and trusted.

There was added to Mr. Eisenhower's world reputation as a military man a universal recognition of his qualities as a man genuinely desirous of peace. He was at once able to inspire caution in potential aggressors to extend the olive branch. His countrymen trusted him to be firm without being bellicose and peace-seeking without appeasing.

Let historians deal with the specifics of his political leadership and of his Presidency. To his nation, and to the world, he gave a strength of leadership, a new sense of resolve. And although he sat long with the great, his was an open and unassuming greatness that raised him to a place above the others.

He served his country in war in one of the highest of commands. He served his country and the free world in time of relative peace and in the most powerful office in the world. The "Eisenhower Years" may blur with the passage of time, but the quick and friendly grin of the man will never be forgotten. His was a great and rare gift, the gift of measuring problems and seeking solutions in terms of people.

The American nation mourns a great soldier, a high-minded President, a good and trusted man.

WHAT IT MEANS TO BE A GIRL SCOUT

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 14, 1969

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, I am sure my colleagues will agree that the Girl Scouts is one of the finest organizations in this country.

I am proud of their achievements in my district and at this point place in the Record a statement by Girl Scout Connie Huskey, of Philadelphia, Tenn.:

Connie Huskey, of Junior Troop 133 of Philadelphia, was recent winner in a contest in which she wrote a paper "What It Means to be a Girl Scout." She is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Carlton Huskey, Route 1, Philadelphia. Mrs. Hal McCrary is troop leader.

Following is the texture of Miss Huskey's paper:

"It means to be a friend to everybody and to be kind to animals. To know the needs around, as to what you can do to help yourself and other people. To grow up to be a better citizen. Scouting gives you an opportunity to enjoy outdoor sports, such as camping, hiking, swimming, canoeing, bicycle hiking, and other group activities. It teaches you to be thrifty and not waste your money. To be considerate and thoughtful of others. It gives you an opportunity to meet other people. To share your ideas with other people. To tell the truth so people will have faith in you. To obey your parents, leaders, and other elderly people. To be cheerful and happy. In all, it helps us to be better people, to form a better world."

FLOWSHARE, POLITICS, AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 14, 1969

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, I insert the remarks I made to the symposium on the Public Health Aspects of Peaceful Nuclear Explosives, on April 8 in Las Vegas, in the Record at this point:

FLOWSHARE, POLITICS, AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST

As a friend and strong supporter of the Flowshare Program, I am delighted at the opportunity to come here this evening to speak on its behalf. This is a very important meeting on a tremendously interesting subject. It is especially timely for a variety of reasons.

First, the Senate's recent ratification of the Non-Proliferation Treaty will have a positive, long-term impact on world-wide interest in applications of peaceful nuclear explosives. Article V of the Treaty deals specifically with this subject. The United States, as a nuclear weapons nation, promises to make the benefits of Flowshare available to the non-weapons countries on a non-discriminatory basis.

Second, President Nixon has indicated he intends to pursue the Flowshare program vigorously. A positive indication of this was his instruction to AEC Chairman Glenn Seaborg regarding a feasibility study of blasting a harbor at Cape Keraudren in Australia. The project collapsed, but for totally non-nuclear reasons. Sentinel Mining Company withdrew its interest because it couldn't make a sale to the Japanese of the iron ore to be shipped from Keraudren. But Cape Hedland and Cape Preston are emerging as alternate sites for alternate companies. An Australian Flowshare harbor is still a real possibility. You will be hearing about it quite soon. My lips are sealed for now.

Third, The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy will resume hearings shortly on the Commercial Flowshare Services Bill. As you will recall, preliminary hearings were held on it last year, and I think the committee will broaden its view and look into several related issues this year. I am confident that passage of this bill and the information developed during the hearings will have positive effect on the pace of events in this field.

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rated them into their black (and unequal) world.

The truth is that the Negro American, despite the acknowledge hobbles, is still the one black minority in all the world that comes closest to meaningful political participation in his government. Sixteen black Rhodesians in parliament? Why Negro Americans have 11 in the Georgia legislature alone. If the men be forgotten for a moment, they have one black woman state senator in Texas and one black woman in the national Congress.

This is not good enough for 10% of the U.S. population, but it is on its way to being good enough. Moreover, it makes Ian Smith's "for all time" one with Hitler's "thousand years" and kissing kin to the "never" bloc of white Americans.

## **SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC NEEDS OF THE MIDDLE EAST**

**HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, April 14, 1969*

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, in our effort to encourage Arab-Israel negotiations toward a peace settlement, we must not overlook the pressing social and economic needs of the Middle East. I propose today a project aimed at supplying huge quantities of water to the people of that region, which would ultimately benefit Arab and Jew alike—and provide a solid basis for reconciliation and lasting peace. For, the shortage of water—historically a cause of great conflict between Israel and her neighbors—remains a source of continued rivalry.

My bill, which I first introduced in January 1968, authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to participate in the construction of a large desalting plant in Israel. The plant would be an integral part of a dual purpose power and desalting project which will produce significant quantities of electrical power and fresh water urgently needed by Israel.

This bill would harness unequalled American financial and technical resources to the Israeli talent for developing her water resources. Throughout her 20 years of independence, Israel scientists and farmers have applied new methods and techniques to agriculture, along with two vital ingredients—hard work and determination. During this period Israel has increased the amount of land under cultivation fivefold—a clear demonstration of her ability to transform deserts into fields and orchards, and exploit and utilize sources of water to their fullest.

The dual purpose power and desalting plant would produce about 100 to 150 million gallons of fresh water per day—enough water for the intensive irrigation of approximately 50,000 acres of land. The plant would also produce about 300,000 kilowatt-hours of electrical power per day—enough power to provide electricity for the homes of some 30,000 people who will be directly involved in the farming of the land under irrigation as well as for an industrial complex attached to the plant. The output of that industrial complex will include fertilizer for over 3 million acres of land.

What will be the benefits of this project? Employment opportunities could be afforded to refugees. The desalting plant would contribute substantially to agricultural and industrial growth. It would serve as a model for power and water resources development throughout the Middle East. The project will also provide us with valuable technical information for future desalination programs throughout the world.

The most valuable effect of this venture is that it would add immeasurably to the long-range possibility of a durable Arab-Israel peace. Electricity and large quantities of low-cost water could ultimately be produced cooperatively by the Arabs and the Jews in a region that needs water, food, and power so urgently.

This is a challenging plan—but the human problems of the Middle East—finding a place for men to work and provide for their families—requires a plan of this scope.

I urge my colleagues to strengthen our commitment to the economic and social renewal of Israel—and all other nations in that area. Let us seize this chance to help shift the energies and attention of the people of the Middle East from the antagonisms of the past to the opportunities of the future.

## **THE VOLUNTEER ARMY**

**HON. PAUL FINDLEY**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, April 14, 1969*

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the student newspaper of Winchester, Ill., High School recently carried a comment about the volunteer army proposal written by a member of the student body, David Worrell. In my view, this young man has set forth very clearly and cogently the central arguments for a transition from compulsion to voluntarism in our armed services. Here is the text of his comments:

### **THE VOLUNTEER ARMY**

Our country has been using the present draft system since 1948. Many people feel that now is the time for a change in our old draft laws.

In almost any newspaper throughout the country you can read stories of draft card burning, riots, and demonstrations over our present system. Many feel that the volunteer army is the proper thing. I believe this is a step in the right direction.

Some type of volunteer system would greatly lower training costs. As it is now, a new group of men must be taught their jobs every two years, and this is expensive. Money saved could be used to pay higher salaries, so that more able men would want to make the army their career. Also, if men stay in the service for more than two years they can learn how to do a better job.

A volunteer system would affirm the principles that free men should not be forced into involuntary servitude in violation of the thirteenth amendment. If a man wants to be a soldier he can do so, and if not, he does not have to be.

The new system would greatly help college boys. Many have to drop out of college to go into the army, and they frequently do not return to college.

The volunteer army would be mainly composed of men with character and determination. Only the men who want to keep our country free would join. Our protection would not be in the hands of those idiots who burn their draft cards. Most of those who would volunteer would have greater intelligence and more will power. Tests have shown that those who volunteer graduate from training more quickly than those who are drafted.

Our national defense would improve with a volunteer army. The only two countries who do not draft men, Canada and Britain, have high effectiveness, low turnover, and contented officers. The United States Navy, Air Force, and Marines do not draft men, and their volunteer system has worked well, making these the prestige services.

Many feel that a volunteer army would help the Negroes to overthrow our government. They think the Negroes would all join the army and use it to give them power. This is far from true. The higher pay would encourage both black and white. It would actually level off the number of black and white in the army.

I think everybody would benefit from the volunteer army system. Our army would be better organized with more capable men. These men would want to do their jobs without being forced. This type of army would help ease racial tensions and stop draft card burners. Above all, a volunteer army would give a man a free choice which is supposed to be guaranteed him by the Constitution.

DAVID WORRELL.

## **NEW YORK CITY COUNCILMEN INTRODUCE RESOLUTION OPPOSING ABM DEPLOYMENT**

**HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, April 14, 1969*

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the prospect of the deployment of President Nixon's Safeguard anti-ballistic-missile system has elicited considerable response from cities and communities across the country. Contrary to the opinion expressed recently by a White House assistant that the opposition has already spent itself, opposition is increasing in intensity.

A resolution opposing deployment of the Safeguard system has recently been introduced in the City Council of New York under the primary sponsorship of Councilmen Donald R. Manes and Theodore Weiss. Since it was introduced on March 25, 1969, the resolution has attracted the cosponsorship of 17 additional councilmen, giving it the support of a majority of the council.

I am happy to provide a copy of this important resolution, and a list of its supporters, for the RECORD:

RESOLUTION BY THE CITY COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK CALLING UPON THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO REFRAIN FROM APPROPRIATING THE FUNDS NECESSARY FOR THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE SAFEGUARD MISSILE SYSTEM AND URGING THAT THE MONEYS SAVED BY SUCH ACTION BE SPENT TOWARD THE PROMOTION OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AND SOCIAL HARMONY WITHIN OUR NATION'S CITIES

Whereas the cost of the recent presidential decision to deploy the Sentinel Anti-Missile system is conservatively estimated at six to seven billion dollars and

Whereas the system has provoked considerable disagreement as to both its technical feasibility and political desirability and

Whereas the Defense Department has exhibited a history of spending billions of dollars on weapon systems that become obsolete before they are completed and

Whereas it is universally accepted that millions of Americans are daily faced with a multitude of problems that severely limit their present and future well being and

Whereas an enlightened government has the responsibility to endeavor to provide equal opportunity for all its citizens and

Whereas the greatest danger facing the United States is the slow disintegration and polarization of our Nation's social framework, and

Whereas needed economic and social programs within our Cities are not properly funded or are non-existent and

Whereas this intended deployment will only further siphon off funds badly needed for our Cities and

Whereas it will be more practical as well as morally correct for our national government to make the commitment needed to eliminate social imperfections before our nation's flaws become its permanent failures and

Whereas the deployment of these systems may abrogate a portion of the newly ratified treaty to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons; now therefore be it

Resolved, that the City Council of the City of New York does respectfully call upon the Congress of the United States to refrain from appropriating the funds necessary for the deployment of the Sentinel Missile System and be it further

Resolved, that the City Council urges that money saved on this action be spent towards the promotion of equal opportunity and social harmony within the Cities of our nation.

SPONSORS AND COSPONSORS OF A RESOLUTION INTRODUCED IN THE CITY COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK OPPOSING DEPLOYMENT OF THE SAFEGUARD ANTI-BALLISTIC-MISSILE SYSTEM

Councilmen Manes, Weiss, Bernstein, Cohen, Friedland, Greitzer, Katzman, Knigin, Lazar, Lebran, Low, Maze, Morola, Moscovitz, Rios, Sadowski, Sharison, Skolnick, and Thompson.

PROF. JOHN E. ULLMAN'S STATEMENT ON THE ABM

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 14, 1969

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, on March 2, I participated in a congressional hearing sponsored by the New York Council for a Sane Nuclear Policy on the subject of the proposed anti-ballistic-missile system. This hearing was held at the Ethical Culture Society. I believe that hearing was an important contribution to the national debate now taking place on the question of the ABM. Testimony was presented by academicians and scientists concerned with the implications of the ABM, its relationship to disarmament talks and the arms race, and its effect on the economy. Concerned community citizens also testified about its impact upon our society.

Prof. John E. Ullman, who is chairman of the department of management and business statistics at Hofstra University

in Hempstead, N.Y., made a presentation at that hearing which I believe gives an exceptionally well-reasoned analysis of the economic implications of the proposed ABM programs. I am today inserting Professor Ullman's statement in the RECORD, and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

THE ABM SYSTEMS: BANKRUPTCY WITHOUT SECURITY

(By John E. Ullmann)

My name is John E. Ullmann. I am Chairman of the Department of Management, Marketing and Business Statistics of Hofstra University, Hempstead, New York. I am also a national director of SANE and co-chairman of the New Democratic Coalition of Nassau County. I am a civil, mechanical and industrial engineer by training and have specialized for many years in engineering economics and in industrial and urban planning.

My purpose today is to discuss some of the economic implications of the proposed ABM programs. I would like to make it clear at the outset, however, that in commenting on some of the cost estimates announced by the Pentagon, my views are essentially that the proposed systems are not worth \$50 billion, nor \$5 billion, nor five cents. To be an effective defense, an ABM system could not even permit a single nuclear armed missile to reach its target. For if just one did, all would be lost, anyway, and the city together with most of its population would be destroyed. Merely to set the requirements of the system in this way indicates the utter futility of trying to develop one. It would certainly have to perform enormously better than anything we now have in the defense against aircraft.

It is perfectly clear from the American experience in Vietnam and from military operations elsewhere that today, just as in World War II, the bombers, or at least most of them, will get through. The North Vietnamese have, we are told, been equipped with some of the most sophisticated Russian ground-to-air missiles but these appear to have been largely useless against our attacking aircraft. Even against armed helicopters, defense measures have proved to be quite difficult.

Are we then to take seriously any claims by the military and by their industrial suppliers that there exists now or there is in prospect any system that can provide the kind of protection which I specified earlier? I think that the very suggestion is an utter absurdity. Clearly, the advantage lies with the attacker and with the development of multiple warheads and better penetration devices, this system would not help defend anybody against anything.

This does not mean, however, that we should therefore install more offensive weapons. What with 4200 megaton warheads ready to go at no more than 136 Russian towns with over 100,000 inhabitants, we have plenty of overkill already. The Russians, in turn, can kill us 20 times over. Enough is enough for both sides; "parity" and "superiority" are slogans that have no meaning in this contest—unless we can figure out how to kill somebody more than once.

Other speakers today have concerned themselves with further technical, strategic and political objections to the ABM. It is extremely gratifying that a growing number of members of Congress is beginning to agree with our objections. To be asked to pay vast sums for something which is worth nothing is, in a commercial situation, known as attempted fraud. And we in this city would not tolerate it for one minute if we were buying hamburger. Why then should we tolerate it if the protection of our lives is to be entrusted to such quack remedies?

What are we to make of the argument that the ABM is a useful bargaining counter in the strategic arms limitation talks with the Russians? Obviously, the Russians must respond to the same physical and technical constraints as we. Whatever so-called system they have built, therefore, they cannot defend themselves against us either. We must look for something better to come out of the talks than trading one load of expensive nothing for another. Besides, why should we still let the Russians decide for us how we should act? Is it because, as Robert M. Hutchins once said, "Unless we are getting ahead of, or falling behind the Russians, how would we know where we are going?" Let it be stated categorically: To refrain from wasteful futility is not unilateral disarmament; nor is the installation of a non-functioning defense system a step toward tension reduction, as Mr. Kosygin and the Hudson Institute seem to think.

Competent military planners first identify a threat and then try to counter it. For the reasons stated, an effective defense against nuclear armed ballistic missiles is impossible. Faced with this fact, the ABM designers have turned this planning process upside down: They define their ABM system and then invent an attack scenario to suit which, of course, the enemy would and could avoid. It is as if a knight of old had sallied forth into battle with armor only on his left kneecap—It's a great defense system if you are sure that the enemy won't aim at any other part of your anatomy. We are told that the Sentinel, sometimes referred to as "Chin," is alleged to cost \$5 billion. But, fat as this number is—at least to me—, is it only a downpayment? Does that \$5 billion depend on the Chinese for once really being as stupid as some of our more arrogant military planners evidently expect them to be? I believe that the \$5 billion would inescapably become a starter bet for a thick system alleged to cost \$40 billion.

Recent weapon systems (e.g., the F-111) have overrun their costs by a factor of about 3.2 and we could expect at least that with the ABM. The reason is that such a system would monopolize our technical talent even more than military industries do now and so barrel-scraping, with corresponding loss of efficiency, is inevitable. Moreover, as the design proceeds we would have to keep going "back to the old drawing board" as the uselessness of the system becomes clear; truly we have here a technical labor of Sisyphus. And when all is done, the system still won't function properly. Congressman Ryan has drawn out attention to this decline in quality in a recent highly perceptive article (*The American Engineer*, January 1968, p. 19). The only remedy for this condition is redundancy.

And here I must once again point out that long before such a system could be put in place, its design, which must necessarily be frozen at an early stage would render it obsolete.

This kind of thing has so often happened to us in the past, and with so many weapon systems, that I find it incredible that anyone should have the slightest doubt that this would occur again in the course of producing as difficult a system as an ABM.

We have, therefore, reached a working total of \$200 billion for hardware. This is a truly enormous amount, and would far exceed the combined total of all military procurement of the past five years. It would be eight times the current total output of the military electronics industry. It exceeds by about 40 per cent the total now collected by all forms of taxation in the United States. It is in fact about the size of the total Federal expenditures from all sources at present. All of this would be disastrous enough, but there is worse to come.

An indispensable ingredient of an ABM system would undoubtedly have to be a civil



# **PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST: URGENT BUSINESS**

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, the situation in the Middle East has become exceedingly critical, and the future peace of the world may be involved.

An editorial published in the current issue of *Prevent World War III* discusses the relevant facts and presents four steps which are necessary for peace in this troubled part of the world. To get peace in the Middle East, we must have first, negotiated settlements based upon mutual recognition of sovereignty, and peaceful coexistence; second, an end to Soviet troublemaking in the Arab world; third, resettlement of the refugees in a way that will end their maintenance by international charity; and fourth, plans for regional development.

The magazine *Prevent World War III* is published by the Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc., 50 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y., an organization which for the past 25 years has been engaged in studying the causes and methods of preventing international warfare.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the *RECORD*.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the *RECORD*, as follows:

## **PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST: URGENT BUSINESS**

(NOTE.—To get peace in the Middle East, we must have: (1) Negotiated settlements based upon mutual recognition of sovereignty, and peaceful coexistence. (2) An end to Soviet trouble-making in the Arab world. (3) Resettlement of the refugees in a way that will end their maintenance by international charity. (4) Plans for regional development.)

In the year and a half since the end of the Six-Day War, the best that can be said about the Middle East is that no new general war has erupted.

On the other hand, tensions between Israel and the Arab states have not decreased and there have been uncounted border incidents. Even more ominous, Soviet penetration in the area has accelerated, with a far greater likelihood of disaster in the event that the present unstable status should explode.

It is clear that the negotiation of permanent peace treaties cannot be longer delayed. So far as American official positions are concerned, both President Johnson and President-elect Nixon—and the 1968 platforms of both the Democratic and Republican parties—have called for peace negotiations.

The Arab states, however, continue to adhere to the intransigent position adopted months ago at their Khartoum Conference: No negotiation with Israel.

## **DELAY PERILS PEACE**

The mission of Ambassador Jarring has served a useful interim purpose by at least preserving a readiness to "talk about talking" in some Middle East capitals.

With the passage of each month, however, it becomes increasingly apparent that unless the parties to the conflict sit down and work out formally negotiated agreements, we are merely postponing the day of another explosion.

The Israelis, in Foreign Minister Eban's Nine Points enunciated before the General Assembly of the United Nations, set forth a series of discussable topics. The stumbling block, however, comes in the complete refusal of the Arab States to recognize the existence of Israel. As noted elsewhere in this issue of *Prevent World War III*,

even the official Arab Information Center maps distributed in New York and at the United Nations continue to refer to Israel only as "Israeli occupied territory." To ignore so basically actions of the United Nations during the past 20 years constitutes a flagrant disregard for the world community.

There may be many issues between Israel and her neighbors which require adjustment, but the *existence* of Israel has not been in question in the world's major capitals at any time for more than two decades—and so long as the Arab governments (except perhaps that of Tunisia) continue to adhere to an Alice-in-Wonderland view of the world, peace remains in continual jeopardy.

## **U.S.S.R. STIRS TROUBLE**

The preservation of this dream-world approach to international politics in the Arab capitals has been made much easier by the action of the Soviets in restoring the armaments of Egypt, Syria and other countries to the point where their military strength (especially in the air) is probably even greater than was the case a year and a half ago. The Soviet Navy has also established a continuing presence in the Eastern Mediterranean which has the unfortunate effect of leading Arab dictators to believe that they have external help ready at hand in the event of trouble.

Finally, Soviet diplomacy has constantly backed up Arab intransigence. Moscow's ideological position, set forth in official publications, continues to blame Israel for "unprovoked aggression," to insist that the Gulf of Aqaba is not an international waterway, and to claim that opening of the Suez Canal is a domestic Egyptian matter.

Any serious analysis of the Middle East as a factor in world peace must begin with recognition of the new Soviet ambitions in that area. (We say "new"—but really old, because the basic geopolitical factors are the same as in the days of the Czars.)

For the first time, Russian warships are a prominent part of the Eastern Mediterranean scene. They have established bases at such places as Alexandria. Obviously, they plan to replace the British Navy as a force East of Suez.

Given these imperialist ambitions, the rearming of Egypt is a natural corollary. Here are some partial specifics: Moscow, since the Six-Day War, has provided Cairo with 150 Sukhoi-7 attack planes, some 210 MIG-21 supersonic jets, and an entirely new naval weaponry of 18 missile crafts, 44 torpedo boats, 6 rocket assault vessels, plus minesweepers, landing craft and tugs. There are at least 3000 Russian technicians in Egypt, training Nasser's forces—and more than 300 Egyptian pilots are in the USSR, being taught the use of the MIG-21 jets.

When we read news dispatches about a Soviet readiness to negotiate an end to Middle East tensions, such declarations must be taken in the context of these hard facts.

It is clear that the Arab states, and particularly Egypt, feel themselves ready for a "fourth round." Indeed, in April of this year, President Nasser declared in a widely publicized speech at the University of Cairo, that the Soviets had "made up for the arms we lost . . . free of charge."

Obviously, the Soviets are taking every advantage of Arab belligerency, and doing all that they reasonably can to keep it alive. At no other time in history has a defeated power refused to talk with the victor in a war, or even to recognize an antagonist's sovereign existence. The Arabs can afford this intransigent position only because their backers in Moscow have made it possible.

## **CLASH OF INTERESTS**

Meanwhile, the commitments of the United States to preserve the integrity of states in the area continue—and both strategic and economic factors, including oil reserves, make

it impossible for the Western world to permit the entire Middle East to become another "sphere of influence" for the Soviets. To do so would have unbearable consequences for this country, and would so upset the fragile balance of power between the NATO powers and the Communist world as to immediately imperil the peace of the globe.

In fact, that balance in the Middle East is already imperiled, by Soviet extensions of interest in Iran and in Southern Arabia, where the British are withdrawing. The establishment of the latest Arab state, the Peoples Republic of South Yemen, is just one additional indication of this penetration.

For years, Washington has been trying to reach an understanding with Russia on limiting the rearmament of all Middle Eastern states, but Moscow has refused to negotiate on this subject—and only very recently do we begin to hear "inspired" stories of a readiness to do so. But in the meanwhile the balance has already been largely upset, so that "negotiations" now would have only the effect of making permanent a Soviet-Arab preponderance, with its built-in assurance of future trouble.

## **GUERRILLA WARFARE**

Against this background we must look at the almost unbelievable increase in the number of border incidents, precipitated by El Fatah, the PLO and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. All of these agencies have shown an increase in financial backing, and all have ready access to official Arab radio and press facilities. The three groups have worked out an "agreement" with King Hussein's government in Amman, which makes the King a prisoner of the terrorists, so far as Israel border events are concerned. Indeed, the Jordanian Ambassador to the United Nations has expressly disclaimed any responsibility for policing the Jordanian side of the border, for the purpose of preventing commando raids.

As a result, these raids have grown into more than daily incidents—and Israel is faced with the necessity of self-defense by mounting counter attacks, as any responsible government would have to do under the same circumstances.

Thus we get a series of escalating events which can only lead, at some future date, to full-scale warfare, unless peace negotiations can be gotten under way promptly. The call for "direct negotiations" between the late belligerents becomes not merely a pious wish, but an urgent necessity, if the fragile peace is to be maintained.

The United Nations has all too often neglected Israeli complaints of illegal guerrilla actions. Peace requires a fair-handed treatment of complaints, even though a USSR veto is apt to prevent any action against Arab commando activities. A statement by 16 U.S. senators, issued just as we go to press, strongly underlines this point by referring to the "double standard" prevailing at the U.N.

To make the mixture still more inflammable, the tendency toward totalitarianism in Middle East governments continues to grow. As an added instance, the Iraqi government resulting from the July, 1968, coup has nationalized private schools, and expelled 25 New England Jesuits who had for years conducted Al-Hikma University at Baghdad. Commenting on the expulsion of the Jesuit teachers, *The Boston Pilot* (organ of the Archdiocese) noted that Al-Hikma is the only institution in Iraq which has admitted Jewish students.

In Jordan, with 21,000 Iraqi troops stationed there and with the guerrillas constantly claiming more and more power, the already weakened position of the sometimes-Western-oriented King Hussein becomes increasingly difficult. In short, the possibilities of democratic development in

mitted to a price without further experience. Also, the contractor must adhere to the "truth in negotiation" regulations which could work to his detriment if he does not have sufficient time to obtain all the necessary information, particularly from subcontractors, to properly negotiate with the Government and definitize a contract.

If it is important to have letter contracts, then it is also important to allow adequate time to complete whatever documentation is necessary for definitizing the contract. It is obvious that the burden of proof cannot be entirely placed upon the contractor as this proposed change seems to do.

#### PROPOSED REVISION TO ASPR 15-205.8, CONTRIBUTIONS AND DONATIONS

The consensus of committee members commenting on the proposed revision is a concurrence with the ASPR Committee's recommendation that contributions and donations made by defense contractors be allowed as indirect costs. Members believe, however, that the limitations placed upon the amount of contributions that can be included as allowable costs is much too restrictive. Some members believe it is acceptable to require that there be some history of what would be an acceptable base for the contribution, such as the proposed three-year average, but do not believe the lesser of the three-year average or some percentage is necessarily acceptable. Local charitable organizations, in fact, might be in the position of making an assessment against companies irrespective of the nature of their business for their annual needs. These demands are frequently based upon so much per employee and accordingly any organization that is growing is requested to recognize that growth in their contribution. While the percentage would permit the recognition of growth, some believe the percentage that we are starting out with is much too low a figure to be realistic.

The percentage does not recognize the position that a company might carry within a given community. In one community, a defense contractor may be a prime business organization and accordingly, the largest contributor to the various charitable organizations supported by the community. In another situation, a defense contractor may be a very nominal part of a community and have had very little demands made upon it. Prior experience has probably been the most meaningful restraint that can be placed upon the amount of contributions that would be allowable.

The phrase "in a cost grouping," which is used in the proposed revision, should be defined or deleted.

#### PROPOSED REVISION TO ASPR 15-204.34, RENTAL COSTS

Members of the committee who have commented on the proposed revision to ASPR 15-205.34 strongly recommend that implementation of the proposed changes be deferred.

Members believe that the proposed revision to this section of ASPR XV should be considered with other related sections of ASPR so that the entire subject can be considered in total. In addition, the following specific comments on the proposed revision were offered:

1. The costs of property taxes as set forth in paragraph (d) (2) on page 3 should include property taxes.
2. The proposed changes will require more accounting justification, more judgment, and result in more arguments than the net effect will probably justify.
3. With the increased business practice of leasing property, nonrecognition of the total leasing costs is contrary to current business practices.
4. Clarification of paragraph (b) (2) is needed. Under the definition of long-term leases no provision is made for those instances where a lease originally started as a

short-term lease is continued at the end of the lease on a month-to-month basis without a formal document extending the lease. Under these circumstances, the lease could change from a short-term lease to a long-term lease without any documentary evidence to support it.

5. The proposed revision has attempted to set forth the criteria to be used in determining whether it is more economical to lease property, continue to lease a particular property, or to own it. Because there is so much judgment involved in such matters, it is doubtful that criteria can be developed that will be uniformly used and understood.

#### FINANCIAL EXECUTIVES INSTITUTE New York, N.Y., February 25, 1969.

Capt. E. C. CHAPMAN, SC,  
U.S. Navy, Chairman, ASPR Committee, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (I. & L.), The Pentagon, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CAPTAIN CHAPMAN: We have for acknowledgment your request for comment on the proposed revision to ASPR Section 15-205.8, Contributions and Donations.

We are naturally pleased that Contributions and Donations are now to be brought under the CWAS formula and to be recognized as a necessary cost of doing business. We are also in agreement with the principle that the limits of allowability be made generally consistent with the provisions of Section 170 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, as amended.

In view of this change in policy, it appears to us that the tight limitations imposed by Paragraphs a(1) and a(11) have the effect of building back into the regulation a substantial disallowance of this type of cost. We believe it would be more consistent with the policy to adopt the principles and the limitations of the Internal Revenue Code.

If Subparagraphs (1) and (11) of (a) are to be retained, we think the phrases "for that same cost grouping" in Subparagraph (1) and "to which the cost grouping is applicable" in Subparagraph (11) should be deleted. It is not clear what is meant and we do not believe it would have any material effect. Contributions are generally a G&A type expense which is distributed across an entire base rather than selectively.

We appreciate the opportunity to comment on the proposed change.

Very truly yours,

W. STEWART HOTCHKISS,  
Chairman, Government Procurement Policies Committee, Financial Executives Institute.

#### THE ABM SYSTEM IS A DISASTER

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, the former general counsel for the Department of Defense, Mr. Roger Kent, of California, has written to the editor of the San Francisco Chronicle an extremely perceptive and concise letter about the ABM. The letter was published on April 7, 1969, and deserves wide circulation. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the San Francisco Chronicle, Monday, Apr. 7, 1969]

#### THE ABM SYSTEM IS A DISASTER

EDITOR: I have the strongest feelings about the ABM system. I see it as contributing nothing good, and much that is disastrously bad.

Will it work? Nearly all disinterested scientists say no. Even if it would work against today's missiles, will it work against those available when it is installed in five years? Furthermore, it has either got to be acti-

vated electronically or by a man's decision. I don't want my fate in the hands of a computer, and I don't see how it would be possible to reach the President for a decision in the minutes that are required for effective defense.

It is necessary? The planned ABM will, as we know, protect only two missile bases, one in South Dakota and the other in Montana. It is probable (as we hear) that they represent no more than 10 per cent, or at the most 20 per cent, of our deterrent capacity. These and other bases, SAC and the Polaris submarines just cannot be all destroyed in open surprise attack (and who says the Russians plan one). We would have, and the Russians know it, the power to mortally wound them, and who would be around to pick up the pieces? Those "friendly" Chinese, that's who, and the Russians know it. What are the dangers internationally? The reactions of the Russians and Canadians are in.

The Russians regard it as an armaments threat, and we can be sure, based on their past internal armament policy and on their response in Vietnam, that they will meet the challenge. Here we go again with vast and wasteful expenditures which will serve only to preserve (but at a higher and more dangerous level) the standoff that exists today.

The interception of missiles aimed at the South Dakota and Montana bases by ABMs will almost certainly take place over Canada. I predict that all hell will break loose when the Canadians come to a full realization of the consequences of the President's proposal. Relations will be strained.

What is the cost and what are the consequences of the cost? It is estimated now that the thin system proposed will cost \$6.6 billion. The average man can hardly gauge the immensity of that sum, but it would be enough to clean up the slums in a dozen cities and in addition buy all the beaches and parks that have been proposed. Senator Mansfield has correctly stated that at this moment in history the internal dangers to our country exceed the external. For those of us who can read and see, he's got to be right.

It is of course certain that the cost will be greater than \$6.6 billion for even the proposed "thin" system, and furthermore, when that is built, there will be no stopping. It could run to the \$40 billion estimate by former Secretary of the Air Force Stuart Symington. Don't forget how the modest commitment for "advisors" in Vietnam became a half-million man army, with \$30 billion a year expenses and 35,000 Americans dead.

Who is for it and why? The bureaucrats in the Pentagon in and out of uniform will have vastly increased staffs, prestige, promotions, increased salaries and even medals. They will also have many richer friends to go work for when they leave the Pentagon.

Corporations that will build the system are looking down a rosy road of negotiated contracts and assured profits running into the hundreds of millions, if not billions, of dollars.

The President's decision is of course based on Pentagon advice. It's the military-industrial complex speaking, and the advice is bad. I don't mean to impute evil motives to these people in the Pentagon or industry, but I feel that what Woodrow Wilson said (in substance) many years ago is totally relevant: "These men are not evil, but they confuse their own interests with the interests of the public." If the President does not reverse this disastrous decision, the Senate must do it for him, and we concerned citizens must support those senators with the courage to say no.

ROGER KENT.

SAN FRANCISCO.  
(The writer is former General Counsel for the Defense Department.—EDITOR.)

April 14, 1969

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

S 3665

the area are being more and more curtailed, as the present turmoil is permitted to continue without a peace settlement.

Meanwhile, too, the need for border readjustments to ensure the security of each separate country becomes more obvious—especially as to Israel—and at the same time the difficulty of readjustments increases, as delay leads to escalated tensions.

To all this must be added another major factor—the refugee problem.

## REFUGEE POLITICS DELAY PEACE

The continued presence of large numbers of displaced Palestinians, mostly isolated in settlements or "camps," and not resettled on the land, provides a source of trouble that must be eliminated if any permanent peace is to be established.

President Johnson's Five Points for Peace in the Middle East included the call for "a just policy for the refugees"—and language of about the same kind is found in any set of proposals for dealing with this area.

For nearly 20 years UNRWA (the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees) has provided assistance to a group of people whose numbers have gradually grown to nearly a million and a half—now including children and grandchildren. This is the only major group of displaced persons anywhere in the world, who have not been resettled in some way, following so long a period of years.

The time has come when a good, hard look at the entire Mid-Eastern refugee question is required.

First, we must start with the understanding that there are really two refugee problems in the Middle East: (1) the Jews who were forced to move out of Arab countries (Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Egypt, etc.); and (2) the Arabs who left Palestine at the time of the establishment of Israel—now increased by the addition of a smaller group who fled from the West Bank during the June, 1967, hostilities.

The numbers of these two categories of refugees—the Jews and the Arabs—were in the beginning very nearly identical. The Jews, however, were promptly settled, cared for, and provided with land or jobs, in Israel. They have not to this day received any compensation or restitution from any Arab government, for the enormous amounts of illegally seized property, land and bank accounts which they were compelled to leave behind.

The Arabs have not been so fortunate in the reception they received in the several Arab countries—in spite of the great tracts of unused arable land available along the Fertile Crescent. True, many of the urban Palestinians, and those of the new generations who have received technical training at the hands of UNRWA, have found employment in places like Lebanon, Jordan and Kuwait. As UNRWA reports indicate, however, the hard problem of the agricultural workers still remains—and it is this very problem that the Arab states have taken no steps to solve (not even by facilitating the efforts of UNRWA, in most cases, to set up agricultural cooperatives). Arab lands remain empty, and displaced persons remain as quarrelsome wards of UNRWA's international charity.

Any attempts at resettlement—as distinct from repatriation—have met with insuperable obstacles from political sources contending that such resettlement would admit the sovereign existence of Israel and thus reduce the impact of the intransigent Arab position, which is that "Israel doesn't exist." An official Egyptian publication once went so far as to "accuse" the United Nations of "plotting" to solve the refugee question—thus changing the status quo vis-a-vis Israel.

The refugee problem is therefore inextricably involved with the whole question of a peace settlement based upon mutual recog-

nition of statehood by the Arab governments and Israel.

## UNRWA'S STRANGE ROLE

Meanwhile, UNRWA has left the education of the Arab children in refugee camps to local school authorities, with the result that these young people have been constantly indoctrinated from an anti-Israel point of view. A first-grade reader in Syria, for example, contains the sentences:

"The Jews are enemies of Arabs. Soon we will rescue Palestine from their hands."

A book for older children indoctrinates its readers:

"Israel exists in the heart of the Arab homeland. Its extermination is vital for the preservation of Arabism."

When refugee education in the Gaza Strip came under Israeli surveillance following the Six Day War, 70 out of 79 textbooks in use there were found to contain similar material, and the Israeli authorities rightly terminated the use of such publications. As a result, UNRWA in many areas now depends upon temporary "teaching notes" produced to serve as a transitory substitute for textbooks hitherto provided by local Arab authorities—and UNESCO, as the agency officially responsible for now authorizing all of UNRWA's education materials, is engaged in a complete reexamination of textbooks in UNRWA/UNESCO schools, with a view to their complete revision. This step is being vigorously fought by the local Arab authorities.

An even more serious problem has been the use of refugee camp facilities as staging areas for guerrilla bands intent upon upsetting the tentative peace effected by U.N. cease-fire arrangements.

Palestine Liberation Organization units, El Fatah groups and other guerrilla formations are recruited in large numbers from people inscribed upon UNRWA lists, and trained in or near the camps—which means that international relief funds are being used to create and support insurrectionists intent upon blocking the operation of United Nations peacekeeping resolutions, and destroying the possibilities of peace along cease-fire lines.

In his 1966-67 Report, the Commissioner General of UNRWA took cognizance of this complaint and noted that the Arab states concerned had agreed to make up through special contributions to UNRWA for rations diverted to the guerrillas. The fact that UNRWA submitted to such an unsavory deal casts shame upon UNRWA's leadership: it is obviously nonsense to allow any overlapping at all between a United Nations agency such as UNRWA, and schemes to destroy the peace through guerrilla action. In the end, however, nothing appears to have come even from the promise of "special contributions"—and so far as detailed published accounts show, no such funds were ever received.

Meanwhile, UNRWA facilities in such places as Ramaleh became so conspicuously centers of terrorist training activities as to lead to Israeli reprisals.

In Jordan, moreover, the operation of these commando units, helped both by Iraqi arms and UNRWA rations, has become a serious danger to the stability of King Hussein's government, as well as to the peace at the Jordan-Israel borders.

It is obvious that these two abuses—the use of UNRWA staff and teaching materials to preserve and inculcate group hatreds, and the use of UNRWA facilities to assist in organizing illegal terrorist groups—cannot be countenanced by the peace loving nations whose contributions make UNRWA possible. Such misuse of UNRWA funds perpetuates trouble in the Middle East, and does not assist any legitimate humanitarian purpose.

## ELEMENTS OF A GOOD POLICY

What solutions can we propose? We believe that:

(1) Negotiated settlements between Israel and the Arab states must be entered into promptly. If these negotiations are not undertaken now, their postponement can lead only to a new war. They must, moreover, be direct talks. Third party endeavors that leave the existence of Israel an unsettled matter on Arab maps cannot mean anything, and can only undermine the prestige of the United Nations in the region, as well as the peace of the world.

(2) The Soviets must understand that America and the NATO powers will insist firmly upon an "open" Middle East. They must realize that an attempt to make this part of the world into an extension of the Warsaw Pact area will lead to prompt and resolute counteraction.

(3) The refugee matter must be settled once and for all, perhaps along the line of Foreign Minister Eban's proposal that a "five year plan" be negotiated for the resettlement of these people. This could be done at once, and separate from other aspects of the problem.

(4) Finally, the United States should again assure the peoples of the Middle East that we stand ready to help finance a regional development plan, which would make the enormous potential wealth of the region available to all of its people, eliminating the age-old injustices on which dictatorial regimes have based themselves.

Throughout all of these proposals, there is implicit the thought that it is to the advantage of freedom in the world to support free institutions everywhere. This means support for Israel, support for Iran and Turkey, and every effort to build democracy in Lebanon and Jordan, as well as in any other place where foundations for freedom can be found. Only in free institutions can we find the beginnings of peace—and we must not wait longer in seeking that purpose.

## WHO OBSTRUCTS PEACE?

In conformity with the various points and aspects of the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, the Israeli Government informed Dr. Jarring that it was ready to continue indirect talks through him with the Arab Governments; but that it is imperative that Egypt should reply to seven questions previously submitted to its government by Dr. Jarring:

1. Does Egypt accept the need for agreement with Israel on the substance of the Security Council resolution?
2. Is Egypt ready to replace the cease-fire line with secure and recognized boundaries?
3. Is it prepared to agree to a "just and lasting peace"?
4. Will it allow Israeli ships to use the Suez Canal?
5. Does it agree to Mr. Eban's proposal as outlined in his October 9 speech to the Assembly to start talks on a refugee settlement?
6. Is Egypt prepared to accept new arrangements which will prevent a recurrence of the dangerous situation created in May, 1967, when Nasser demanded and achieved withdrawal of the U.N. Emergency Force?
7. Is Egypt ready to acknowledge Israel's sovereignty and express the end of belligerency in a signed agreement?

According to press reports the reply to Dr. Jarring by the Egyptian Foreign Minister Mahmoud Riad was completely negative and could only be considered as a total rejection of peace. The implication of this reply was: (1) that Egypt was not prepared to sign a peace treaty with Israel, (2) nor to discuss secure and recognized borders, (3) not ready to accept Israel's right to navigation through the Suez Canal and the Straits of Tiran, (4) and was not prepared to discuss any practical solution of the refugee problem.

No wonder the talks are deadlocked.



## THESE ARE THE SOCIETY'S CONVICTIONS

1. The United States is deeply and unavoidably concerned in the future of the Middle East, and has a major responsibility for what happens next in that area.

2. We must make up our minds whether we want to act in ways that will promote peace, or in ways that will make war more probable.

3. We must decide now whether we intend to increase Arab intransigence and belligerence by withholding from Israel the weapons she needs, knowing that such weapons would act as the only effective deterrent to the widely-proclaimed Arab purpose of waging a war of revenge. (We certainly do not want to follow the example of General DeGaulle in this regard.)

4. The Soviets did not ask permission of anyone before acting to create a war climate in the Middle East. Why should America, because she fears possible criticism, hold back from actions to promote a climate conducive to peace and security?

5. In Russian propaganda and diplomacy, the United States is painted as the world-wide aggressor, and they proclaim this line on every possible occasion. No American action or attitude will change Moscow's propaganda line, so faithfully supported by the present Egyptian government.

6. The inclusion of the Middle East on the Soviet's proposed agenda of disarmament is not a step toward establishing peace. They have already carried out their rearmament of the Arabs, and talk of arms limitation based on a one-sided status quo is therefore an indication of bellicose intentions, not of pacific purposes. *Nothing can or will change Soviet plans, except the knowledge that Israel can withstand any probable assault by Russia's protégés.*

7. The bait of peaceful co-existence and negotiations toward controlled disarmament should not lure us away from reality: the Arabs will postpone their war plans—and think of negotiations—only if they are convinced that Israel is strong enough to beat them again.

8. The more we act to keep Israel strong, the better are the chances for an era of peace to come in the Middle East. Or do we wish to continue chasing the illusion of friendship with Nasser?

9. The Arab states will come to the peace table only when they become finally convinced that the United States will re-arm Israel at the same level to which the Soviets have rearmed them.

10. Only by matching the Russian build-up weapon for weapon will the Soviets understand America's determination to deter or prevent a new war—which would bring with it the risk of engulfing the whole world. Supplying needed new arms to Israel is not a provocation for war, but the only effective guarantee of peace. *There is no time to lose.*

Such a course will best serve the interests of the United States and of peace.

## A STRANGE SET OF PRIORITIES

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, along with many other Senators, I am deeply concerned about the strange set of priorities which seem to govern many of our crucial decisions at the national level.

I certainly hope that in the age of rapidly developing technology we do not become so hypnotized by the hardware of war and outer space that we forget the fundamental human needs of the people who make up the real strength of America.

It is a tragic irony that we are proceeding to deploy an anti-ballistic-missile system—a system which will never be used unless the world is plunged into

nuclear war and which most scientists tell us will probably not work even then—while at the same time we are cutting back on some of the limited programs we offered recently in an effort to reclaim some of the lost members of our society.

The anti-ballistic-missile system may cost about \$10 billion in its present form, or \$50 to \$100 billion if it is expanded into a full-fledged system such as its advocates really want. Think of those figures—10,000 millions on the one hand, or 50,000 millions or 100,000 millions on the other.

Meanwhile, telegrams were sent last week ordering the closing of 57 Job Corps centers all across America, in the hope of saving an amount of money which the Labor Department estimates at \$100 million.

In order to save this estimated \$100 million, some 17,500 youths who would otherwise receive valuable vocational training along with basic education, medical and dental care, will be sent back to the slums and the depressed rural areas from which they came as volunteers to be converted into productive, taxpaying citizens.

At his press conference announcing the closing of these 57 Job Corps camps, the Secretary of Labor conceded that "one could not say that \$100 million was a make or break item." It certainly is not, at least for the Federal Government, which finds it very difficult to estimate the cost of a new airplane within that range of dollars.

But the kind of long-overdue education and job training which a deprived youth would have received in a Job Corps camp may well be a "make or break item" in his life.

Has America lost its sense of perspective? What are we really trying to achieve?

Is the development of supersonic airplanes, the landing of a man on the moon, the deployment of an anti-ballistic-missile system an end in itself?

What would any of these achievements mean if it was realized at the expense of the deterioration of our society at home?

I can assure you that many, many Americans share this concern over the strange set of priorities which seems to guide our national policy.

In the last few days, a great number of telegrams have been pouring into congressional offices and the White House, protesting the closing of the Job Corps camps.

There are many aspects of the Labor Department's action which concern people, both in Congress and in the Nation as a whole.

First of all, there is real concern that the Job Corps program as a whole is being gravely weakened, at a time when every available fact seems to indicate that it should be strengthened instead. The reasons which led to the creation of the Job Corps have not changed. We still have thousands of young men and women who have not been properly educated and trained to take their place in modern society. Many of these young people never will make it unless we take them out of their environment, give them concentrated and comprehensive

remedial services, and then see to it that when they go back into society, they find a place in the labor market, in school or in the armed services. So many thousands of people are saying this is no time to cut back on the Job Corps.

Second, there is understandable concern at the manner in which these cuts were carried out. They were planned by the Department of Labor, which has no legal authority over the Job Corps program as of this date. Congress was not consulted; a program which the Congress established has been greatly altered and a new program is being set up in its place—without any legislative action.

Third, those of us who are deeply concerned about the conservation crisis in America are shocked at the almost total abandonment of the conservation camp concept. When he was asked about this at his press conference, the Secretary of Labor said:

Ours is a manpower objective, not a conservation objective.

But Congress specifically gave the Job Corps a "conservation objective." Can this directive simply be ignored? The law requires that 40 percent of the Job Corps enrollees be assigned to conservation camps. The Secretary of Labor says that no more than 32 percent will be so assigned under the changes which already have been ordered into effect. Can the Labor Department simply ignore this law—while insisting on strict obedience of the law from the citizenry?

Fourth, there is concern about the manner in which camps were selected to be shut down. On an issue of such great concern as closing 57 Job Corps camps, one would certainly think there would be a full disclosure of the standards to be applied, and an opportunity for consultation and discussion before the camps were ordered to close.

In order to discuss this great nationwide concern over the closing of the Job Corps camps, the Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty will hold a special public hearing this Friday, April 18, starting at noon. We will have as our first witness Mr. Louis Harris of Louis Harris Associates, New York City, a widely known firm of public opinion. Mr. Harris recently completed the largest survey ever made of Job Corps graduates, their families and their employers, to learn the impact of Job Corps training on these young people.

In addition, we have invited the director of the Job Corps, Mr. William Kelly, to testify. We will hear from some of the conservation organizations, which are deeply concerned at what appears to be the scuttling of the conservation camp program, and from the National Congress of American Indians, which is deeply concerned at the wholesale closing of Job Corps camps which have served Indian youth.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a number of documents relating to the closing of the Job Corps camps.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

## GENERAL LEAVE

Though Gutierrez said he regarded some portions of the MAYO effort as a sort of non-partisan political activity, he was confident it did not threaten the tax-exempt status of the Ford Foundation.

Rocha explained that what MAYO actually does is to bring about public dissemination of information.

Compean reported briefly on educational and leadership aims of the organization including participation in voter registration drives. He emphasized work of MAYO with former gang members.

Guerrero discussed the work of his university which has a staff of three and works with gang members and drop outs.

"We've been out on the streets until two or three in the morning," Reported Guerrero, adding that "We have a lot of fun with the policemen."

Asked to amplify on the 3 a.m. duty, he said that "we're talking to the people—to the dope addicts."

He charged that police have called his students "pachucos" and at times had booted them in "the rear end."

Asked of the police involved were Anglo-American or Mexican-American, Guerrero mused that police are "weird people." He said that, though there are "good cops," the people of the poverty area consider the police to be "perros—dogs."

Asked about the murder which occurred late one night at the university, he noted that "after the years of poverty and degradation we have encountered—this system has not produced angels."

A reporter asked if the group felt Rep. Gonzalez had done anything for the Mexican-Americans. Gutierrez replied that he had passed a tremendous amount of social legislation but "locally the record with Mexicanos is not very impressive."

Asked if Gonzalez had not helped with the food stamp program, Gutierrez assailed the food program as helping "Mexicanos become dependent on a welfare system." He called for replacement of the present welfare system with a system under which the government as a last resort would guarantee every person a job or a fixed income.

Guerrero reported he was a scholarship student at Trinity University. Pressed as to whether he considered it a gringo institution, he reported:

"The majority of my professors are—they're Anglos. There are a lot of gringos that go there."

Asked if the professors were "all right," he replied:

"Some of them . . . but my hassel is not with Trinity."

(Mr. HARSHA asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. HARSHA addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DORN). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. SCHWENGEL) is recognized for 60 minutes.

[Mr. SCHWENGEL addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

#### NEED FOR REDEFINITION OF FOREIGN POLICY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. MINSHALL) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks on the subject of my special order today.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, events of last year in east-central Europe clearly spelled out two facts for all the world to see: First, the resilience of the forces opposing Soviet Russian hegemony and of traditional, totalitarian communism, and, second, the brute military power of the Kremlin ready to crush any burgeoning nationalism, humanism, or market-oriented economics in the region.

In 1968 we witnessed the "spring of Prague," the challenge to bureaucratic totalitarianism, secret police terror, and alienation of the individual in a collectivist society by Czech and Slovak students and intellectuals, regardless of whether they were Communist Party members or anti-Communists. We watched the increasing search for national identity and sovereignty, renewed interest in the history of these nations in order to strengthen identification with the West. We discerned the younger generation's hunger for humanism and moral values rather than the emptiness and deceit of communism.

Yet we also witnessed the use of military force against Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union, the repression of students, intellectuals and Jews in Poland, the revival of the old divide-and-conquer tactics of the Russian occupiers in Czechoslovakia, the slowdown in economic reforms in Hungary, and the fateful proclamation of the "Brzeznev Doctrine." This unilateral pronouncement of the Soviet Government, restricting the national sovereignty of "Socialist" nations by declaring Soviet intervention legal if the "Socialist" governmental order were endangered, is a clear attempt to legalize the protectorate status of these countries.

No wonder that even some of the Communist governments and parties protested this unabashed claim to become the protecting power in contravention of the United Nations Charter.

American policy under the Kennedy and Johnson administrations was mostly that of detached waiting and ineffectual sloganeering. Our silence before, and shortlived protests after the invasion of Czechoslovakia seemed to indicate to many a tacit understanding that we consider the area a Russian preserve which can be ruled according to the whims of the Moscow regime.

The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia reawakened old fears of Russian expansion by force in Europe. It reopened the Berlin problem. More immediately, it raised the specter of a Russian invasion of those Communist countries which, in part or entirely, detached themselves from Russian military domination; that is, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and even Albania. Occupation of these countries by the Red Army would greatly aggravate the situation of our NATO allies in the

Mediterranean and our position in the Middle East.

At the same time, however, Moscow's political gamble in Czechoslovakia remained a pyrrhic victory. Resistance, though in muted forms, persists in Czechoslovakia, federalization strengthened the allegiance of the people to the state, and the death of Jan Paluch focuses world attention to the undefeated spirit of the youth that seeks humanism and believes in Western values of freedom and human dignity. This determination was displayed on a historic scale by the young Hungarian freedom fighters in 1956, it burns now in the youth throughout east-central Europe.

Under these circumstances, the new administration is well-advised to seek a redefinition of our policies. A way must be found to reduce and remove Soviet military presence and pressure and to help restore national self-determination to these countries. If liberation is excluded by the existence of nuclear parity, and if "bridge-building" only leads to Soviet military intervention, a new approach must be found. Soviet actions in east-central Europe, the resilience of anti-Soviet, pro-Western nationalism there, the quest for humanism infiltrating even some party workers, the increasing intensity of the Sino-Soviet conflict—all are factors which might enable the United States and other Western countries to suggest new solutions to the Soviet Union. Solutions, which would, if not solve at least alleviate the sad fate of these proud nations so closely allied through history, culture, economic interest and sympathies with Western Europe.

One such approach would be the strengthening of unity and the coordination of efforts in Western Europe in the spirit of Atlantic partnership, with a proposal to neutralize, at least part, but preferably all of the area between Germany and Russia by international guarantee after a withdrawal of Soviet military forces. The new buffer zone also would include pro-Western Austria, national Communist Yugoslavia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and probably Rumania and Poland as well.

Such ideas were most succinctly analyzed in a recent memorandum of the American Hungarian Federation submitted to the President and Secretary of State Rogers. The International Affairs Committee of the Federation and its active, scholarly chairman and secretary are to be warmly congratulated for their incisive analysis of the situation. I am particularly impressed by the scope of their thinking, which does not limit itself to Hungary alone. For, in reality, there is no separate question. The future of Hungary hinges on development of the East European region in particular and on unity and coordination of efforts in Western Europe in general.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I will insert the memorandum in the RECORD:

#### MEMORANDUM OF THE AMERICAN HUNGARIAN FEDERATION

Self-determination of all nations has ever been the fundamental tenet of American foreign policy. In its name, and mindful of the disappointing experiences of the last 25 years, the division of the globe into spheres

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Committee for Barrio Betterment in the city election, and Norman Guerrero. Standing by to lend legal assistance, if necessary, was Juan Rocha of the Mexican-American Legal Defense Fund and taping the proceedings as a precautionary measure was the Rev. Henry Casso.

During the lengthy conference it was established that MAYO's operating budget of \$8,527 is financed by Ford Foundation funds distributed through intermediary organizations.

Gutierrez, it was explained, draws no pay directly for his MAYO efforts, but is a staff investigator and "community involvement specialist" for MALD which is also funded by the Ford Foundation. Guerrero is head of the University of the Barrios which operates on a budget of some \$6,000 provided by the Mexican-American Unity Council, a Ford-funded group.

Gutierrez prefaced his remarks with a demand that newspapers and broadcasters distribute the entire text of his opening statement in full as well as the entire give and take of the conference itself.

The statement actually served as an excellent take-off point for the discussion to come. It announced:

"MAYO has found that both federal and religious programs aimed at social change do not meet the needs of the Mexicanos of this state.

"Further, we find that the vicious cultural genocide being inflicted upon La Raza by gringos and their institutions not only severely damage our human dignity but also make it impossible for La Raza to develop its right of self-determination.

"For these reasons, top priority is given to identifying and exposing the gringo. We also promote the social welfare of Mexicanos through education designed to enlarge the capabilities of indigenous leaders.

"We hope to secure our human and civil rights, to eliminate bigotry and racism, to lessen the tensions in our barrios and combat the deterioration of our communities.

"Our organization, largely comprised of youth, is committed to effecting meaningful social change. Social change that will enable La Raza to become masters of their destiny, owners of their resources, both human and natural, and a culturally and spiritually separate people from the gringo.

"Only through this program, we of MAYO, see the possibility of surviving this century as a free and complete family of Mexicanos. We will not try to assimilate into this gringo society in Texas nor will we encourage anybody else to do so.

"Rather MAYO once again asks of friends here and across the nation to assist us in our efforts. We intend to become free as a people in order to enjoy the abundance of our country and share it with those less fortunate.

"MAYO will not engage in controversy with fellow Mexicanos regardless of how unfounded and vindictive their accusations may be. We realize that the effects of cultural genocide takes many forms—some Mexicanos will become psychologically castrated, others will become demagogues and gringos as well and others will come together, resist and eliminate the gringo. We will be with the latter."

Gutierrez was asked his definition of a gringo and replied:

"A person or an institution that has a certain policy or program or attitudes that reflect bigotry, racism, discord and prejudice and violence."

He was asked if Gonzalez was a gringo, and replied:

"He has demonstrated some tendencies that fit in that category."

Asked if a majority of Anglo-Americans could be designated as gringos, Gutierrez responded:

"According to the Kerner report we could say yes to that answer."

He went on to say he could not testify as to this from personal experience at MAYO had not had extensive dealings outside of Texas. He added:

"The majority of the ones (Anglo-Americans) here in this state are gringos."

Gutierrez was then asked what was meant by the phrase "eliminate the gringo" in the MAYO statement. He replied:

"You can eliminate an individual in various ways. You can certainly kill him but that is not our intent at this moment. You can remove the base of support that he operates from, be it economic, political or social. That is what we intend to do."

A newsman asked:

"If nothing else works, you're going to kill all the gringos?"

Gutierrez replied:

"We'll have to find out if nothing else will work."

The questioner persisted:

"And then you'll kill us all?"

Gutierrez replied:

"If it doesn't work . . . I'd like to add to you that if you label yourself a gringo then you're one of the enemy."

Gutierrez was asked if he might not be a gringo himself in that he appeared to show racial animosity toward Anglo-Americans. He replied that he did not accept the premise that he displayed racial animosity.

"I don't think I have," he announced, "I think I am identifying the problem and attempting to point out what the problem is."

He was asked if he could say, "Some of my best friends are Anglos," and chuckled before replying:

"That's a racist statement. I wouldn't be that derogatory or condescending . . . I would say that a lot of people are friends of mine and some of them are Anglos."

He was asked if the MAYO group sought a separate society and replied he did not mention society.

"I said culturally and spiritually," he explained. "We are distinct and we don't wish any part of this racist society. We have something beautiful to begin with."

He emphasized that the MAYO aim was to "resist any further cultural genocide."

Asked to explain this he cited as one example "racism" in textbooks and the denial of the right to speak Spanish in elementary grades.

Gutierrez asserted that so far as he knew the San Antonio ISD was the only local school district to change its policy so as to legitimize the use of Spanish. Of Edgewood ISD he said:

"They don't require them to speak English, but they do have punitive measures of punishment for those who do speak Spanish."

Asked if MAYO identified with the people of Mexico in its aims, he replied:

"If they share the same values, yes. We are different from the Mexicans in Mexico . . . in that we have been able to develop and adapt to the local situation here and as a consequence we have modified many of our value systems."

Gutierrez was again pressed as to intentions of killing gringos "if worse comes to worst." He replied:

"If worst comes to worst and we have to resort to that means, it would be self-defense."

Asked if he hated gringos, he replied:

"Yes I do."

He was asked if there were a time limit as to when it might be determined that "worst had come to worst."

He answered:

"Well I can only make a personal decision. If the attacks on my person and my property continue as they have been doing then it will only be a matter of a few years."

He explained:

"Last year part of my property in Crystal City was burned. Two months ago my home was burned in Crystal City. In 1963 I was kidnapped and coerced or attempted to be coerced . . . by gringo elements."

He continued that in "the whole attempt to create an organization and movement" he had been "abused and misused by a lot of people."

He added:

"If this continues, within a few years I will no longer try to work with anybody."

Asked to explain why 500,000 Mexican nationals had immigrated to the U.S. within the past 15 years despite his charges regarding the misery and degradation they face, he replied:

"Maybe they don't know any better . . . You'll find about an equal number going back."

Gutierrez said he had been born and reared in Crystal City. He is a graduate of St. Mary's University.

He said that he felt Gonzalez "has been unjust in his treatment of us because he hasn't presented any proof or any base for the charges that he makes."

He was asked if Sen. Joe Bernal and Comm. Albert Pena had helped MAYO and replied:

"They've certainly been around when we need them."

Asked who might be called the "white hats" and "black hats" in his view, he answered:

"In gringos there's nobody wearing white hats. They're all a bunch of animals."

He cited Mayor McAllister as a gringo.

Asked about the reference to the religious programs in the opening lines of the MAYO statement he said that he did not believe the church had "ever reached" the Mexicano for "social change."

He was asked what the church had reached the Mexicano for, and replied:

"To make them dependent on the church as a crutch."

Despite a "Brown Power" sticker on the window of the office, Gutierrez said he did not know anything about the background of such a slogan and commented:

"I don't know that we're advocating brown power."

On several occasions Gutierrez made it clear he had no confidence in the courts of Texas. He was asked if he was optimistic about obtaining justice in the courts and replied:

"Not at the Texas level. In fact there's been no relief by any Texas court given to any Mexicano. It's always come from federal court."

Gutierrez said that the MAYO movement might concentrate on the employment of economic force through "labor strikes," the "boycott of certain business," development of barrio-owned business firms, or even "a loan from McAllister's San Antonio Savings Assn."

He was asked if he had any opinion on the Cuban revolution and Fidel Castro and replied he knew little about them, adding:

"Only what I read in the newspapers and that leaves a lot to be desired as far as getting the other side of the story."

Near the close of the conference Gutierrez dealt with the relationship of the work of MAYO to that of VISTA which has been accused of distributing MAYO literature.

He held that MAYO was more effective in its work because VISTA youngsters must contend with "hangups."

The MAYO leader said that VISTA workers are "completely prohibited from any political activity which is a tremendous source of power."

Further, they have no "identification" with the people of the Southwest and tend to think they are doing "missionary work."

Expounding on the political activity situation, Gutierrez said that the VISTA workers are not really able to get people together to discuss issues. He added:

"We can relate the same message in Spanish without actually getting up there and advocating anything or anybody."



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of influence among the superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, must be rejected as ineffectually and dangerously offensive to American national interests.

Conceived as a four power system at the Teheran and Yalta Conferences, this master plan had further deteriorated into a confrontation of the two superpowers maintaining a precarious balance through mutual intimidation. Accordingly, instead of unification, the European continent was partitioned into two halves, and that deplorable split is enforced even today by unopposed Soviet intervention.

The existing balance of terror is fragile and an unfortunate conglomeration of events resulting from cumulative minor decisions could produce a situation in which even the superpowers would lose their freedom of choice.

The basic assumption for a reassessment of our policies cannot be "bridgebuilding," an ineffectual slogan of irresolute politicians unhappy with the results of bipolarity, but unwilling to work for a gradual transformation of the European status quo. It must be rather the promotion of the emergence of a Europe, friendly toward the United States, but sufficiently united and independent to act as a third superpower in regard to its major regional interests. Therefore, measures promoting Atlantic partnership must be given priority over bilateral arrangements with the Soviet Union.

Only the emergence of a politically well-coordinated Europe can overcome the frustration felt by Europeans on both sides of the Soviet-American demarcation line and their relapse into provincial isolationism.

Acceptance of Europe as an equal partner would create a power sharing Western cultural and historical heritage at the center of the power conflict. It should exert a peaceful, but almost irresistible, pull on Central European nations and serve as the natural mediator and major cultural force in re-forging the ties with these countries, preventing them from moving closer to the Soviet Union as a result of the feeling of helplessness and abandonment by Western countries.

However, even a Western European superpower could not offer an automatic solution to the overriding problem of Europe's central lands, the partitioning of Germany, and the presence of Russian troops in the area between Russia and Germany. For Soviet power in the region is military and economic, rather than ideological. Nationalism, therefore, forms the counterpoise to communism and the Soviet Union. Nationalists in East Central Europe are committed to Western historical traditions of their nations and yearn for closer ties with Western European countries.

Under these circumstances, the road to change would have to lead probably through a neutralization of the Central European states, creating actually three Europes: the Western European power, the buffer area of East Central Europe and the East European superpower: the Soviet Union. Such a neutral zone would even cater to real or alleged security interests of the Soviet Union in regard to "German revanchism," and "American imperialism."

The contention of the Soviet Union, however, that the maintenance of a "Socialist" order supersedes the rights of East Central European states to sovereignty as far as the Soviet Union is concerned, can never be accepted either implicitly, or explicitly. The "Brezhnev Doctrine" contravenes the basic principle of the United Nations and international law which is the sovereign equality of nations, and endangers peace and security in all of Europe.

While a neutralization cannot be conceived without future progress on the solution of the problem of German reunification, it is not dependent upon a full solution of the

same. Neutralization would have to include preferably all nations between Germany and Russia, but at the minimum Hungary, Czechoslovakia and already neutral Austria, perhaps also Yugoslavia, Rumania and Poland. International guarantees by the major powers, and a corresponding withdrawal of foreign troops to 200-250 miles from the present demarcation lines, could make such proposals attractive even to Moscow which today has less problems with Austria and Finland than with allies Rumania and Czechoslovakia. Furthermore, a European settlement would increase the freedom of action of the Soviet Union on her Chinese flank. Central European peoples would greatly benefit by the removal of Soviet military and economic pressure from the area. Premier Imre Nagy Hungarian Government asked for a neutralization of Hungary on November 1, 1956, and neutralization formed topic of serious discussions in Czechoslovakia during the summer of 1968.

Our alternative option is to maintain bipolarity and to emphasize the control of nuclear arms in order to find common grounds with the Soviet Union. In the long run, this course would result in a reheating of the German question, in frustration and possible revolts among the despairing Central European nations, and in an increasing fragmentation of Western Europe. Finally, Soviet American tensions would be reintensified with no mediating European power present.

Lured into a false sense of security by the seemingly stable bipolar balance, with the sympathy of our friends alienated by our unattractive role as the policeman of the status quo, we could easily approach the precipice facing surrender, or a nuclear Armageddon. For legitimacy, or the recognition of binding principles of international order, are not accepted in theory, or practiced in diplomacy, by the Soviet Union.

President Nixon, in his October 19, 1968 speech at Eatonville, N.J., stated that a regional pact can have a great role in peace-making and continued:

"Regional pact can prevent a local conflict from escalating into a world war. The regional pact thus becomes a buffer separating the distant great powers from immediate threat—and the danger of a local conflict escalating into a world war is thereby reduced. A regional pact would provide a buffer between the United States and the Soviet Union in future flareups."

It is this kind of regional pact establishing a neutral zone in Europe that our memorandum seeks while asking for the promotion of Atlantic partnership concepts for Western Europe in order to promote a stable peace on the continent of Europe that should not be bargained away for real, or alleged, concessions of the Soviet Union on the issues of the Middle East and Viet Nam.

Mr. LUKENS. Mr. Speaker, today I am joining with my colleagues, ably led by the distinguished gentleman from Ohio, in discussing new approaches to our policies toward east-central Europe after the deadlock of many years under the past administrations. The occasion is provided by the memorandum of the American Hungarian Federation on the issue to the President and the Secretary of State which was recently sent to them.

Our policy toward east-central Europe was characterized by either indifference or irresolution. Despite the strong forces opposing the present status quo which condemn these nations to the satellite status toward the Soviet Union, forces which manifested themselves clearly in the 1956 Hungarian Revolution and the events in the spring and summer of 1968 in Czechoslovakia, and the efforts of even the Communist regimes of Rumania

and Yugoslavia to escape Russian domination, we have not come up with a comprehensive policy that would have had a reasonable chance of ridding these nations from Russian military pressures and occupation. The liberation policy failed as it was to be restricted to propaganda. The bridgebuilding policy remained ineffective, morally compromising us in accepting the regimes and Soviet influence. Instead of successfully detaching some states from the Russian orbit, it only led to the consequential and evil Brezhnev doctrine which claims the right of military intervention by the Soviet Union in case the "Socialist" order is endangered in any one of these "Socialist" countries. This is an international law definition of protectorate and nullifies the sovereignty of these nations even under international laws.

We must find some means to counteract the increasing pressures of the Soviet Union on the area in view of the strength of those native forces which struggle valiantly against overwhelming odds for national sovereignty, human dignity and more individual initiative in these collectivist, totalitarian societies.

As it seems to be clear that even much of the Communist Party leadership of the lower- and middle-echelon levels desires the removal of Russian military occupation and a freer development of national policies, and as it is evident that the peoples are in favor of ending Russian occupation and of re-forging their ties with Western Europe, it would be in our interest in proposing neutralization of the Central European area, including Austria and Yugoslavia, as well as to the Soviet Union and the governments concerned. While such neutralization might not be the best solution, it would enable these countries to resume more independent national policies, rid them from Russian occupation troops, and enable them to cooperate among one another. The "inner core" of the buffer zone would approximately be the territory of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy where common historical traditions and economic interests already exist and have been forcibly torn apart by the Versailles-Trianon Treaties of 1919-20, the German domination of the area in the late thirties and the Russian domination of the region since 1945.

We hope that if our Government plans to have negotiations with the Soviet Union, this approach would be used instead of continuing with the Kennedy-Johnson policy of watchful waiting and idleness toward the region that helped the peoples of east-central Europe and the Western European nations, as well as believe that we have written off east-central Europe for good as a Russian reservation.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, today I am joining my colleagues in discussing our policy toward the region of east-central Europe on the basis of the recent memorandum of the American Hungarian Federation.

With the events in Czechoslovakia and the visit of the Russian leaders to Rumania the problems of east-central Europe are again moving into the forefront of interest of world politics. To this added,

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the expressed desire of the new administration to concern itself increasingly with European problems and its intent to start in the near future substantial talks with the Soviet Union involving European and Middle Eastern questions. Undoubtedly, much thought must be given by our policymakers on how to activate American policy in this region without necessarily upsetting the general aim of a detente with the Soviet Union.

One such well-reasoned proposal has been recently submitted by the American Hungarian Federation which memorandum was also signed by the Federation of Free Hungarian Jurists and Hungarian Freedomfighters Association of America. The memorandum urges a rethinking of our policies in finding ways which would induce the Soviet Union to yield military control over part of the area in return for Western concessions. The way suggested is a neutralization of the Danubian countries on both sides of the Iron Curtain, including Austria and Yugoslavia and Hungary, Rumania, and perhaps Czechoslovakia.

It is in support of this concept that I am speaking today, though I believe that the proposal should be extended to Poland as well and perhaps the idea of neutralizing both the Danubian countries, Poland and the two Germanies would find a better response in the Soviet capital. However, we must realize that at the present, a more modest approach might be of better diplomatic value and, therefore, I welcome the proposal of the American Hungarian Federation and hope that our policymakers will pay the needed attention to it and will further research it.

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the fortunes of the peoples of east-central Europe are always close to our hearts. Many Americans or their ancestors came from these lands of the Danubian region, Poland and the northern Balkans. They helped us to build a better and culturally more enriched America, and they remain concerned about the fate of their former conationals.

Furthermore, the strategic importance of the Danubian region and the northern Balkans has been of great significance to our NATO allies, particularly Germany, Greece, and Italy; and the deprivation of the right of the Danubian and northern Balkan nations to self-determination remained a heavy heritage of our inept policies at Teheran and Yalta and of brutal Soviet aggression toward them.

Events, however, continue to evolve even in east-central Europe. The days of Stalinist monolithic satellization are gone, but Russian military and economic hegemony over the area still deprives them of true political independence and strong internal pressures for such a state of affairs still provoke Soviet military intervention, like in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968. Yet the forces of nationalism, which is almost completely anti-Russian, and the search of the youth and intellectuals for a more democratic life and humane methods cannot be repressed even by Russian tanks; and the economic realities of the 1960's force even the Communist regimes

to expand trade with the West in order to help modernize their obsolete machinery and management methods.

Yet the central fact remains continued Soviet control and no true solution can be achieved until this central fact is successfully altered. Therefore, it is with great interest that I have read the recent memorandum of the American Hungarian Federation proposing neutralization of part of the area: The Danubian region, including now neutral Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia and either or both Rumania and Czechoslovakia. I trust that our diplomats and policy planners will further study the interesting proposal and work out a comprehensive plan which could form our counterproposal to the Soviet-backed European Security Conference which will have to be dealt with in some manner after the remarks of President Nixon to the NATO meeting last week and the NATO communiqué composed at the end of the same meeting.

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, today I am joining my colleagues in discussing various alternatives to American policies toward east-central Europe.

The two salient facts evident about the situation in that region are the anti-Russian, nationalist spirit of the peoples, and the unchallenged military superiority of the Soviet Union which finds its expression in the occupation of most countries of the region and in the new-fangled "Brezhnev doctrine" claiming the legal right of intervention, a *carte blanche* for political and military domination.

The events of 1968 in Czechoslovakia showed with great clarity the presence of these two major forces and the absence of any coordinated policy on our part. While liberation is outmoded by the military-political realities of life in international politics, we must continue looking for an alternative policy not based on the sanctioning of the protectorate status of these proud nations in the "Socialist commonwealth."

Recently the American Hungarian Federation which for over six decades served as the spokesman of the American Hungarian community submitted a memorandum to the President, Secretary of State, and the National Security Council on the subject of future policies of the United States in east-central Europe. They discussed the issue in the all-European framework, pointing out that the emergence of a politically coordinated Europe that can speak with one voice on the major regional issues is a prerequisite for any successful Western policy toward these historically pro-Western countries of the European center. Therefore, they suggested that we give precedence toward policies directed toward Western unity, and promoting Atlantic partnership.

In addition, however, realizing that negotiations with the Soviet Union over the major international conflict issues are necessary, they also suggested the official presentation of a comprehensive neutralization program for Austria, Yugoslavia and at least Hungary, Czechoslovakia, preferably Poland and Rumania including the withdrawal of

foreign forces from these countries. This neutralization would also be guaranteed by NATO and the Soviet Union thereby increasing the security of both Western Europe and the Soviet Union by the creation of a buffer zone especially as the increasing intensity of the Sino-Soviet conflict and the troubles the Soviet Union continues to have with some of her allies in east-central Europe, must render Moscow more interested in a European settlement.

I certainly hope that the memorandum will be carefully read by the policymakers in this country and further studies be made on the proposals of the American Hungarian Federation.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, today I join my colleagues in discussing alternate courses to present American policies toward east-central Europe.

Recently, we are faced in east-central Europe with two forces for change. The first one is the increasing recognition of national independence and historic tradition of these nations in response to the increasingly anti-Russian feelings of the peoples. The second force is the search for some kind of humanism by the younger generation, a return to Western moral and philosophical ideals even when presented within the political framework of a socialist society. These ideals found acceptance in many countries even among the young and the intellectuals who were Communist Party members and who occupy important positions in the cultural and political life of their countries.

However, since August 1968, Russian military and economic pressure against the States of the region has increased in order to counteract these tendencies. We have seen the repression of the spring demands of the Polish university youth in 1968, the military occupation of Czechoslovakia where individual freedom was, at least in part, restored and further reforms demanded, and the pressures on Rumania and even on independent Yugoslavia.

Yet the pressures were only partially successful. Everywhere, even in Hungary, which underwent the traumatic experiences of an anti-Communist national rising in 1956, the peoples express their quest for reforms and humanism with increasing impatience despite the Czech events.

President Nixon is preparing this year for a new summit meeting with the Soviet Union, and it is to be expected that the future of east-central Europe will form one of the most important topics of such a negotiation. Together with the German question, it could cause a confrontation between the two superpowers and NATO more easily than Vietnam or the Middle East.

It is, therefore, necessary to ask ourselves what alternatives we have. Liberation can no longer be pursued in view of the present military balance between the West and the Warsaw Pact nations. Bridgebuilding via Moscow has been proven too ineffective because in the moment the policy is even half successful, Russian intervention can deprive the nations and the West of any of its accomplishments as has been proved in Czechoslovakia.

We must search for a regional arrangement which would safeguard great power interests in the area, as well as the interests of the nations involved. A compromise plan is proposed by a memorandum of the American Hungarian Federation which suggests that neutralization of central Europe, including Hungary, Czechoslovakia, possibly also Rumania and Poland on the one hand, and already neutral Austria and independent Communist Yugoslavia on the other, would remove the seeds of conflict from the Danubian Basin while safeguarding also alleged Russian fears of western advance in Europe under the guise of neutralization. We believe that in view of increasing Russian interest in a detente with the West, a result of sharpening conflict between Russia and China, such a proposal may even be considered by the Kremlin, and we urge the President and the Secretary of State to give careful consideration to the ideas expressed in the memorandum.

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to join my distinguished colleagues in discussing our policies toward east central Europe.

The initiative for this round of discussion was provided by the recent memorandum of the American Hungarian Federation sent to President Nixon and Secretary of State Rogers, proposing the inclusion of a neutralization plan for part of central Europe as an official American negotiating position.

This plan appears to have much merit and follows, in many respects, earlier plans by American-Polish experts on a Central European Federation. Since we cannot liberate east central Europe and we cannot prevent the continued rise of nationalist and anti-Russian sentiments, it is our duty to find some provisional solution that could provide security to the peoples of the area, including a large degree of national self-determination, and also which would be acceptable to NATO and the Soviet Union.

Any neutralization plan must include some progress toward a solution of the German question. Placing the complex German question into the foreground of negotiations negated, in the past, any progress toward a restoration of peace and free development to the other nations in the region. Therefore, we welcome the suggestion of the American Hungarian Federation for a neutral zone to be established on the Austrian pattern, not only including Austria, but also Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and independent Yugoslavia, and providing for the withdrawal of foreign forces from the zone. While such a proposal would have been considered Utopian a few years ago, in view of the many difficulties the Soviet Union has been experiencing with many of its "allies" in the region and the increasing Chinese pressure on the eastern frontiers of the Soviet Union, perhaps this might become a proposal of considerable interest to the Soviet Union as well—as a counterproposal to the European Security Conference promoted for propaganda purposes by Moscow.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, today I am joining my colleagues, led by the distinguished gentleman from Ohio, in discuss-

ing the problem of American policies toward east central Europe. The debate is occasioned by the fine paper of the International Affairs Committee of the American Hungarian Federation recently submitted to the President, the Secretary of State, and the National Security Council.

It is my belief that the Czechoslovak events of 1968, the Timisora Conference between Tito and Ceausescu, the recent, not too successful, attempts of the Soviet Union to gain wholehearted support of the parties of the region against the Chinese are all signs that east central Europe is not going to remain a docile subject of the Soviet Union even in the face of our continued inaction. Internal developments, whether manifested in the quest for economic efficiency instead of the wasteful practices of Marxist-Leninist economics, for humanism among the youth and the intellectuals, or for political democracy among the masses are going to continue despite Soviet intervention. In fact, the more repressive foreign measures are used, the more nationalism and aversion against Russia will grow, rendering slowly, but inevitably, this region of the world a new powderkeg just like in the decades since 1914.

The new administration wants to take a different approach to the problem from the ineffectual "bridgebuilding" attempts of the last 8 years. We must find some means to deal with the overriding problem: the presence of Russian military forces in the area. Entering an era of negotiations rather than confrontation we cannot revert to "liberation" policies, but neither can we recognize the satellite status of these countries under what is now called the Brzeznev Doctrine" of legal Soviet Russian intervention in case of danger to the Socialist order in these countries by internal developments.

The ideas of the American Hungarian Federation on these matters are interesting. They stress the need for more active Atlantic partnership policies in Western Europe in order to promote the emergence of a politically well coordinated Europe, independent but friendly which could make its own decisions about major regional issues. Such a Europe would, of course, exercise a strong peaceful pull on the states of central Europe. But the memorandum goes beyond these generalities. It proposes studies on a possible neutralization of Austria, Yugoslavia, and part of the Warsaw Pact nations, particularly Hungary and Czechoslovakia, by means of negotiations with the Soviet Union and the NATO allies.

I hope that our policymakers will give the attention to this paper which it deserves by its new approach and that further studies will be made in this direction.

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of the Members of the House the recent publication by Frederick A. Praeger of "The Czech Black Book," a translation of a publication compiled by the Institute of History of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and entitled "Seven Days in Prague."

The purpose of the book, which was first secretly circulated in Czechoslovakia, was and is to refute the so-called

Soviet white book—"On Events in Czechoslovakia." Press Group of Soviet Journalists, Moscow 1969.

"The Czech Black Book" is an excellent account of the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia and seriously undermines any credibility the Russian "white book" may have had.

As just one example of the unreliability of the Soviet publication, I would cite a statement on page 18 of the translation which states:

U.S. Congressman J. Culver who returned from a visit to Czechoslovakia was quoted by the Lebanese newspaper Al Hadaf on August 29 as describing his encounters with the former director general of the Czechoslovak television, J. Pelikan.

Here is what J. Pelikan said in short:

"The advocates of liberalization are counting on purging the leading party organs not only of hostile elements but also of all those who have been taking a vacillating or wait-and-see stand.

"The leadership of the country will be taken over by men who will be able to wrest Czechoslovak politics and economy from out of the influence of the red ideology and to turn them in a direction conforming to Western traditions."

Mr. Speaker, there is no truth whatsoever to the story which appeared in Al Hadef and was reprinted in the Russian "white book." At no time either during my travel abroad or after my return to the United States did I describe to a representative of the press a meeting with Mr. Pelikan, nor attribute to him in any way the comments which the Soviets have reported.

It is this type of fabrication which "The Czech Black Book" overcomes, through its report of the 7 tragic but heroic days in Czechoslovakia last August. I commend it to the Members of the House.

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to have the opportunity today to join my distinguished colleague from the State of Ohio in discussing the direction of American foreign policy in Eastern Europe.

The general direction of American foreign policy in all areas has been toward the self-determination of all nations. It has been my feeling that this course should be more aggressively followed. In the case of the Eastern European bloc, I feel it must be our responsibility to do everything possible, in a nonmilitary manner, to encourage and support the attitude of self-determination which is being so earnestly sought by these freedom-loving people.

As we consider the possibility of bilateral discussions in the near future, I feel we should keep in mind the possibility of correcting our own course of direction in foreign policy. We have recently watched the development of more independent governmental structures in the Eastern European countries, and we cannot help but notice that this move toward independence continues to grow in strength, despite efforts by the Soviets to stop it. I feel American Government must indicate its support of these efforts, which may well lead to a more united Europe, with a healthier, more viable economy.

As I have stated many times previously on this floor, the nations of East-



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ern Europe have long fought for the right to govern themselves as part of a free society. In developing our Nation's policies toward those countries, we should keep their efforts well in mind, and keep our minds open for new alternatives in supporting those efforts.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, it gives pleasure of joining my colleagues, ably led by the distinguished gentleman from Ohio, in analyzing trends and options of American policies toward Eastern Europe.

The last years have seen a renewal of the spirit of nationalism and humanism in that part of the world. A remembrance of the historical and cultural ties which binds the countries of the Danubian region, Poland and Bulgaria to the western part of the continent and which go back in some cases more than a thousand years. There is also a spirit of questioning and defiance on the part of the youth and the workers, the so-called darlings of the Communist system against the untenable and erroneous Communist ideology, and a search for a more humane and more effective approach to politics and economics.

Simultaneously, the dislike of the Russian occupation and dictation is growing even among nominal party members, and even by some in the high echelons. The ferment in Czechoslovakia was primarily anti-Russian, the foreign policy of Rumania betrays increasingly nationalist motivations behind the veil of Communist Aesopian language, and even the presence of large occupation troop units have not done away with all the vestiges of liberalization in Czechoslovakia. The Kremlin is finding it harder and harder to keep the satellites in line who are encouraged also by the sharpening Sino-Soviet conflict.

At the same time, the Kremlin found no new recipe for dealing with the native forces of resistance. Tanks, censorship, secret police methods are still sought in order to keep Russian control, increasing the dislike which prompted the alienation in the first place.

The United States has a great stake in seeing freedom and national self-determination restored to the peoples of East Central Europe. Our past policies under the past two administrations was basically a hands-off policy, camouflaged by the ineffective slogans of "bridgebuilding," which was, however, exposed as extremely vulnerable to Russian actions in the moment of its first incomplete success.

We need a new approach which could be summarized by viewing the policy toward east central Europe in the greater NATO and Soviet framework and in counterproposals rather than acceptance of the Russian-East European suggestion for an European Security Conference. Such counterproposal should take the form of a neutralization plan for the Danubian countries on both sides of the demarcation line, including at least Austria, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Rumania and preferably also Czechoslovakia.

Such ideas were proposed by the American Hungarian Federation memorandum recently submitted to President Nixon and the State Department. I wel-

come them as an expression of real concern on the part of Americans of Hungarian descent in the matters not only of the country of their origin but also for the future of the entire region in general and American relations with Eastern Europe in particular. I am sure that our policymakers will listen to the new approach proposed and will further the study of the situation.

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join with my colleagues in discussing the memorandum of the American Hungarian Federation on problems of American foreign policy toward east central Europe.

The memorandum has several positive assets. First, it recognizes the complexity of the situation and does not call for simple solutions. It perceives clearly that there are no independent Hungarian, Czechoslovak, or Polish problems in our policy toward the belt of states located between Germany and Russia. Furthermore, that our policies are greatly influenced by our conception of Europe as a whole, by our attitudes toward an evolution of NATO and by our relations with the Soviet Union, the dominant power in east central Europe at the present time.

Moreover, the memorandum exposes the failures of our past policies, whether they be of the "liberation" or the slogan-eering "bridgebuilding" type. The success of any of these two policies in part brought about a tragedy for the peoples of the region. The so-called liberation policy was unmasked as propaganda without military backing by the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, which was finally crushed by the Red army despite the heroic efforts of the Hungarian people. The bridgebuilding policy was proved worthless by the invasion of Czechoslovakia last August and the subsequent repression of liberalism in that state at direct Russian intervention.

The question remains whether we should conduct a hands-off policy of indifference toward these states, which for most of the last millennium played a major part in shaping the history of Europe, or should we look for new initiatives? The memorandum concludes that the latter must be the case and I tend to agree with its conclusions. The form in which the new initiative could be made remains to be rendered more precise by expert research, but the general direction is clearly shown in the memorandum.

In the forthcoming talks with the Soviet Union, the new administration must seek to raise the issue of a possible neutralization of the countries of the Danubian basin, including Austria and Yugoslavia, which are outside of the Soviet orbit, Hungary and Rumania, and possibly also Czechoslovakia. I hope that our policymakers to whom this memorandum has recently been submitted will take the time to consider it carefully and will apply its contents to the subject of further policy-oriented research.

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, it is evident that the new administration attaches great significance to European affairs, and therefore I believe that it would do well to closely study the proposals advanced by the American Hun-

garian Federation in a memorandum recently submitted to the President, the Secretary of State and other major policymakers.

The memorandum deals with both Western and Eastern European affairs, as the two cannot in reality be separated from one another. Our policies toward Western Europe should reflect the spirit of Atlantic partnership and aim at promoting a strong and independent Europe which, together with the United States, can deal with the regional problems of the Continent.

The European Continent has two major problems, both inherited from the Second World War. The first is the question of the division of Germany; the second the problem of continued Russian domination over large areas of east central Europe. While we continue to hope for progress on the question of German unity, which is a concomitant requirement for progress on the situation in east central Europe, the two problems are not identical.

The creation of a buffer zone including Austria, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania would still be possible before a full solution of the German question and could pave the way toward solving it. The centrifugal forces within the Warsaw bloc are already so strong that even in the face of our very limited involvement they can only be restrained—not eradicated—by superior Russian military and economic power. The increasing difficulties of the Soviet Union in keeping these countries in line, together with the intensified tension at the eastern border of the U.S.S.R. with the People's Republic of China, are factors that may make even the Russian receptive to such an arrangement, provided their security and economic needs are respected by some international guarantee on the status of the region and the retainment of certain economic ties. The winners would be the peoples of the region who crave for national independence and for an evolution of their systems into more humanistic and democratic forms, and for the re-forging of their severed ties with Western Europe. I hope that our policymakers will consider these possibilities in preparing for talks with Russia.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, it is pertinent in the discussion to insert at this point the remarks of Dr. Z. Michael Szaz, secretary of the International Affairs Committee of the American Hungarian Federation:

#### REMARKS BY MR. SZAZ

American foreign policy toward Eastern Europe has been ever since 1944 a basically defensive one. The region was recognized as not vital to American national interests and therefore political consideration have always prevailed over security considerations.

While the Yalta Agreement did not in effect establish a sphere of influence division of Europe, such a division existed in fact as soon as the American and Soviet armies met at Torgav on April 24, 1945. As the Soviet Union has never lived up to the Declaration of Liberated Europe calling for the establishment of representative governments by free elections, by 1946 the United States also reconsidered its position and stopped sending reparations from its zone in Germany to the Soviet Union and in 1947 established the Bizonal Economic Area in Germany. The cold

war soon hardened the military demarcation line into a political and ideological one and non-Communist parties and politicians met either jail and execution at home in Eastern Europe or had to escape to the West.

The Communization of Eastern Europe was not accepted as final by the United States. Public opinion's disgust was paired with the general assumption of American military superiority and it was considered possible to shake the Russian rule over the countries of Eastern Europe by diplomatic economic and propaganda means without provoking World War III.

This was basically the "liberation" program of John Foster Dulles endorsed by General Eisenhower in his speech to the American Legion in August 1952 before his election to the Presidency of the United States.

The weakness of the "liberation" theory has been that it came too late. Such an active policy might have saved at least part of the area in 1946, but starting six years thereafter was doomed to failure by Soviet and domestic Communist entrenchment in the entire socio-political apparatus superiority over the Soviet Union in the nuclear and air power fields Soviet control over Eastern Europe can be loosened by political and economic means, by psychological warfare without leading to World War III and American military intervention.

While the Truman Administration continued to protest and undertake a large-scale propaganda campaign with the help of Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America, the full use of all political, economic and psychological means in form of a "liberation" campaign with all means short of war was first promised by the Republican Presidential candidate General Eisenhower in his speech to the American Legion on August 24, 1952.

The incoming Eisenhower Administration, under the leadership of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles embarked on the above program. However, it became soon clear that psychological warfare alone would not suffice to break down the vise of Communist control which by that time has permeated all socio-economic and political levels of the Eastern European countries and was wedded to a ruthless and terroristic, but efficient secret police apparatus. Only an appeal to open revolt or to guerilla warfare would have been powerful enough to shake loose Communist control, but such an appeal would have meant promise of active American military support, a conclusion to which the Eisenhower Administration has not subscribed.

Three months after the inauguration of the Eisenhower Administration the death of the Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin appeared to have created a completely new situation rendering the success of the liberation program more likely but also introducing new elements like an evolutionary process of "nationalization" and "liberalization" of the existing regimes in Eastern Europe and possible Russian acquiescence into neutralization of part or all of the region due to internal weaknesses.

The results were tragic for the peoples involved, especially in Hungary where as a result of inept Communist leadership the discontent assumed the form of open revolt and forced the establishment of a multi-Party Government which tried to restore democracy and leave the Warsaw Pact. The challenge to Soviet and Communist control resulted in the near-intervention in Poland only averted by Gomulka's cooling of nationalist passions and temporary liberal reforms and in the bloody intervention of Russia in Hungary crushing the fight for freedom and establishing a quisling regime.

The Hungarian Revolution represents a watershed in American policy toward Eastern Europe. It demonstrated unmistakably the insufficiency of an activist policy which is unable or unwilling to draw the necessary military conclusions of its successes. The result

of the fall events of 1956 has not been a curtailing of Soviet influence over the region but an actual increase in the long-run prospects of acceptance of Russian overlordships by these peoples. After all the dream of American liberation has been shown utterly unreal by the Hungarian freedomfighters. Rightly or wrongly the peoples of Eastern Europe felt even more abandoned than in 1945 and drew their own conclusions that they have to get along with their present masters and work for improvement within the existing ideological and power political framework.

On the American side the twin crisis in the Middle East diverted attention from the magnitude of political defeat but before any new policies could have been effectively implemented, a new event had occurred destroying the basis for an activist policy in Eastern Europe, the Russian space feats with the Sputnik and their implicit ramification of nuclear stalemate with the arrival of ICBMs.

The remaining period of the Eisenhower Administration did not produce any firm policy toward the region. The argument between those who wanted to continue the old tactics and aim it now for a "nationalistic" deviation of the regimes, and those who advised a hands off policy, or even a bridgebuilding policy continued with none of the protagonists achieving clear superiority in American Administration councils. Thus, the Hungarian question was kept on the U.N. agenda, but food and credits were extended to Poland, a summit meeting was sought and the German question was still discussed but after the second Berlin crisis in November 1958 attention was focused on the new Russian offensive in the region rather than on any liberation policies.

The Democratic Kennedy Administration started on a new tack. Especially after the Cuban confrontation and the end of the Berlin crisis, a new theory underlined our policies toward Eastern Europe. It called for an activist policy but not toward undermining the governments by direct appeals to the opposing elements among the population. Rather it called for improvement of economic, cultural and even political relations with the governments in power recognizing their permanence and political claim to power and hope that the enlightened national self-interest of the governments will lead them to better relations with the West and liberalization of the totalitarian controls at home. Yet, this bridgebuilding policy explained in President Kennedy's speech at the American University and elaborated by President Johnson's October 1966 speech was not to be restricted to Eastern Europe.

It was rather to be a minor part of our bridgebuilding policy toward the Soviet Union, for the policy was based upon the permanence of Russian military and economic control of the region. We were trying to become, together with other NATO countries a sort of junior partner in Soviet-controlled Eastern Europe and receive in return the economic satisfaction of trade and the moral satisfaction of the removal of the worst features of dictatorial rule for the populations involved.

The theory was very logical and nice, but it has never completely worked. There were too many internal contradictions in it and it did not fit into the Soviet plans for the region in the long run.

## II

The bridgebuilding theory via Moscow has been long advertised as the major accomplishment of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration. It has laid the basis for a durable peace and led to a limited but vital cooperation between the two superpowers, both of whom realize now that the existence of the other and the avoidance of a nuclear holocaust is in its own national interest.

It is a political misfortune for the Demo-

cratic Presidential candidate in 1968 that the failure of the policy occurred exactly during the Presidential campaign with the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia. For facing the mess in Vietnam and its urban and racial affairs at home, the apparent accomplishments of the bridgebuilding, detente policies were the only selling points of the eight years of Democratic Administration to the American people.

A close analysis of the bridgebuilding via Moscow policy has shown in the past that it does not work in the interest in the United States. Already long before the Prague events the negative sides has outweighed the positive ones. The first corollary of the policy has been the slowing down of American involvement in NATO, and a passive acceptance of French "going it alone" policies by the Johnson Administration. Once agreements with the Soviet Union became possible on international security matters and Russian aggression did not have to be feared, the role our NATO allies played in the formulation and implementation of American policies could be relegated into the background and NATO could be deemphasized. The events of the last four years of NATO history show clearly this trend of American policy and the sorry disarray the have created. In a perverse manner, apparent success in detente also meant that American influence over Western Europe could be re-enforced, but for reasons of his own, President Johnson avoided this temptation which was exploited by President Kennedy in his first year of detente policy (1963).

The second corollary of the policy was the assumption that both the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries would be slowly liberalized and thereby become more open to Western cultural and economic contacts. The Iron Curtain was to be dismantled and people-to-people contacts expanded. As all East European countries needed the hard currency of the tourists and Western businessmen, the bridgebuilding policies attained some successes. However, the cultural and economic beneficiaries of the bridgebuilding were not United States citizens, but Germans and Frenchmen, Britons and Italians who could both on historical and economic grounds compete better for the favor of the local Communist regimes than their American counterparts. However, the policy was linear and was unprepared for a refreezing of the atmosphere that must occur when the bridgebuilding becomes moderately successful in Eastern Europe and present a latent danger to Russian economic and political control. Thus, in the moment of its success the policy would become a failure unless the liberalization or disintegration trends in the Soviet Union would proceed approximately at the same speed, a very unlikely occurrence.

The third corollary of the policy was the abandonment of anti-Communism as an American bargaining point in Eastern Europe. While the old liberation policy was strictly based on it, the new policy tried to hide it, ignore it, or even deny it, thus going to the other extreme. Realpolitik was to silence the opposition forces and cause them to cooperate with the new regimes and try to force the changes from the inside. The damage done to American image by this policy in Eastern Europe among the people over 35 has never been completely analyzed, but it must have been considerable. It also deprived the American informational agencies and papers of their strongest moral, ideological and political weapons. At Radio Free Europe even articles were no longer accepted for publication as early as 1964 which would prove economic exploitation of satellite countries by the Soviet Union. They were considered to be too delicate.

The final corollary of the policy was based upon its acceptance by the Soviet Union. However, the bridgebuilding policy toward the Eastern European countries has never

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been accepted by Moscow. Russian and local Communist writers and essayists were always warning of the ideological and political infiltration of the West and kept the people to people contact generally within well defined limits, minimizing the intellectual and economic impact of Western influences.

## III

The Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia and the ensuing threats to Rumania and the Federal Republic of Germany raises anew the question of American foreign policy toward Eastern Europe.

The Soviet occupation destroyed most of the assumptions of an evolution of the region to national communism of a more permissive type. It has shown that even when facing ideological bankruptcy, the Soviet Union can and will revert to military methods to enforce her own national control over the region. Furthermore, that bridgebuilding policies do not deter the Soviet Union from assuming a psychological-diplomatic offensive in Europe as long as NATO is in disarray and our relations with France and Germany are strained.

In my opinion, reassessment of our policies must not be restricted to Eastern Europe like in the past. The question of Eastern Europe is embedded in the problem of our relationship with our NATO allies and the Soviet Union. Viewed in isolation, a return to activist "liberation" policy would reheat the cold war without great advantages to us. Yet the bridgebuilding policy is dead and no matter of rhetoric of the New York Times or Professor Brzezinski can resurrect it.

We must find a East European policy that takes into consideration the following factors:

1. There is no such unit as Eastern Europe. Events of the last few years created at least "two Eastern Europea," one held in subjugation by Russian military power, or by national interest complementary to the Soviet desires (Bulgaria), and one ruled by Communist regimes responsive to the local national interests, e.g., Rumania and Yugoslavia. Furthermore, no solution of the Eastern European problem may be achieved without some progress on the German question.

2. The basis for Soviet power in Eastern Europe is no longer ideological. Even in Poland, as the spring events of 1968 have evidenced, there are many Communist elements who disagree with the Soviet-type of socialism and local nationalism is on the rise in every Eastern European country. Nationalism remains the only major counterpoise to communism in Eastern Europe and its development since the death of Stalin constitutes the only effective anti-Soviet force. In reverse, there is little question that the Prague events show that the Soviet Union is also giving continuing precedence to national imperialist considerations over general, international Communist interests.

3. The basic question in Eastern Europe is the presence of foreign occupation troops. By now, every country still subject to Russian control has Russian troops at her soil. The removal of Soviet troops must be the primary aim of American diplomacy in the region. There is reasonable hope that once this objective is achieved, the countries would orient themselves toward Western Europe and liberalize their policies at home.

4. Unless we have a strong Western Europe which is further integrated, there cannot be an active policy toward Eastern Europe for any settlement leading to a diminution of Russian presence in the area can only be based at the reduction of American forces in Western Europe. While disengagement cannot provide the full answer, some disengagement and progress on the Germany question would have to precede Russian withdrawal from Eastern Europe.

## IV

There are few other alternatives. To continue the present policy would be disadvantageous to the United States and would encourage the Soviets to assume an offensive stance toward the NATO countries while putting military pressure on Rumania and Yugoslavia.

A return to "liberation" policies would probably not receive public support either in the United States and Western Europe and would be ineffective in view of nuclear parity.

To abandon all interest in the region again would be interpreted in Moscow as neo-isolationism forced upon the United States by internal problems and result in Soviet initiatives against the NATO region.

The new policy must be based upon the recognition that in the long run it is in our national interest to promote increasing contacts and integration between Eastern and Western Europe and to reduce our military presence in Europe.

This is not a call for troop reduction at a time of danger to NATO countries. The prerequisite for the policy is the reestablishment of military balance by an enlargement of present NATO forces and withdrawal of the forward elements of the Red Army from Czechoslovakia. But as a medium-range consideration, the thinning out of the Central European sector from foreign troops must be the hub of any reasonable policy aiming at furthering American and European interests in Eastern Europe.

The new policy must aim at the reopening of the German question. No amount of talk about disengagement, or reduction of forces, or bridgebuilding can solve the problem unless German unity is restored in some shape or form. The basis for a solution of the security and free development of Eastern Europe is progress in restoring German unity.

The new policy must guarantee to a greater extent than before that countries which assume a nationalistic stance will not be abandoned at the alter of the detente to the Soviet Union's kind graces. This is not to call for their full guarantee by NATO, but at least for their placing into the grey area of American military interests which, under certain circumstances might be defended from armed aggression. The Johnson announcement of Rumania came close to such a position, though his abject silence on Czechoslovakia was rightly interpreted as a disclaimer of any American interest in Czechoslovakia.

Each of the three principles of a new policy would require a long study in itself. However, they must be part and parcel of an all-European policy aiming at bringing increasing coordination and unity to the continent not by American-sponsored community projects, but by helping the European powers to find the way to one another, in the spirit of John Foster Dulles, but realizing that the best encouragement we can give is the expression of our interest and the upgrading of their role in our policy-making vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The creation of Europe united on foreign policy, integrated economically, and cultural independent, and friendly to the United States without forming part of an enforced Atlantic Community, is in our national interest. The fulfillment of the promises of this policy would go far in solving the problems created by Russia in Eastern Europe without direct American involvement. After all, it was the success of West German trade and cultural relations with Eastern Europe which exerted a substantial influence on the Soviet leaders to occupy Czechoslovakia lest they lose their influence in most of the region. And Soviet Russia, too, in the long run, will have less objections to ties between Eastern and Western Europe than to close ties between Eastern Europe and the United States.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, today's discussion of American policies toward east-central Europe is very timely.

A solution to the complex problems of the region cannot come overnight, but unless we start thinking of new ways of trying to deal with the present crisis-filled deadlock between the nations of the area and the Soviet Union on the one hand, and between NATO and the Soviet Union on the other, central Europe might again become the powderkeg of Europe just as it had been twice during the present century.

Native forces in these countries have already worked some change during the past decade. The Soviet monolithic control has been already cracked by the Polish and Hungarian events of 1956, especially by the temporary victory of the revolutionary forces in Hungary later defeated by Soviet armored divisions. With some modifications, the Soviet Union was quickly able to restore control over the region by the end of 1957. The second upheaval came more gradually.

Yet, despite Soviet occupation, nationalist and democratic unrest continues in Czechoslovakia where passive resistance extends not only to the masses and workers, but to much of the party leadership itself. Rumania succeeded in vetoing closer economic integration within Comecon which would have been detrimental to her national interests, and even in foreign policy has recovered some leverage and independence. Hungary is experimenting with economic reforms and while it is emphasized that they could not spread to the political realm, the changes are undermining classical Marxist economics. Anti-Russian feeling is high in almost every country of the Warsaw Pact in view of the events of August 1968 and nationalism has become the major counterforce penetrating, transforming, and often outrightly opposing traditional Communist tenets.

It has been said that the Soviet Union has less trouble in her relations with neutral Austria, or Finland than with Rumania and Czechoslovakia who are formally members of the Warsaw Pact.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, today I join my colleagues, ably led by the distinguished gentleman from Ohio (Mr. MINSHALL), in discussing the situation in east-central Europe in the light of recent proposals of the American Hungarian Federation.

With the new administration displaying signs of renewed interest in East European affairs and preparing serious negotiations with the Soviet Union on major issues, it is of great importance that we try to find new approaches to our relationships with central Europe.

The American Hungarian Federation's call for an Atlantic partnership to be the mainstay of our policy toward Western Europe appears to be a most hopeful approach to this problem. We cannot and should not play the policeman of Europe; rather, we must help the European nations to become self-sufficient in military and political matters and promote integration and coordination among them in the creation of a viable European community.

It is my belief that we can arrive at no solution of the complex east-central European question without a regional plan which would be acceptable to the peoples of that region and which would at least



be tolerable to the Soviet Union. It is, therefore, with special interest that I read the proposal for the neutralization of much of central Europe by the American Hungarian Federation. Such a neutralization would establish common guarantees against intervention. Creation of a buffer zone would in fact create three Europes: Western Europe, the buffer zone, and the Soviet Union. It would be a possible solution to the security needs of the Soviet Union and the needs of the central European nations to live outside of blocs. This desire needs no proof as far as Austria and Yugoslavia are concerned, and was also manifest in Hungary and Czechoslovakia in 1956 and 1968 respectively.

Such an approach could take the form of a cautious but positive reply to the European Security Conference ideas which the Soviets and their satellites are now pushing for propaganda reasons and for effecting our withdrawal from Europe, unmasking the Soviet designs, but preserving the potentially positive elements of the plan which call for the dissolution of military blocs. A buffer zone neutralization could even be acceptable to Soviet security needs at a time when the Soviet Union has considerable trouble with several of its Warsaw pact allies.

In this connection, may I call attention of my colleagues to a periodical published in New York: "Studies for a New Central Europe," which is pushing the idea of neutralization of the Danubian states, with possible common institutions among them once neutralization has been achieved and guaranteed by the major powers.

I insert at this point the editorial in the last issue of the "Studies for a New Central Europe" which pertains particularly to the idea of neutralization:

#### TOWARD A THIRD WAY IN A NEW CENTRAL EUROPE

Europe is an extremely sensitive area of the world where the use of bare military power will bring neither permanent peace nor a solution to its problems and needs. The Russians will soon realize that the use of a raw force in a highly developed area backfires. The military "blood and iron" method of Napoleon, the Czars, Bismarck, Mussolini and Hitler harmed in the long run more than they helped their nations and Europe. American and Western policy must also change from their predominantly military countermeasures, pacts and expenditures, as Richard Nixon recently emphasized—to "preventive diplomacy" and peace planning with "regional peace pacts" and the whole-hearted participation of the nations concerned.

#### THREE ALTERNATIVES IN EUROPE

The solutions commonly advocated for Europe fall into three categories:

A. A *United Europe*. This is presently politically unrealistic, at least for the foreseeable future and so long as the Soviet Union is a nuclear superpower. Moscow would never give its consent to a politically, economically and militarily unified Europe that included East Central Europe "from the Atlantic to the Urals." Such a unity exists only culturally, based on deep historical sentiments of the European nations. But politically, a *United States of Europe* is still unrealistic, a fantastic dream like that of Coudenhove-Kalergi's *Pan-europa* proposed between the two World Wars to which some statesmen like Briand, Seipel and Masaryk gave lip

service but which proved to be a political illusion. Now, the European Movement invites its friends and adherents to almost yearly conferences with its program devoted to "European unification." The main speaker of the last conference held January 19-20, 1968 in Rome was the German Professor Walter Hallstein who emphasized the idea of "Europe as a whole." Another organization, Action Europeene Federalist held its congress November 18-19, 1967 in Brussels with the participation of Jean Rey, Professor Hendrik Brugmans, Dr. Dieter Roser, Vice President of the German Europa-Union and others. The 17th congress of the latter organization met on March 4-5, 1968 in Cologne. But Jerzy Jankowski, a Polish journalist and editor of *Poland in Europe*, who attended these congresses, summarized their net results as follows: "The regimes in power in Eastern Europe are hostile to the United Europe idea. Thus, what is there left to say at the congresses beside repeating cheap formulas about an 'entire Europe' and platonic compliments to the peoples of the 'Second Europe'?"<sup>1</sup>

B. The Present *Two Europes* organized militarily by NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries would permanently fix the present East and West Europe side by side. This would be a hell to those nations caught unwillingly between the two superpowers, the masters of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. This present *status quo* would leave the German problem unsolved, the Berlin Wall and the Iron Curtain permanently established, the Cold War, intermittently intensified, especially now after the occupation of Czechoslovakia and as it was previously, after 1948 and 1956. The greater the increase of military power on both sides of the Iron Curtain, the more unbearable will life be for the 120-130 millions who live between Russia and Germany. Such enormous military expenses incurred by both America and the USSR are also an unnecessary burden on their economies that unbalance their budgets, foreign payments, and hinder finding solutions to their problems at home. Both America and England are willing to withdraw from Europe but as long as the Two Europes exist, a military de-escalation in Europe remains a dream. At whose expense were the 650,000 Soviet troops deployed in Czechoslovakia and now rocket bases established there? The NATO forces, America, Germany and also Yugoslavia immediately reacted by increasing their military expenditures, ordering more expensive rockets, tanks and jet bombers. Cannot lessons be learned from Hitler's military failures? The present trend only lays the base for a Third World War which could not be contained in Europe.

C. We submit, the realistic solution is a third way:

*Three Europes*: 1. Western Europe with its nucleus, the Common Market. 2. East Europe which is practically Soviet Russia. 3. Central Europe, a neutralized buffer zone between Russia and Germany.

The French President De Gaulle was realistic when he reminded the world in a speech at the Warsaw parliament, in the heart of Central Europe, that politically, there are Three Europes: Western, Central and East Europe. While a United Europe is an utopian dream, the present Two Europes a hell, Three Europes would be to the advantage of all nations—and is politically realistic. It would be in the interest of the nuclear powers too, including the Soviet Union.

*For Peace and Military Deescalation, a Neutral Buffer Zone is needed in Europe.*

It is vain to exhort the leaders of the Kremlin to move their troops out of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and East Berlin so long

as the English-American troops remain and are even strengthened on the other side of the Iron Curtain. Russia was invaded several times since Napoleon and it understandably feels the need of protection against what it calls "German revanchism" or other aggression. The present "revanchism" of West Germany serves as an admirable bogeyman to keep the Warsaw Pact group in line. Therefore a neutral buffer zone between the Russians and Germans would release the Soviet Union from this fear and enable the Kremlin to concentrate against a possible invasion from China. If a Central European neutral zone were guaranteed by the Great Powers and, as in Austria's case, by some other 60 states, the security of Russia's Western frontier would be unquestionable. Moscow's obsession must be removed by a proposal made through diplomatic channels to neutralize the zone from Finland down through the Danubian countries. Such an agreement would make the motivation written into the recent Soviet-Czechoslovak treaty obsolete. Article 1 of the treaty "ensures the security of the countries of the socialist community against the increasing revanchist strivings of the West German militarist forces." Neutralization would serve the security of the Soviet Union, Poland, and Czechoslovakia as well. It would open the way for a military de-escalation. The neutralization of Austria in the State Treaty of 1955 was one of the wisest steps taken in decades. The Kremlin now has less trouble with Austria than with the non-neutralized Hungary, Rumania or Czechoslovakia. Neutral Sweden and Finland are better neighbors than Rumania. It will of course be in the best interest of the nations in such a neutralized buffer zone to have good economic and cultural relations with Russia. With their military expenditures reduced, peoples of the zone will attain a higher level of existence.

The idea of a Neutralized Buffer Zone gains momentum.

Fifteen years ago many questioned the usefulness of such a neutralized buffer zone between the great powers. Western diplomacy was reluctant in giving consent to neutralize Austria. Only after more than 280 fruitless four-power conferences did it yield. It was the Austrian Chancellor Raab who succeeded in negotiating the matter with Molotov in Moscow. The final Memorandum<sup>2</sup> contained the "international obligation that Austria will maintain neutrality of the same type as maintained by Switzerland." This was the key. The neutralization of Austria was a step forward. Following this, the withdrawal of troops from Hungary could have been negotiated immediately on the same platform and formula. But Western diplomacy did not see this opportunity. When the Hungarian revolution broke out in 1956, the government of Imre Nagy proclaimed neutrality. This was not backed by Western diplomacy, and the military intervention of the USSR followed. However, the Hungarian uprising marked the first defeat of Communism in Central Europe and its repercussions in the West undermined the prestige of Communist parties everywhere.

Recently, Western observers in Prague have reported increased interest among Czechs and Slovaks in the concept of a neutralized zone. Dan Morgan, correspondent for the *Washington Post* wrote from Prague on September 14, 1968:

"The Czechoslovak central authorities have completed a candid, confidential report in which they had to acknowledge an increase in a detectable interest in neutrality for Czechoslovakia. The invasion episode has also raised a significant doubt about the role of the Czechoslovak army which, although one

<sup>1</sup> Jerzy Jankowski: Problems of Eastern Europe at the Three European Congresses. *The Central European Federalist*, New York, 1968. No. 1, p. 17-22.

<sup>2</sup> Memorandum on the results of negotiations between Austria and the Soviet Union. Moscow, April 15, 1955. See *Documents on American Foreign Relations*, Vol. 1955, p. 121.

of the best in Europe, was not ordered to resist the Warsaw Pact onslaught."

At the tenth anniversary of Imre Nagy's execution, the Prague *Literary Listy* (June 13, 1968) published a eulogy of Nagy emphasizing his demand for Socialist neutralism. The growing interest in neutralization in Central Europe is also stated in a note sent by Czechoslovakia to the Polish government on September 13, 1968:

"An allegation made in the Polish party paper *Trybuna Ludu*, that the Czechoslovakian National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee had advocated neutrality of Czechoslovakia—was absolutely false."

The note, however, acknowledged that the Committee did discuss neutrality but at the insistence of the government came to the conclusion that "a proclamation of neutrality would not bring about a solution." This confidential report proves that a plebiscite in Czechoslovakia would favor neutralization by a large majority. A Hungarian journalist, Tibor Pethő, spokesman for the Government, wrote even before the Czechoslovak invasion:

"Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians have lived together close to each other for centuries. The common experiences of this long togetherness taught us many things. We gathered ample experiences concerning antagonisms and hatreds; also the advantages of friendship and cooperation . . . by eliminating the influence of friendship and cooperation . . . by eliminating the influence of foreign powers which tried to divide and confuse the people in the Danube basin either by methods of the Hapsburgs or by those of Hitler . . . We trust in a federalist reorganization." (*Magyar Hírek*, June 29, 1968)

János Péter, Hungarian Foreign Minister, gave the following report to the Parliament (July, 1968):

"Diminution of the dangers in Europe is in the common interest of all continents. For further clarification of the situation in Europe it is necessary to increase the number of existing bi-lateral agreements, and also that of the regional agreements. Only from the mosaic of these can the future peace of Europe be composed. Together with our neighbors we are working for a well organized cooperation of Central European and Danubian Basin countries with different systems economically, culturally and politically, in the interests of the peace and security of Europe."

#### Western Powers and a Buffer Zone.

Franz Joseph Strauss, West German Minister of Finance, who has influence on German foreign policy matters, stated in one of his lectures:

"If the Eastern satellites can be formed into a buffer Europe, if the mistrust in Germany which derives from the prejudices and experiences of the past can be allayed step by step, if this policy turns the pages of history and liquidates the legacy of the Second World War, then much will have been gained."

Dr. Lujo Toncic-Sorinj, Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Austria, expressed his firm conviction more than once, that close cooperation among the peoples of the Danubian region is only a matter of time owing to the natural historical elements at work which will prevail against difficulties created from outside. Even Otto Witzler, Foreign Minister for East Germany told the National Assembly on August 9, 1968 that "under European security we must understand a regional system based on international agreements."

It was the English Prime Minister Eden at the Geneva Conference of Heads of Government that proposed the establishment of a buffer zone on July 18, 1955:

<sup>3</sup> Franz Joseph Strauss, *The Grand Design*. Praeger, New York, 1966.

"We would be ready to discuss and try to reach agreement as to the total of forces and armaments on each side in Germany and the countries neighboring Germany. To do this it would be necessary to join in a system of reciprocal control to supervise the agreements effectively."

A mutual withdrawal of forces 250 miles on each side was proposed. It is regrettable that other events in world politics diverted attention from following up this idea or that of George Kennan on mutual disengagement. See also the study of E. Chaszar: "The Possibility of a Neutralized Zone in Central Europe."

The Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, advocated a "vigorous and articulate Third Force" between the great powers. We agree with Nelson Rockefeller: "The historic choice fast rushing upon us, then, is no less than this: either the free nations of the world will take the lead in adopting the federal concept to their relations or, one by one, we may be driven into the retreat of the perilous isolationism, political, economic and intellectual, so ardently sought by the Soviet policy to divide and conquer."

Richard Nixon recommended a regional buffer zone in his campaign speech at Eatonsville, N.J. on October 19, 1968:

"Regional pacts that can prevent a local conflict from escalating into world war. The regional pact thus becomes a buffer separating the distant great powers from immediate threat—and the danger of a local conflict escalating into world war is thereby reduced. A regional pact would provide a buffer between the United States and the Soviet Union in future flareups."

Dangers to be averted by "preventive diplomacy."

Austrian Chancellor Klaus was told in Moscow during his visit of March 14-21, 1967 that Austria would be breaking the obligations of permanent neutrality if she joined the European Common Market and this would be a *casus belli*. On the other hand, Klaus was told that Austria would be supported if she strengthened her neutrality and her relations with the other Central European states. Austria was also encouraged to call a Conference on European Security to be held in Vienna.

Today many dangers exist in the Central European area beside a new Anschluss. Because of the unsolved situation the possibility of widespread protest movements e.g. in Vienna, East or West Berlin like those in Paris and France in May-June, 1968, cannot be excluded. Because of the closeness of the Soviet nuclear super-power, De Gaulle's methods would be dangerous. The Soviet forces would step in to "help restore democratic order" in Vienna, Berlin, East or West Germany. If thousands of German citizens were killed in such actions as were Hungarians in 1956, the West German army, supported by fifty-five million West Germans would certainly step in. Such action could start a Third World War.

Could anyone predict what would happen if the dictator Tito should die without having an able successor to hold the multinational and insecure Yugoslavia together? Is there secure peace or safety in the Rumanian situation? Therefore, it would be wise for the U.S. State Department to nominate a committee of experts on Central Europe to prepare a detailed plan for a neutralized buffer zone between Russia and Germany to be proposed to a European Conference on Security. Although America won two world wars militarily, they were lost diplomatically at the peace conferences because of insufficient preparation of realistic peace plans.

<sup>4</sup> Studies for a New Central Europe, Series 2, No. 1, 1968, p. 9-15.

<sup>5</sup> Nelson Rockefeller: *The Future of Federalism*. (Paperback, 1968.)

Clémenceau, Stalin, Molotov, etc. dominated the conferences because they had plans. Should not Western "preventive diplomacy" possess as carefully elaborated peace plans as the Chiefs of Staff who have their alternative military plans for possible dangers?

THE EDITORS.

## NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Mr. McCARTHY) is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I am happy to yield to the distinguished gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I should like to commend the gentleman on the position he is taking in his special order this afternoon. I hope this may be widely supported throughout the Nation.

Mr. McCARTHY. I thank the distinguished gentleman very much.

Mr. Speaker, the United States and Russia may take a step in the next 2 or 3 months that would destroy the possibility of success at the bilateral nuclear disarmament talks. This step is the final testing of the MIRV multiple-warhead system. I understand that both nations are expected to complete their tests within that period. And completion of testing of this new warhead would introduce a new phase in the nuclear arms race. I urge that we announce that we will defer final testing of the MIRV warhead until we begin the nuclear talks and that we ask the Russians to do the same.

Nations have few opportunities to change their policies, to modify in a significant way the positions that they have taken in the past. Each opportunity is important because the choice of alternatives sets the course for years to come. The United States and Russia have an opportunity to change their policies today. A decision by both nations to slow down and possibly reverse the nuclear arms race of the past quarter century would reduce the threat of mutual destruction.

There is no guarantee that talks with the Russians will succeed. Each nation has different goals, goals that often conflict, as events in Czechoslovakia illustrated last summer. But we also may have mutual interests, in this case the limitation of strategic arms. At this stage in the nuclear arms race, it may be in the interests of both nations to negotiate a halt in the growth of our nuclear arsenals. But this stage will shortly come to a close. Every effort must be made to start these negotiations promptly and to bring them to a successful conclusion.

The arms limitation talks are threatened by the final testing of MIRV multiple warhead systems because once those tests are completed, we will speed up the nuclear arms race. This new phase involves building many highly expensive new nuclear arms systems—systems that will increase the chances of nuclear disaster. If, for example, a decision by both nations to complete testing of the MIRV warhead would encourage

a fundamental change in defense strategy. Russia or the United States might believe it necessary to attempt to develop a first-strike capability—the capability to destroy the other nation before it would be able to retaliate.

This would be a major change from the present policy of assured second strike capability—the ability to inflict unacceptable losses on the other nation after a nuclear attack. The possibility of this change in our strategy takes on added reality in light of the recent charge by Secretary Laird that the Russians are already attempting to build a first strike capability. We know that today neither the Russians nor the United States has a first strike capability. Each nation does have an assured second strike capability. Commonsense urges that we strive for agreement with the Russians on a limitation and possible reduction of strategic arms before we enter this next phase.

There are several major defense decisions facing the United States today. The decision as to whether we go forward with an anti-ballistic-missile system has received the most attention. The pros and cons are being discussed by Congress and the people. A second question is whether we should begin the development of a new strategic manned bomber. A third decision, one that has not received the attention that it should, is whether we should complete testing of the MIRV multiple-warhead system before we begin the arms talks.

Other major decisions, dependent in many ways in the first three are whether we should begin a sea-bottom-based strategic missile system, mobile land-based strategic missile system, or a surface ship strategic missile launching system. Individually and collectively our decisions on these questions will have a major effect on our defense strategy and the possibility of successful strategic arms limitation talks.

The decision as to whether we complete testing of MIRV is the most important of all. Many of the experts, such as Dr. Jeremy Stone, of Stanford University, believe that if the United States and Russia complete testing of multiple warheads, the arms limitations talks cannot succeed. Once testing is completed there is no way for either side to know whether the other is arming its missiles with MIRV's. It is possible to verify, I am told, whether the Russians complete their MIRV tests. It is much more difficult, if not impossible, after that point to know whether their missiles are being armed with MIRV's.

The final testing of a multiple-warhead system such as MIRV is critical because the system must be very accurate. Each warhead must be able to hit close to its target if it is to be effective. It must be highly accurate if the smaller warhead is to destroy its target. And the only way to know whether the warhead is that accurate is to test it in flight. It apparently is possible to determine whether a nation tests one of these warheads in flight. We cannot determine, short of actual physical inspection, whether a missile is equipped with one of these warheads once flight testing has been completed.

One of the key problems of nuclear arms limitations is that of verification. Each nation must be able to determine what the other is able to do. It is somewhat more easy for the Russians to know what we do, for ours is an open society in which most decisions are made known to the public. Russia, on the other hand, has always opposed inspection within her borders. Verification of Russia's actions must be accomplished by means that do not involve sending inspection teams to Russia. We apparently are able to accomplish this. As William Foster, former head of the Armaments Control and Disarmament Agency said, we have more capability for verification than the public is generally aware of. One can speculate that he is talking about cameras and other instruments mounted in reconnaissance satellites. Final testing of MIRV marks the last point at which it may be possible to agree not to equip missiles with them.

I might add here that the distinguished Senator from Vermont, Senator Aiken, said that we now have a capability with our spy in the sky satellites for detecting a postage stamp at a height of 50 miles.

Once Russia and the United States start equipping their missiles with MIRV multiple warheads they enter a new phase in the nuclear arms race. Today we have approximately 2,400 targetable warheads. If we equip our missiles with multiple warheads, we would increase the number to 8,000 to 10,000. This increase would be accompanied by a Russian increase. And the jump in size would make it more likely that one of the nation's might consider a first-strike. With 8,000 or 10,000 highly accurate warheads, it might be possible to wipe out the opponents missiles before he was able to launch very many of them. The threat of a possible first-strike by the opponent would make it necessary to take measures to counter the threat.

These measures would probably consist of building a new generation of strategic missiles, such as a mobile land-based missile system, a seabed mounted missile system, or a new strategic manned bomber. Another measure, of course, would be to build an anti-ballistic-missile system. But I think that it has been clearly demonstrated that the ABM is not the answer to the nuclear missile threat. The answer, with all its horrible consequences, would probably be to build more and more missiles that would be more difficult for an opponent to destroy.

One of the ironies of the decision that we made to build MIRV multiple warheads is that we made the decision based on a belief that the Russians were building an anti-ballistic-missile system for their nation. It now turns out that the system that we thought was an ABM, is the Tallin antimanned bombed system. And it is only recently that the Russians started construction of the Galosh ABM around Moscow. But although a total of 67 sites were constructed, little work has been done on them lately and the system has not been expanded to the rest of Russia. It would be tragic if our decision to complete testing of the MIRV multiple

warhead now led the Russians to build additional ABM sites.

We have delayed beginning the strategic arms limitations talks longer than they should have been. Unfortunately, shortly after the Russians indicated that they were interested in talking about this subject, they intervened in Czechoslovakia, chilling relations between East and West. The United States also has undergone a change in administrations with the accompanying problems of having the new team learn the ropes. President Nixon has indicated that one of his main objectives is to begin the talks. I welcome that commitment and urge that the talks begin as soon as possible.

But it will not increase the chances of success at the talks, if we complete testing of the MIRV multiple warhead and make decisions to build an ABM anti-ballistic-missile system and an AMSB advanced manned strategic bomber. The opportunity to freeze current levels of strategic arms and even reduce them could well be lost. If anything, we will strengthen the hand of those in the Soviet Union who do not want to slow down the arms race.

A delay in final testing of the MIRV multiple warhead until the talks begin does not prevent us from completing the tests if the Russians decide to complete their tests, or if the initial arms limitation talks do not offer any indication of success. One of the first items on the agenda might well be for both nations to agree not to complete the MIRV tests for the duration of the talks. A ban on MIRV multiple warheads could then still be included in the discussions at the conference.

Some of our goals at the strategic arms limitation talks might well be:

A freeze on the final testing of MIRV multiple warheads leading to a ban on their use;

A freeze on further Poseidons, Minuteman III's, and SS-9 and FOBS intercontinental ballistic missiles;

A ban on ABM anti-ballistic-missile system—this would involve dismantling the 67 Galosh ABM sites around Moscow;

A ban on land-based mobile strategic missile system;

A ban on sea-bottom-based strategic missiles;

A ban on new strategic manned bombers;

An extension of the partial nuclear test ban to underground tests; and

A ban on the use of chemical and biological warfare.

The experts tell us that, with the exception of chemical and biological warfare, we have the means of knowing whether these limitations are being followed without actually sending inspection teams to the other nation. Our reconnaissance satellites make it possible to exercise effective arms control. Many experts also believe that we can detect underground nuclear tests. And briefly, because I intend to discuss this at length at a later date, a Russian-United States ban on chemical and biological warfare would offer much to both nations without a significant effect on their defense capabilities.



April 15, 1969

I believe that we can negotiate some, if not all, of these limitations with the Russians. Our success may well determine the fate of mankind. And if we cannot reach agreement, we will move into the next phase of the nuclear era. The risks of nuclear holocaust will mount. The costs will be high. But the United States will maintain an effective defense because there is no alternative.

Although we are willing to bear the costs of effective defense, a new nuclear era would weigh heavily on the taxpayer. William Foster estimates that the next generation of nuclear weapons will add \$100 billion more each decade to our defense budget. This would double the amount of money that we now devote to defense. And this is probably a conservative estimate.

A defense budget twice the size of today's would also place additional strains on our society. National strength is not only a matter of missiles and warheads; it is also a matter of the morale of a society. Our morale during the second half of the 1960's has not been high. The Vietnamese conflict, the decay of our cities, the difficulties of communication between youth and their parents all illustrate the troubled nature of our society. Although we have attempted to meet these problems, we have not had the resources to do as much as we should. We have used most of our Federal taxes for defense.

I might inject here that during the debate this afternoon we heard that although the Committee on Public Works had authorized an expenditure of \$1 billion throughout the United States to combat water pollution next year, the administration has recommended only \$214 million, about 20 percent of the amount authorized. That \$214 million is considerably less than we spend on gas and germ warfare.

A limitation on strategic arms would make it possible to use some of these resources to rebuild our cities, provide a better education for all, clean up our environment, to achieve the goals toward which each American strives.

A new upward spiral in the arms race would also bring with it a further change in the nature of our society. Bigger defense budgets would mean an increase in the proportion of our industry involved in arms production. It means new defense bases located around the country. It means more defense research by experts at our universities. Each one of these steps increases the impact of the military on our society. It would further shift the balance from civilian orientation toward military orientation. This is of the utmost importance for the distinction is what made the difference between Athens and Sparta—one devoted to the enhancement of man but occasionally defending herself—the other devoted to the warlike arts alone.

The most important reason for seeking success at the arms limitation talks is survival. The main question is whether mankind can survive the nuclear age. As Henry Stimson pointed out, the nuclear weapon "constitutes merely a first step in a new control by man over the forces of nature too revolutionary and danger-

ous to fit into the old concepts, it really caps the climax of the race between man's growing technical power for destructiveness and his psychological power of self-control and group control—his moral power." We must strengthen our moral power, our collective moral power to control these awesome weapons of destruction.

I urge, therefore, that we delay completion of the MIRV multiple warhead tests and that we do not make decisions about other new weapons systems that will lessen our chances of successful arms limitation talks. We should not call our intentions into questions by ill-advised action now.

When I first considered making these remarks, the need to include this final thought was not evident. But events in the past week make it necessary. There is nothing more dangerous for the United States than to make honest differences on defense questions a partisan matter. It was with the deepest unrest that I have heard some administration spokesmen characterize opposition to the ABM as partisan. If defense decisions are caste in terms of Republican versus Democrat we will suffer the gravest consequences. As a matter of fact, much of the dissatisfaction with the earlier decision to proceed with the ABM anti-ballistic-missile system derives from the fact that politics appeared to play a major part in it.

The question of MIRV multiple warhead final testing is being debated today among the top experts in the executive branch. Theirs is not a partisan debate. And I have not made my remarks on MIRV in a partisan spirit. Rather, I seek what I hope every thoughtful American seeks—the road to sense in a nuclear age. There is no room for politics on that road.

#### COAL MINE HEALTH AND SAFETY

(Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the National Broadcasting Co. radio network carried an hour-long program on April 13 devoted to the problems of coal mine health and safety. Because of the great public interest in this question, and the pending legislation on the subject in the Congress, I am pleased to provide the full text of this radio broadcast for inclusion in the Record:

[Music]

Women (singing):

"Shut up in the mines at Cold Creek  
And I know I will have to die.  
So tell my wife and children  
That I'm prepared to die."

ANNOUNCER. This is NBC News. Second Sunday, "The Coal Miner—A Cry From the Depths."

Woman (singing):

"Shut up in the mines at Cold Creek  
And I know I will have to die.  
So tell my wife and children  
That I'm prepared to die."

The birds . . .

Russ WARD. But who is prepared to die? This is Russ Ward. Turn off Highway 250

in West Virginia, just outside the town of Mannington, and you pass a white, two-story, green-shuttered house where a man named Fred Rogers used to spend most of his time—his time above ground, his time when he was not working the overnight shift in the Pittsburgh Consolidation Coal Company's mine number nine. Five nights a week and sometimes six Fred Rogers would back his car off a slag ramp near his porch, turn on to the meager climbing road, and drive the few miles to Llewellyn Portal, to the mine shift that led him down to his work. And surely at some time in the years he drove that road, Fred Rogers must have noticed the signs stuck in the hillside by one of the valley churches. "Prepare to Meet Thy Maker." At 5:25 a.m. on November 20th, with just a few hours to go on the cateye shift, Consolidation Mine Number Nine blew up. 78 men lost their lives. Among those men, the husbands of Mary Rogers and of Nora Snyder—miners' wives, miners' widows. Once strangers, now friends, sharing the sudden inheritance of bewilderment, grief and shock.

MARY ROGERS. That night, I don't know, I seemed to sleep much better than I usually did. In fact, I didn't hear anything. And the next morning, I think it was around about 7:30, I heard a knock on my front door right here. And I came down. It was my neighbor. And she said, "Mary," she said, "there's been an explosion at the mine." And she said, "How bad, I don't know." She said, "My husband went up there." I said, "He hasn't come back yet." And she said, "How bad is it? I don't know." Well, from then on, I couldn't tell you what happened. And I think it was around noon the phone rang and some man said to me, said, "Did your husband work last night?" And I said, "Yes." And that was the only word that I received from the mine. There was no one came to visit to tell me that my husband was in there, about the explosion, or nothin'. And still to this day they haven't. There's been no representative from the mine come to tell me what happened to my husband. To me he went to work and he hasn't come home. Oh, I never gave up hope, and I never gave up hope. Well, I still, really, I don't—even to this day, I still feel it. Think maybe somewhere he's still livin'.

NORA SNYDER. I've heard of things like this happening, but you don't realize what it's really like until you go through with it yourself, you know. When they do bring them out, we don't know if there will be ones—he'll be in his casket or not. But the general manager, he told me—I'm talking to him, and he says "You can rest assured that I'm going to make sure that part of your husband will be in that casket," you know. How do we know what'll be unless—if it's our husbands, if it's just a check number? We never got a check, I mean, you know, it might be somebody else's body that we were burying and what—when they bring them out, we won't know. You really won't know that. I don't know. A lot of people have said, "Well, our husbands are dead too. We've lost our husbands." But yet—but their husbands are out and they're buried, you know. That's different. This is a lot different, when they have to be left like this. Did something terrible to the three of them.

MAN. We won't know with precision what happened in that mine, but I think we can—we can develop several postulates, and they all arise from the combination of three factors. There was an ignition source—that is to say, there was methane in the mine. There was something to propagate the ignition once it got started. And that's possible in a mine either through coal dust or more methane, and there was a spark. So I think we can say with confidence that as yet we don't know what the cause was, but the cause was clearly some omission with regard to the safety in the mine.

Marine Pfc. Joseph C. Thorne, Jr., 19, the son of Mr. and Mrs. James A. Smith, of Hyattsville, who died as a result of gunshot wounds he received 5 miles north of An Hoa, in Quang Nam province.

Lieutenant Baldwin, who volunteered several weeks ago to be a platoon leader, served in Company D, 1st Battalion, 20th Infantry Regiment, 11th Light Infantry Brigade, the Americal Division.

Shortly after arriving in Vietnam last August, he took command of the landing zone at Duc Pho, and was acting company commander last winter.

A graduate of Spring Brook High School in Silver Spring, Md., where he was raised, Lieutenant Baldwin played first trumpet in both the marching and concert bands at the school. He was the photographer of his graduating class for the high school's yearbook.

At Fort Jackson, where he received his basic training, he was named the "outstanding trainee" of his class. He attended Officer Candidate School at Fort Benning.

His survivors include, in addition to his parents, two sisters, Mrs. Diane B. Greenlaw, of Laurel, Md., and Miss Carol L. Baldwin, of Edgewater, and a brother, Alan J. Baldwin, of Edgewater.

#### CEASEFIRE TRANSFORMED INTO FRONT LINE

It has been our fate that while we engrossed ourselves in constructive and creative work in our homeland, we have had to defend our lives and our achievements and take up arms against attackers and aggressors. . . . It has never been our aspiration to win victory in war, but to prevent wars. It has, nevertheless, been demonstrated that when wars have been forced upon us, we have been able to fulfill our task. And there is no doubt in my heart that if a new war is forced upon us again, we shall again be victorious. . . . We will not accept any arrangement that is not true peace. We shall not agree to any "solution" which does not guarantee that this war is the last war. Unfortunately, the Arab rulers have repulsed the outstretched hand. . . . We consented to a ceasefire. The Arab States also agreed to the ceasefire. But only a few days passed before the ceasefire lines became front lines of continuous aggression waged against us by the Arab States. In truth, the war is not yet over. Day in, day out, our sons are falling at their posts. . . . The actions and utterances of the Arab rulers give no promise of approaching tranquility.

#### RESPONSIBILITY FOR TERRORISM

As far as violations of the ceasefire are concerned, we are not prepared to distinguish between aggression waged by regular armies and acts of murder and sabotage perpetrated by terrorist organizations. The responsibility for the saboteurs' activities must also rest squarely on the shoulders of those governments and states from whose territories the saboteurs go forth with one single purpose: to wreak murder in the midst of the civilian population of Israel. . . . The Arab States must understand that the ceasefire lines can be tranquil only if quiet is maintained on both sides of the lines. . . . No political factor has the moral right to deny us the authority and justification to exercise our right to self-defense against acts of murder and sabotage, irrespective of whether they are perpetrated by regular armies or by terrorist organizations. . . .

#### "ARRANGEMENTS" CANNOT BE A SUBSTITUTE FOR PEACE

It is impossible to ignore the attempt to convene the four powers for discussions and recommendations on the problems of the Middle East. . . . One cannot help wonder that one of the powers considers itself qualified to deal with Israel-Arab affairs as a neutral, although it shoulders such a heavy responsibility for the aggressive preparations which brought about the Six-Day War. Another one of the four powers is a state whose government's only constructive contribution to the aid of Israel has been the imposition of an embargo on arms for Israel. All of this government's declarations and measures since the Six-Day War are distinguished by blatant one-sidedness in matters affecting our existence and the conditions for over very physical survival. No decision can be adopted without us nor can any "recommendation" be formulated without our consent. It is a dangerous illusion to assume that any solution can be found in any arrangements whatever without real peace between the parties to the conflict. . . . We cannot acquiesce in the toleration afforded to the stubborn refusal of the Arab leaders which runs counter to the United Nations charter and is opposed to all international practice to sit down with us to negotiate a solution to all problems. . . . We want one simple and elementary thing, vital to us and to our neighbors: peace in the literal sense of the word, to be reached by face to face talks. This is the only way to peace. . . . Israel, like every independent state or free nation, will not permit others to determine its fate. . . .

#### STATUS-QUO SHALL REMAIN UNTIL PEACE IS ACHIEVED

We have assisted and will continue to assist Jarring in the execution of his task to bring the sides together for the purpose of establishing a permanent peace, as he was instructed to do by the Security Council resolution. . . . In the absence of any readiness for peace, we have only one choice: whilst we do everything for peace, we must make every effort to be prepared to defend ourselves and to live under the present circumstances so long as there is no peace even if it should take a long time, much longer than we should desire.

#### ATTAINMENT OF PEACE WITHIN SECURE BOUNDARIES IS ISRAEL'S FIRM RESOLVE

(Full text of the interview with Foreign Minister Abba Eban, by Alfred Friendly, the Washington Post, March 6, 1969)

Q. The Arab states insist that Israel has never stated that it accepts the Security Council resolution of Nov. 22, 1967, or would implement it. Is this true?

A. We've made so many statements on the acceptance of the resolutions as the framework of a negotiated settlement that we can't even attach seriousness to any Arab assertions to the contrary. On Oct. 8, I myself said in the U.N. General Assembly: "Israel accepts the Security Council resolution. . . . and declares its readiness to negotiate agreements on all matters mentioned therein."

That is the cabinet position. Now the Arab states have reservations about our use of the word "agreement." The word "agreement" is in the resolution. It is the very essence of our position.

That peace must grow from agreements in the Middle East, not from settlements dictated outside it. There are no Security Council resolutions calling for any action except on the basis of agreement.

Q. Have you ever declared that your implementation of the resolution would entail the withdrawal of Israeli troops to new borders? The Arabs claim you refuse to say so.

A. I was asked that by Ambassador Jarring in a memorandum presented by the United Arab Republic [Egypt]. I gave him a clear answer, namely that in a peace agreement we would replace the cease-fire lines by secure and agreed boundaries and that the disposition of troops would then be made in accordance with the new boundaries.

It is ludicrous to say that Israel and an Arab state would agree to negotiated and recognized boundaries and then would re-station their troops in places where they were not entitled to be under the agreement.

The trouble is that the Arab states ask for withdrawal without peace or the establishment of new boundaries.

Q. Why has Israel not made public in more specific terms the new territorial arrangements it envisions?

A. Here we're in a quandary. When we make our ideas public it increases the complexities. We make certain proposals and the Arab states look at them, recoil and say they cannot negotiate on them. I think it is much better to say officially that at the negotiating table the whole problem of boundaries and territories is open for agreement. The territorial question is open for free discussion, anyone can make any proposals he likes for negotiation.

When I go to my colleagues to discuss possible terms, they say "Have you got an Arab government that is willing in principle to talk peace? If not, why should we fight among ourselves about something hypothetical."

If I came one day and say, "Gentlemen, Arab government XYZ says it wants peace and would like to explore its conditions, then we would have to cross the Rubicon. We would have to give our negotiators concrete positions, determining what things are in-

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#### ATTAINMENT OF PEACE IS GOAL OF NEW ISRAEL GOVERNMENT

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 3, 1969

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, guns are once again being heard during this period of the Nativity and of the deliverance and I can think of no better time than to introduce into the RECORD the text of the interview with Foreign Minister Abba Eban and highlights from the address by Mrs. Golda Meir, Prime Minister. This beleaguered little nation of Israel experiences its most holy religious season during this period.

The material follows:

#### SAFEGUARDING NATION'S SECURITY WHILE STRIVING FOR PEACE REMAIN CENTRAL TASKS OF NEW ISRAEL GOVERNMENT

(Highlights from the address by Mrs. Golda Meir, Prime Minister, on presenting her Cabinet to the Knesset (Parliament), Jerusalem, March 17, 1969)

#### CENTRAL TASKS

As in the past, the central tasks facing Israel today are, above all, to safeguard the nation's security and to continue to strive for peace. . . . We are as resolutely determined as the previous government that there shall never again be a return to the borders and conditions which existed on June 4, 1967, and which not only enabled our enemies to threaten us with annihilation, but tempted them to believe in their capacity to carry out their plan. We want peace under conditions that will put an end to the temptation of a new Arab aggression.

The secret of Israel's endurance in the struggles and wars that have been forced upon us since we achieved our independence is the inexorable tie between survival and sovereignty and our consciousness of this tie. . . . For us, and perhaps not only for us, there is no alternative to a resolute confrontation of the struggle and the defeat of the designs of the aggressors. Our existence in this part of the world is no transient phenomenon. We are not a foreign growth in this region. We cannot be uprooted from our homeland.

saw the opportunity to move them into a nursing home and let the public pay for it. And this they did. This alone has caused a shortage.

There is an elderly person in a local hospital that's been there for three months, under Medicare, and there are some sons and daughters. Medicare won't pay any more because the person doesn't need to be there on the "acute side."

Medicaid has picked up on it and we're trying to get the person into a nursing home, but the room in a nursing home doesn't exist.

They tried to get the relatives to do something and they said, "Just leave her there. We don't want anything to do with her. We don't care if you shut off paying for it. We aren't paying."

So this is the attitude of relatives. . . . Q. Politicians are beating the drums about equalizing welfare payments throughout the states. Do I understand correctly that this would reduce the number of poor people moving into New York State?

A. I think it probably would be good to have a federal standard through all the states.

I don't think people move for this reason. I think people will move anyway.

And on the other hand, in West Virginia, for example, if the coal mines give out and there's nothing, there are people who won't move even though you offer them an incentive saying, "In Michigan there's a job for you and a retraining program."

They may say "I'm not moving off my slag hill. I'm staying here. I was born here and raised here and I want to stay here."

Q. Will you tell us briefly how you feel about the current proposals for children's allowances for the poor and negative income tax?

A. All of these have been tried before. In 1845 there was a guaranteed income in some county in England. I guess it lasted about 40 years.

Children's allowances is not a new one. Canada, of course, has this.

The feeling is that if you have a children's allowance you'll have more children. This is not a proven true in Canada. This is not a program that solves the problem. There has to be some kind of supplementation.

I think guaranteed incomes or reverse income taxes stifle initiative. I don't think we're ready for them. . . . The economy we have now does not fit itself to this kind of thing.

Q. What about a combination incentive program where a man can work at his job and still receive a certain amount of welfare payments and pull himself up a little bit?

A. We have quite a percentage of the case-load people who are working and still getting some kind of supplementary assistance but the assistance they are getting is still at a welfare standard, which is subsistence.

What I would like to see us do . . . (Let's say) someone is on welfare. The father gets a job, he goes to collect his first pay.

Now he's no longer eligible. We close the case.

This family may be a real multi-problem family, and they've been on welfare. They've got all kinds of problems and the first thing that happens to him is he starts work and his creditors garnishee his wages. And the first thing you know, he's back on welfare.

If we could just suspend the case and follow it through and do casework until the fellow gets on his feet.

We'd help him with the problems that he might come across. This might be helpful.

Q. Were you thinking of using, as case aides, people within the poorer sections of the city?

A. Could be . . . We're beginning to do a little of this with the new careers programs. This is demonstration alone.

Q. Do you have enough case workers now?

A. Yes.

Q. More than enough if you could do away with the paperwork?

A. No, I think we'd do a better job. I don't know that we're doing our complete job now because some of the bureaucracy we're mixed up in.

# ORANGEBURG GROUP PROMOTES MEMORIAL FUND FOR SOLDIER

HON. ALBERT W. WATSON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 3, 1969

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, people throughout my congressional district are participating in programs designed to show their support for our fighting men in Vietnam.

In the city of Orangeburg, S.C., for example, patriotic and civic-minded citizens recently established a memorial to a young soldier, SP4c. Layne Gleaton, who was killed in Vietnam. Entitled the "Layne Gleaton Vietnam Fund," this worthy project will provide much-needed personal items for our fighting men. I am very proud of the wonderful people of Orangeburg, many of whom have sons of their own serving in Vietnam, for founding such a noble program, and I feel confident that it will meet with overwhelming success.

Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks I would like to commend the following newspaper article about this project to the attention of the Congress, as follows:

## ORANGEBURG GROUP PROMOTES MEMORIAL FUND FOR SOLDIER

(By John Faust)

What began as an informal effort on the part of a few Orangeburg citizens to send Orangeburg servicemen in Vietnam packages of luxuries and necessities has turned into a determined drive to establish a memorial in memory of a fallen U.S. Army serviceman.

Under the direction of Mrs. Dorothy Passwater of Orangeburg, herself the mother of a son wounded seriously in Vietnam, a list of servicemen's names was gathered and the first package was to have been mailed with a small ceremony from the Chestnut St. Orangeburg Fire Station.

However, early Friday morning, the day the package was to be mailed, word was received by Mr. and Mrs. Yarborough M. Gleaton that their son, SP4 Homer Layne Gleaton, 20, had been killed in action Tuesday in the Republic of South Vietnam. SP4 Gleaton was to have been the recipient of the first package.

Now, instead of a loosely knit group of individuals, the Layne Gleaton Vietnam Fund has been created as a memorial to the 1967 graduate of Orangeburg High School.

Friday afternoon, with the thought of the young Orangeburger's death hanging heavily over the group, the first package from the fund was addressed to SP4 Marvin H. Thomas of Orangeburg who is serving with the 101st Airborne Division in Vietnam.

"It was a terrible shock," said Mrs. Passwater, "one that really shakes a person up."

Orangeburg Mayor E. O. Pendarvis, on hand for the occasion, noted: "There's not much you can say after something like this happens. I have a son in Vietnam . . . I know I'd be appreciative of anything done for my son to make his lot easier while he's serving his country."

"This group, created at first to show a small measure of our concern to our men in

Vietnam," he said, "can perhaps show our grief and sympathy for the Gleaton family by expressing our support for those men who still carry the burden of our defense in that Asian country."

Already funds for bearing the cost of mailing have been received by the newly formed group. The employees of Fabric Services donated a check to the group and Capt. R. E. Sharpton of the Orangeburg Fire Department donated cash to enable the group to send their first packages to the men in Vietnam.

"I'd like for the families of the Orangeburg servicemen presently serving in Vietnam to send their addresses to the Layne Gleaton Vietnam Fund," said Mrs. Passwater, "so that we may help send packages to them. All they need do is mail the name and address and perhaps a list of their special favorites in foods and other items, to The Layne Gleaton Vietnam Fund, Post Office Box 856, Orangeburg."

Capt. Sharpton said that if anyone wishes to donate cash or articles for delivery to the Orangeburg servicemen in Vietnam, they could deliver them to the Chestnut St. Fire Department substation for pickup and shipment to Vietnam.

Another Orangeburg serviceman, Johnny King, sent a letter to his wife in Orangeburg listing items most desired by Vietnamese duty servicemen.

Mrs. King noted that any articles such as scented shaving lotion, cologne, soaps and such were not to be sent as the distinctive odor could leave a detectable scent on the serviceman using them, possibly causing him to be discovered by enemy Viet Cong and North Vietnamese.

Listed by King as being most-wanted articles were: ballpoint pens, pensized flashlights with batteries, small pen knives, cigarette lighters, plastic soap cases, small packages of writing paper with self-seal envelopes, small address books, plastic toothbrush holders, dark terry cloth washcloths and nail clippers.

Also, plastic cigarette cases, small combs, small tins of nuts or vacuum packed candies, small plastic snapshot holders, small kitchen size and sandwich type plastic bags, small pocket games such as cards, chess, checkers, etc., small paperback books, cans of spaghetti, fruit cocktail or other fruits, canned cookies and many other items not susceptible to a hot humid climate.

## TWO MARYLAND SERVICEMEN KILLED IN VIETNAM

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 3, 1969

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, 1st Lt. Robert L. Baldwin and Marine Pfc. Joseph C. Thorne, Jr., two fine young men from Maryland, were killed recently in Vietnam. I would like to commend their courage and honor their memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

## TWO MARYLAND SERVICEMEN ARE KILLED IN VIETNAM WAR

Two men from Maryland who enlisted in military service were killed Monday in action in Vietnam, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

The dead were identified as:

Army 1st Lt. Robert L. Baldwin, 21, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Richard G. Baldwin, of Edgewater, who was killed when the vehicle in which he was riding struck an enemy land mine.



dispensable for us and on which matters they can be flexible.

The Arab states have never put us in the position of having to work out a detailed range of contingent positions.

They will not negotiate directly, they will not negotiate indirectly—as Nasser told *The New York Times* the other day—they will not negotiate orally, they will not negotiate with Jarring or without him. They will not even negotiate by correspondence course.

That's where the frustration lies. Unless they negotiate with us they will never know and we ourselves will never know the true limits of our flexibility and of theirs.

Q. You have said that details of a peace agreement are secondary to the principal objective, the *sine qua non*: an end to the long Arab campaign for the extinction of the State of Israel. Do you believe that the Arab states are, as they claim, sincerely renouncing that goal by accepting the Security Council resolution?

A. The policy of the UAR must be interpreted in accordance with the statements of its leaders and from communications to us by Ambassador Jarring. These are quite consistent: There isn't any distinction between them. They present the following picture:

They want us to withdraw in the first stage to the June 4, 1967, boundaries—what we call our nightmare map. They want us to reconstruct our own peril and put us back into the straitjacket. But this is only stage one.

Stage two is that the Arab armies would follow our retreat. Notice that in the Soviet Union's dialogue with the United States, the principle of demilitarization in Sinai is dropped: Arab troops move in to wherever Israeli troops move out. The June 4 powder keg is reconstructed.

Then the blockade is re-established. Freedom of passage in the Suez is made contingent on settlement of the refugee problem, which is at the very best a matter of years—I hope not decades.

The same is true about passage through the Straits of Tiran, the issue that exploded into the June war.

The UAR tells us that they would oppose any permanent arrangement not contingent on their consent. The Sword of Damocles would be put back into place. The May 23, 1967, crisis could be recreated whenever the UAR decided to do so.

Thereafter, the Palestine problem, as they call it, would have to be settled by allowing all the refugees back into what remained of Israel after its withdrawal. Enough Arabs must be introduced to convert Israel into something that is not Israel.

Then, Nasser says, he would make peace with the Israel that it then would have become namely another Arab state.

This is so clear, so repeatedly stated, that to assume that Nasser wants peace with Israel as a sovereign Jewish state in its own national personality is utterly frivolous.

In fact, in the last few days, the governments which are in closest contact with us have told us very frankly that they do not now believe that the UAR is ready for a peace with us on terms that Israel would accept or that friendly governments would advise us to accept.

At the most, Nasser would accept a Jewish community in an Arab state, or perhaps a sort of Lebanon. But the idea that Israel is an independent nation with roots in the Middle East, no less deep and much older than Arab roots is foreign to Nasser's thinking.

Our case is that Israel is part of the Middle East past and the Middle East present and the Middle East future. This is something that he has never grasped.

I think that this is the real essence of the conflict—that Arab intellectual and political leaders have never really solved the mystery of Israel's deep and authentic roots in the Middle East past and destiny.

Q. Is the same unwillingness that you assert on the part of Egypt to make peace true with respect to Jordan?

A. The situation is different, in the psychological sense. There are Palestinian and Jordanian leaders who say frankly that they would have preferred Israel not to exist but that its existence is an inexorable fact.

If Nasser can allow himself to dream, however vainly, of a military victory as a final solution, the Jordanians cannot possibly have any such illusions.

The question is whether there is in Jordan a sovereign capacity to negotiate. The question marks are whether Jordan can negotiate without a green light, or even an amber light, from Cairo; whether the green or amber light exists; whether it could explore a settlement with us under the pressure of the terrorist organizations; whether the presence of Iraqi troops in Jordan exercises an inhibiting effect.

But the issue is not dead. What I have in mind is an integral solution solving the problems of Israel, Jordan and the Palestinian Arabs by establishing an open boundary on the community model familiar in Western Europe, as for example Benelux.

We must look for a way of living together without a million Arabs being forced into an unwanted allegiance.

Q. How can there be the "real peace," the sincere willingness of Arabs to live in peace with Israel, unless the refugee problem is solved? Have you a proposal for its solution?

A. I used to think that the solution of the refugee problem would bring about peace. It is my conviction now that the exact opposite is true, that only peace can bring about a solution of the refugee problem.

So long as the Arab states do not want peace, they will not want a solution of the refugee problem.

The Security Council resolution is the first international recognition of the fact that the refugee solution can only come as a part of an integral peace solution. The problem was caused by war; it can only be solved by peace.

Nevertheless we did make a proposal, to which the press has given insufficient attention, that ahead of any question of peace or boundaries or recognition, we should have an international conference to charter a five-year plan for the solution of the refugee problem with the participation of Middle Eastern states, of governments which help to support the refugees and the U.N. specialized agencies. I should be anxious to know what is wrong with that suggestion. In proposing in New York in October to try to reach agreement on each of the eight or nine subjects in the Security Council resolution, of which the refugees is one, I said it made no matter to me which was discussed first.

I said let's begin with navigation, or the refugee problem, or boundaries, or take them up simultaneously with subcommittees to discuss each of them.

UAR Foreign Minister Rlad's answer was to book passage back to Cairo because any response to this would have involved him in a dialogue with us. The peace idea was becoming too concrete for his liking. The proposal for a refugee conference was rejected rather nervously by him, because it is not easy to explain to world opinion that it should be rejected by anyone who cares anything for the refugees.

Q. But have you stated, even in principle, what Israel is prepared to do to solve that enormous problem?

A. We are on our guard against any manner of thinking that makes the refugee problem an exclusive Israeli responsibility. Israel simply cannot solve the problem; it can make a contribution to its solution. I don't believe the states of the Middle East can solve it alone. It has to be solved regionally and internationally. That is why we must create a regional and international framework for the refugee discussion. But when I say that

peace could solve it, I mean that the psychology of peace would open up possibilities which we cannot envisage in a condition of war.

That's what I think the Arab governments don't understand. The key to the Israeli attitude lies in their hands. The moment they negotiate with us, they unlock in the Israeli mind all kinds of impulses which have been held back.

Q. In the absence of progress towards a settlement, will the Palestine liberation movement grow and capture the imagination of the Arab peoples, to the point that a political settlement becomes impossible?

A. These groups are a burden on our security in some places, but in my mind they are still marginal and not central.

Arab governments established these organizations. Without Arab governments they would have neither weapons nor support. The mastery still belongs to the Arab governments. If Nasser or King Hussein decided to negotiate peace, I believe these movements would dwindle at the negotiating stage and fade away at the settlement stage.

Q. They have not become Frankenstein's monster, more powerful than their creator?

A. I think the governments still retain executive control. The Fatah is simply a convenience for Arab governments which do not want to fight with their regular armies and yet do not want a period of tranquility leading to peace.

Q. Israel is accused of asking for a degree of security that no other country enjoys; that you refuse to gamble on the possible turning of your adversaries' minds towards a peaceful outcome.

A. On the contrary, I would settle for the kind of security which every other country has. I would take any sovereign country has. I would take any sovereign country in the world and ask what are its relationships with its neighbors in a state of peace. I would shut my eyes, pick one, and settle for that.

Q. How will the Israeli government changes affect the relationship between hawks and doves? Where do you stand personally in that division?

A. The ornithological definition is not useful. The hawk-dove phrase has done more to confuse public thinking on international problems than any other semantic device.

We are all hawks only in our ambition to make Israel really secure, and most of us are doves in our ardent desire for peace. My colleague (Defense Minister Moshe) Dayan is called a hawk but it was he who told your people on television that he "would give up a lot of territory for peace" with Egypt or Jordan. That sounds dovish to me.

Mrs. Meir, who I hope will lead the next cabinet, has said that she opposed the extreme slogan of "no surrender of territory" and that if our boundaries are to be agreed boundaries they cannot be the present ones, but that only a peace negotiation can make the discussion real.

So there is a national consensus which I have been expressing all these months.

## HEWER OF PEACE

SPEECH OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 31, 1969

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, when the general who commanded history's greatest army turned to civilian life in 1948, he stated that he would not be changing the fundamental purpose of his life—"the protection and perpetuation of basic human freedom."

Dwight Eisenhower had protected the freedom of men by forging unity among the Allies and maintaining that unity until Hitler's "Fortress Europe" had been broken. After the war, he turned to perpetuating the hard-won freedom.

Although most of his life had been devoted to war and preparation for war, he was a man of peace. He believed as an article of faith that peace was the only climate in which human freedom could endure.

As President of the United States, he brought us out of war and then gave our Nation a period of growth and progress with uncommon tranquillity.

His success in maintaining the peace derived from a quality often underrated in leaders—good will. He trusted people and in turn they trusted him. He appealed to the best in people and they responded with their best. He reasoned with others and they refrained from shouting when disagreeing with his policies.

Hugh Sidey of Life magazine, a man who has covered many presidents, commented on this quality last August after the general's last TV appearance:

There are even those who dare suggest that his soothing spirit, the innate goodness of the man himself, did more to lift up the hearts of Americans and hold them together in a reasonable state of public happiness than many social reforms that have been propounded since.

His unending good will made him a unifier of men and allowed him to become an instrument of peace. The name Eisenhower translates to "hewer of iron." I prefer to remember him as a "hewer of peace."

#### NEED FOR STRONG FEDERAL COAL MINE SAFETY LAWS

**HON. JAMES G. O'HARA**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 3, 1969

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Speaker, one of the most important issues facing this Congress is the necessity for enacting strong Federal coal mine safety laws.

An article appearing in the New York Times magazine of March 30, 1969 summarizes the health and safety problems of the coal industry and the history of congressional failure to adequately meet these problems.

I commend it to the attention of the Congress:

THE SCANDAL OF DEATH AND INJURY IN THE MINES: MORE THAN 120,000 MINERS HAVE DIED VIOLENTLY

(By Ben A. Franklin)

"Of the 54 men in the mine, only two who happened to be in some crevices near the mouth of the shaft escaped with life. Nearly all the internal works of the mine were blown to atoms. Such was the force of the explosion that a basket then descending, containing three men, was blown nearly 100 feet into the air. Two fell out and were crushed to death, and a third remained in, and, with the basket, was thrown some 70 to 80 feet from the shaft, breaking both his legs and arms."

These sentences matter-of-factly describing the pulverization of a shift of coal miners, including the three men grotesquely orbited out of the mine shaft as if launched from a missile silo, are from the first detailed record of an American mine disaster. Antiquity probably explains the nursery rhyme quality—"two fell down and broke their crowns . . ." For this earliest remembered mine catastrophe, in the Black Heath pit near Richmond, Va., occurred March 18, 1839.

A primitive time, no doubt. The nation was then so new that Martin Van Buren, warming his feet at the coal-burning grates in the White House, was the first President to have been born a United States citizen. The daguerreotype was introduced here that year by Samuel F. B. Morse, while awaiting the issuance of a patent on his telegraph. Half the coal-producing states were not yet in the Union.

The coal mines, on the threshold of fueling a manufacturing explosion that was to make this country an unmatched industrial power, produced barely one million tons in 1839, less than 1/500th of the output today. In the absence of all but the crudest technology, men relying on the death flutterings of caged canaries to warn them of imminent suffocation obviously would die in the mines. Some mines employed suicidal specialists known as "cannoneers," whose mission was to crawl along the tunnel floors under a wet canvas before a shift, lighting "puffs" of mine gas near the roof with an upraised candle. Dead miners were not even counted. Their enormous casualty rate was not archived until less than 100 years ago.

A glimpse into this dim crevice of American industrial history is necessary to put into perspective the myths and realities of the men who work in the mines today. For the real story of coal is not its multiplying inanimate statistics—tons and loadings and days lost in strikes. It is the agony of those men—a tale as old as Black Heath and one that is so full of extravagantly evil personalities and atrocious acts that Charles Dickens would have loved to tell it. For behind and beneath the mountains of the Appalachian coalfield, miners have remained since Black Heath the most systematically exploited and expendable class of citizens (with the possible exception of the American Indian and the Negro) in this country.

The story at last may have an up-Dickensian ending. For now, coal miners can see light at the end of the tunnel. In this 1969 spring, 130 years after the Black Heath disaster, the mining industry may finally agree to pay the modest cost of keeping its work force alive, of abandoning the embedded idea that men are cheaper than coal. And—small pittance—we may all be involved in helping pay what it costs to write this long delayed postscript to the industrial revolution; the price of bringing miners into the 20th century probably will appear, as we shall see, as pennies on our electric bills.

In the context of technological advancement in nearly every other area of human enterprise, very little has changed for men who go down to the mines in shafts. Only four months ago, 73 coal miners were trapped and killed below ground in West Virginia in one of the most volcanic eruptions of explosion and fire in the memory of Federal mine inspectors. As at Black Heath, the explosion at the Consolidation Coal Company's 27-square-mile No. 9 mine at Farmington, W. Va., almost certainly was caused by an ignition of methane gas, a volatile, highly flammable, usually odorless and invisible hydrocarbon gas liberated from virgin coal.

At Consol No. 9, a modern, "safe" mine operated by one of the wealthy giants of the industry, the daily methane emission was 8 million cubic feet, enough to supply the heating and cooking needs of a small city if it were captured and sold. The explosion

hazard was dealt with there as it is generally in mining today, by only modestly more sophisticated methods than those at Black Heath.

Fresh air is drawn into the mines by giant fans and circulated and directed constantly through the honeycomb of tunnels by means of doors, ducts or sometimes by curtains called brattices (miners call them "brad-dishes"). The intake air is supposed to dilute and, by law, "render harmless or carry away" the methane and hold the mine atmosphere to less than the legal limit of 1 percent gas. Unless coal dust is mixed with it—in which case the explosion threshold drops significantly—methane will not ignite or explode in concentrations of less than 5 percent. Miners live and die today on a margin of 4 percentage points—or less if coal dust is suspended in the air.<sup>1</sup>

It is known that the giant electric mining machines in use for the last 20 years—machines that chew up and claw coal from the face with rotary bits the size of railroad wheels—churn up an immense amount of dust. The machines, have water sprays to settle the dust. But the machines' rapid rate of advance through the seam also liberates much methane.

The first explosion at Consol No. 9 came at 5:25 A.M., Nov. 20, during the cateye shift. It was a day after the passage over northern West Virginia of a cold front accompanied by an abrupt drop in barometric pressure. In the primitive mythology of mine safety, these natural events—the arrival of cold, dry air and a barometric low, which increases the methane liberation in a mine—have been associated for years with disasters. The legendary great mine explosions, from Monongah and Darr in 1907, Rachel & Agnes in 1908 and on up to Orient No. 2 in 1951, have occurred in November and December and in cold dry weather. The dry air dehumidifies a mine and sets coal dust in motion.

Every fall through 1967, the United Mine workers Journal had published a fraternal warning to union brothers to observe special precautions in "the explosion season." But, no research having been done in a century of such meteorological coincidences, the industry can and does take no account of what it, therefore, regards as a folklore factor—which might interfere with production. The U.M.W. Journal had not got around to running the 1968 warning when Consol No. 9 blew up. "We figured afterward it would be no use," a Journal editor said later.

No one yet knows what death befell the 78 men in No. 9. Miners who survive the shock wave, heat and afterdamp (carbon monoxide) of an underground explosion are instructed to barricade themselves in good air, if any, and await rescue. But during the nine days and nights that rescue teams stood by helplessly on the surface at Farmington, there were at least 16 further explosions in the mine. The first blast had burst up 600 feet through the portals and ventilation shafts, blowing the internal works of the mine to atoms and knocking out ventilation circuits. At the top, the main shaft became the muzzle of a mammoth subterranean cannon. The massive headframe, a trestled structure of bridge-size steel I-beams that support the main hoist, was blown apart. For days, a boiling plume of poisonous black smoke alternately belched from the shaft

<sup>1</sup> One example of the retarded technology of mine safety is that miners testing for gas still rely today on the Glame safety lamp of Sir Humphrey Davy, perfected more than 150 years ago. The safety lamp is rugged and safe if used properly, but it requires highly skilled operators to read it accurately, and then its accuracy is no more than half a percentage point—or 10 per cent of the margin between survival and explosion.

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need no talent or skill to play them. All you have to be is a sucker consumer, and you are fair game for the oil barons who lure you into retail outlets by promising something for nothing.

Of course, this is a farce. Pity the retail gasoline dealers of the Nation, who are often bludgeoned into buying these games from the seller at the pointed request of the oil company whose franchise he happens to hold. After purchasing the games, which up his overhead, the retail gasoline station operator naturally passes the cost of the games on to his customers. The retailers who operate these stations at minimal profit for terrible labor and long hours are relatively blameless. Only the oil barons are to blame. It is merely another way to move gasoline at the greater expense of the public.

Numbers of real winners are quite low, with evidence pointing to the fact that some few areas are "salted" with a few flashy winners in order to build a publicity campaign around further promotion efforts. Only the consumer loses along with the gas station operator. Promoters and the oil barons emerge as eventual victors.

I am not saying that the oil barons would rob a child's piggy bank and leave I O U's. I am saying, however, that to the unbelievable list of exploitations of the public by the oil industry, we now may add games of chance.

We have now reached a point where even the original bulldog with rubber teeth, the Federal Trade Commission, has begun to make noises of regulation aimed at the games. Wonders, I suppose, will never cease.

Delight is piled upon delight. Oil barons take the 27½-percent depletion allowance, prohibit cheaper foreign oil imports, pollute our environment, raise gasoline prices at will, and drive gasoline station operators to the wall with games that only delude the public and raise prices.

It seems the oil barons are many-sided men. Taxpayers might keep these little nuggets of fact in mind as they fill out their tax returns.

#### THE UNITED STATES AND UNITED NATIONS HINDER MIDEAST PEACE

(Mr. OTTINGER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, the United Nations Security Council's one-sided condemnation of Israel for her retaliatory air attack on Jordan is deplorable and destructive of chances for peace in the Middle East.

The Security Council had and continues to have an obligation to prevent the Arab terrorist attacks against Israel and to make retaliatory attacks unnecessary. But the Security Council has ignored repeated guerrilla attacks against Israel—attacks which have taken the lives of nearly 300 Israelis, many of them civilians, since the 6-day war of 1967. It has ignored the persecution and public hangings of Iraqi Jews. It has ignored Arab attacks on Israeli civil airliners.

How can the United Nations justify condemning Israel for defending herself when the U.N. has failed to meet its obligation to defend Israel?

Failure of the United States to veto the condemnation resolution is equally deplorable and destructive of the chances for peace. The United States cannot sit on the sidelines while U.N. action in effect encourages continued Arab terrorism. Is this evidence of the more "even-handed" Middle East policy Governor Scranton hinted the Nixon administration would adopt? If so, the likelihood of full-scale war between Israel and the Arab States has markedly increased, and with it the imminent danger of U.S. involvement in a major war.

It is not enough to stand pat in the Middle East. The status quo is just too perilous. We need new initiatives toward peace. We need U.S. action through the U.N. and directly to help Israel stop Arab terrorism, to assure Israel's invulnerability to attack in the short run and in the long run to reduce Middle East armaments and to reach a settlement of the raging Middle East disputes. The time is now.

#### BACONE COLLEGE EARNS NATIONAL ATTENTION

(Mr. EDMONDSON asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, one of the very real privileges in representing Oklahoma's Second District in Congress is the honor of representing Bacone College at Muskogee.

The Oklahoma Teacher, the magazine of the Oklahoma Education Association, recently featured Bacone College in an article entitled "The Uniqueness of Bacone," and Bacone is truly unique.

It is a 2-year college with fewer than 800 students enrolled, yet its reputation is nationwide. It was established as an Indian College in 1880, and more than half its students are Indian today. Its students have represented all 50 States during the last 5 years. Its sports program, concentrating on basketball and baseball, is nationally known. I hope some of you here have had the opportunity to hear the college's fine and colorful choir during one of its annual visits to Washington.

This is a proud institution, and I am proud to represent it. I place this article on "The Uniqueness of Bacone" in the Record, as follows:

#### THE UNIQUENESS OF BACONE

At the close of the 1968 school year at Bacone Junior College, a letter, written by an anonymous student, was slipped under the office door of Dean of Students Bill Burgess. Entitled simply "From Me to You," it sums up how students past and present feel about Bacone.

"Each year hundreds of Indian, Negro, and White students pour from every corner of the United States into a small college in eastern Oklahoma. What draws them there?

"It isn't new buildings or expensive furniture. It isn't the tremendous variety of social activities on campus. The answer goes much deeper than the surface of buildings or furniture or social events.

"Bacone doesn't have much to offer the athlete, yet just last year it ranked 18th in the nation in basketball and "Number One" in baseball. \* \* \* Why is it found at Bacone?

"At the beginning of each year kids pour into the chapel basement with no singing talent but with a hunger to share with others a song from their hearts. With these Miss Rainwater works and creates a singing choir which moves and inspires the hearts of those who hear. Why? And Dr. West, who not only opens our eyes to the things around us but causes us to love and appreciate this beauty—how is this done? And why? Why?

"This small college tucked away in the hills of eastern Oklahoma has something very wonderful and special to offer and share to anyone who seeks it. Bacone has many different cultures, faces, and religions. These differences are not kept separate, but there is a mixing and sharing of them. Baconeans have a tendency to become "color blind." You are not accepted by the money or looks you have, your prestige, or your popularity. Instead you are accepted by what you are inside. This isn't as easy as it sounds. It is a soul-searching process, one which takes time, but one which gives in return respect for each other and for yourself.

"At Bacone you share many things. You share biology notes and feelings for Mr. Weaver. You share Life of Christ and P. E. Class. You share hopes and ideas. You share joy and heart-break. You share your clothes. But as you begin to do this you'll discover something very special—you begin to share yourself.

"At Bacone many ideas are changed and many dreams are built. Many friendships are built, and a set of lifetime standards are beginning to be shaped and molded. Many cultures—one mankind—this is what Bacone is all about. This is what keeps miles no barrier between Bacone and her former students.

"All this and much more—this is Bacone." As the student's letter indicates, Bacone Junior College is a unique educational institution for many reasons:

The college is willing to provide financial assistance to students on need rather than academic performance;

Most students are bilingual and have not adapted to white middle class values;

A congenial campus atmosphere exists because a student is accepted as he is and is encouraged to know himself, accept himself and develop himself;

A discipline program that concerns itself with "why" something happened rather than "what" happened;

Students communicate, study and develop in a Christian non-denominational setting.

Not so unique, perhaps, but very true is the statement from Dr. Garold D. Holstine, Bacone President, "the entire United States is our neighborhood." Although only 771 students are enrolled at Bacone, they came this year from 33 states, and over the past five years, students from all 50 states have been on the rolls of the college.

Primarily thought of as an Indian school, one-half of the college's students are Indian descent from 49 different tribes. The remaining 40 percent of Bacone's population is Caucasian and 10 percent is Negro.

It is evident that Bacone serves both Indian and non-Indian students. However, all scholarship funds are awarded to Indian students. Bacone enables Indian students to combine their rich heritage with the academic skills that will fit them for leadership either among their own people, or in the merging society of modern day America.

As Dean Burgess is quick to relate, "Bacone seeks primarily the students who need the college, not the student who may be high in academic standards. Bacone's faculty and administration follows the precept of 'give me the I will, and to heck with the I.Q.'"



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Bacone was founded in 1880 by Professor Almon C. Bacone, and was originally located in Tahlequah. It remained there for five years before moving to the more centralized area of the five civilized tribes and its present site two miles east of Muskogee.

From its beginning to now, the record of Bacone's history is one of response to changing conditions. During its early years, Bacone offered primary education all the way to a college degree. Bacone today emerges as a church-related college, a liberal arts junior college and a growing community college with a deep concern for Indian education.

President Holstine sees "the new Bacone" entering into and serving the community. The college works closely and cooperates fully with civic and community organizations and is well aware of its task of making its students capable of continuing their higher education in the four year colleges and universities.

Accredited by the North Central Association of College and Secondary Schools in 1965, Bacone is particularly proud of four areas in their liberal arts program.

The Art program, under the supervision of Dick West, offers painting, wood sculpturing, metal work and weaving. Dr. West is recognized as one of the most outstanding Indian artists in the nation and his teaching talents are of the same quality.

Bacone College music has become known nationwide. The Bacone Choir recently completed an 18 concert trip with an appearance on the steps of the Nation's Capitol. The choir, under the direction of Miss Jeanine Rainwater, has also appeared on national television.

Bacone's athletic program, concentrating on baseball and basketball, has produced much notoriety for the school and state. Bacone's baseball team won the national junior college championship in 1967 and had more athletes sign professional baseball contracts in 1966 than any other college in the nation. Bacone basketball teams are always outstanding and have finished high in the national rankings in recent years.

The school's Associate Degree program in Nursing is a course of study designed to prepare fully qualified nurses.

In keeping with its charge to serve the community, Bacone also has 185 students enrolled in off-campus courses through "Operation Headstart" supplementary training programs.

Bacone's 35 faculty members are teachers who have concern for young people who need help. The college faculty works for salaries that are considerably less than those of comparable colleges. "Bacone teachers are to be commended for their dedication to a kind of task that is so apparent," Dr. Holstine emphasizes. "Our staff, highly successful in their efforts, works long hours and deprives themselves of many of their own pursuits to educate our students in an inter-racial, inter-culture situation."

Faculty homes are always open to students, whether it be for entertainment or personal counseling. Dean Burgess's home, complete with color television, has hosted as many as 50 students. Many faculty members set aside specific days of the week to invite students over for companionship. Many Bacone students would rather stay at the college than go home on holidays—a tribute to the faculty and other students of the college.

It should be noted here that Bacone students are not catered to unnecessarily, "given" grades or pampered. As Dean Burgess says, "we call our students men and women and expect them to conduct themselves as such. We do not have a lot of policies and students have freedom as long as they don't infringe on the rights of others."

It is also Bacone tradition that students behave in a manner befitting the college or face a stern lesson from the rest of the student body.

The true test of Bacone's mettle is revealed by the following fact:

Out of every 100 students who enroll for the two year program, only 10 fail to make it. The college has a significant 90 percent holding power for their two year program, despite the fact that many students arrive from all over the United States not knowing if they have been accepted in the college, coming from a different culture than they will be exposed to, and many lacking adequate educational backgrounds.

Bacone is a private institution in that it is fully supported by church foundations and civic organizations. Under a new concept, Bacone will eventually become a four-year school, with four new dormitories to be constructed and plans to make full use of the college's 230 acres with centers for Humanities, Nursing Sciences, Sports, Languages, History, Applied Arts, Social Sciences and Economics.

Professor Bacone, seeing his dream come true nearly 90 years ago, said: "A Christian school planted in the midst of a people becomes one of the most powerful agencies in the work of civilization."

Today, Dr. Holstine says, "Bacone never wants to be large enough to require an IBM card system where students will get lost in the multitude. The principle of a quality education in a Christian environment will always be retained in the future."

Bacone Junior College is indeed unique.

(Mr. EDMONDSON asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. EDMONDSON'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

#### COTERMINOUS REGIONAL AREAS FOR AGENCIES OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

(Mr. MARSH asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday the President made a decision to follow certain recommendations which I understand came from the Bureau of the Budget for coterminous regional areas for agencies of the Federal Government in various parts of the United States.

One of the results of this decision was to move from Charlottesville, Va., to Philadelphia the regional headquarters for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare that for a number of years had been serving the States of Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, and Kentucky. Over 400 experienced personnel of this agency will be directly affected by this change. The decision has been made to move the headquarters to a State that was not in the region.

Difficult to fathom is the economics and the efficiency of the move. It is hard to understand the rationale that dictates, simply you create coterminous boundaries for the service areas of various agencies, that you should then move established regional headquarters that are still central to the regions they serve.

In the last 5 years, to accommodate the regional headquarters for HEW at Charlottesville, a modern, five-story building was erected—planned for HEW

purposes and authorized to be constructed for their use at a cost of \$2 million. This building was dedicated less than 3 years ago.

Now HEW will be vacating their modern, 3-year-old, multimillion-dollar regional headquarters to find new quarters—probably rented—in a city where I am sure we can expect space to be limited and costs to be high.

At a time when everyone is concerned about inflation and rising costs of government, this does not seem to be a step toward reducing Federal expenditures.

For the reasons outlined above, it is my hope that President Nixon will review this decision and reconsider the action that was announced last week.

#### REQUEST TO ACTIVATE MOUNTAIN VIEW HOSPITAL, TACOMA, WASH.

(Mr. HICKS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, today I am presenting for the consideration of the Congress a proposal which affords us a unique opportunity to help 58,000 veterans.

The proposal is in the form of a memorial from the Washington State Legislature asking that Mountain View Hospital at Tacoma, Wash., be activated as a Veterans' Administration hospital.

This is a fine facility, already functioning as a general hospital and a tuberculosis sanatorium. It includes a complete surgery, obstetric section, and all the other facilities of a licensed general hospital. In the three-county area which such a hospital would serve, there are some 58,000 veterans, with the hospital virtually in the geographic center.

Although the Veterans' Administration hospitals' patient load has decreased nationwide, Washington State still has more veteran patients than it has facilities for their care. I am informed that the VA is considering expanding its hospital at Seattle to care for the State's veterans. How much more practical, Mr. Speaker, to use this existing hospital instead.

At present veterans from this area must drive through the heaviest traffic in the Northwest to the Seattle hospital, and the parking situation is almost hopeless. Such extreme conditions would not obtain at Mountain View.

The Seattle hospital is a good one. There are few complaints from people treated there. The complaints come from those who are not able to obtain treatment because of overcrowding. Mountain View would alleviate this.

There is no doubt in my mind that to use Mountain View as a hospital for veterans would be a most prudent and effective manner to help us meet our responsibilities to the men and women who have defended our country.

But time is of the essence. Pierce County is deactivating its general hospital on June 30, and the tuberculosis patients are being moved to another facility. Understandably, the county wishes to turn the hospital to use as soon as possible, both for the usefulness of the

and to defend its interests, or even its existence, against the violence that was directed against it from the Hitlerites and their allies. This is a very serious fact, but unfortunately, like all facts, it must be recognized.

"The fact that not a single Western European state has been in a position to guarantee the defense of the elementary rights of the Jewish people or compensate them for the violence they have suffered at the hands of the Fascist hangmen explains the aspiration of the Jews for the creation of a state of their own. It would be unjust not to take this into account and to deny the right of the Jewish people to the realization of such an aspiration."

Gromyko was more persuasive than he intended to be. His sudden passion for Zionism caused Syrian Ambassador Faris Bey El-Khoury to remark that "if Jews are to start coming to Palestine they might also want to leave Russia, where they have been persecuted since the Seventh Century." The General Assembly proceedings carry no record of a reply by the Soviet ambassador.

V. 1948-1968

When the Jewish Agency attempted to match Gromyko's words with deeds two and a half years later, it found that Moscow's passion for persecuted Jewry had cooled considerably. The Agency reported on November 10, 1949 that the Kremlin had totally ignored a request that repatriation bars be lifted for 1,000,000 Russian Jews and 600,000 Rumanian and Hungarian Jews who wanted to come to Israel.

The events in Soviet Russia during the 20 years that followed Gromyko's historic speech are well known to every student of Jewish history. They include the destruction of the last vestiges of Jewish cultural and educational life; the imprisonment and execution of Jewish writers, poets and journalists; the infamous Stalinist "doctors' plot"; the vicious denigration of Jewish history, religion, language in the Soviet communications media; the Jewish "economic trials" of the early 1960's; the unrelenting campaign of hatred and slander against Israel, and, finally, the unabashed attempt to obliterate the identity of three million Soviet Jews through enforced cultural assimilation.

The only significant break in this chain of events came on December 3, 1966, Premier Alexei Kosygin, then in Paris, was asked by a correspondent for United Press International whether there was any possibility of reuniting Soviet Jews with families from which they had become separated during World War II.

Kosygin's reply went well beyond the terms of reference of the question. He declared, in part:

"We on our side shall do all that is possible for us, if some families want to meet, or even if some among them would like to leave us, to open for them the road. And this does not raise here, naturally, any problem of principles and will not raise any."

The Kosygin statement had an electrifying effect on Jews and non-Jews alike. Here, indeed was concrete evidence of the flexibility of Russia's new leadership and its ability to put humanitarian principles above politics. Israel National Radio termed the statement "a marked departure from the policies of Mr. Krushchev." The London Jewish Chronicle called it "a pledge" and the New York Times said it would "give encouragement to many thousands of Russians, Ukrainians, Soviet Jews and others, whose families were broken up by the dislocation of World War II."

Seven months later, the dream of Jewish family reunion was ground under the boots of an Egyptian army advancing up the Sinai Peninsula. Since then an ominous silence has fallen over Soviet-Jewish affairs. A world waiting to hear the joyous sounds of families reuniting has awakened instead to the ugly clatter of a renascent anti-Semitism in Poland.

#### VI. INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

It is the view of an increasing body of learned opinion—both Jewish and non-Jewish—that the three million Jews of the U.S.S.R. are being deprived of the basic legal right of repatriation. It is a right that has been affirmed and reaffirmed under international law, by the League of Nations, the United Nations and the World Court. The Declaration of Human Rights incorporated into the charter of the United Nations guarantees the free choice of national domicile and the unrestricted freedom of movement to all people. The Soviet Union is a signatory to that document and is legally and morally obligated to honor it. To this end, an ad hoc committee has summoned leading jurists, legislators, scientists, economists, writers and industrialists from many countries to attend an International Conference on the Repatriation of Soviet Jewry to be held in Geneva, Switzerland.

It will be the purpose of this conference to establish itself as a permanent world body with headquarters in Geneva to strive for the implementation of the right of Soviet Jews to repatriate to their national homeland.

We believe the single greatest challenge facing contemporary World Jewry is the rescue of three million Soviet Jews.

There is a fundamental relationship between the return of these Jews to their homeland and their continued existence as Jews. Soviet Jewry is a people in search of nationhood. Israel alone offers them the change—perhaps the last chance—to replant their cultural and religious roots in hospitable soil. Unless they are permitted to grasp this opportunity for national self realization, Jewish history will have taken a tragic and perhaps irrevocable step backward.

It will be the major task of the Geneva Conference to assemble and present to the Russian Government documentary evidence of the existing desire of Russian Jews to repatriate. We wish to provide a forum from which a silent and exiled people may be heard.

We are witnessing the climax of a human drama that began 2,000 years ago with the enforced exile of the Jewish people. The circle of Jewish history is now being closed. The Jewish State has been reestablished. Its children are being called home. Destiny has given us no time-table. We do not know when the Call to Zion will be heard in the free Western Jewish communities, except that it will be heard. We do know that it has found an echo in the hearts of three million Russian Jews.

Since the 1967 War in the Middle East, repatriation has become a moving force among Soviet Jews. It is particularly strong among the younger generation, but its appeal cuts across all economic, social, religious and age distinctions.

This fact is confirmed almost daily from independent sources throughout the globe. It has been echoed by virtually every Western visitor to the Soviet Union during the past two years. Those who have had even the most peripheral contact with the Soviet Jewish community testify that repatriation is the only subject Russian Jews deem worthy of serious discussion. All other subjects have become irrelevant.

During a recent fact-finding tour, members of the committee had ample opportunities of interviewing a group of young Russian Jews who repatriated to Israel during the past years. These young people reject any contention that Judaism is languishing in the Soviet Union. It is more vibrant and alive than ever. They reject any contention that repatriation sentiment is limited to any one group of Russian Jews. They insist that no Soviet Jew be written off . . . that virtually the entire Russian Jewish population, including many of those still occupying positions of authority, would be prepared to come to Israel if the bars to repatriation were lifted.

These young people, born, schooled and indoctrinated under the Soviet system, have no quarrel with that system. Most of them remain staunch socialists. They want neither prayer books nor matzo's nor sympathy. They want to come home. They tell us that tens of thousands of other Jews study Hebrew and Yiddish and immerse themselves in Jewish history and literature. They have rejected assimilation. They see their destinies outside the borders of the Soviet Union. Their eyes are turned to the Promised Land.

It will be the function of the Geneva Conference to spell out the legal and humanitarian rights of these people in terms the entire civilized world, including the Soviet Union, can understand and accept. It is not our purpose to engage in a debate with the Kremlin over its treatment of the national Jewish minority or to demand of it an easing of restrictions on Jewish life. Such debates belong to the past. We doubt that any liberalization of Soviet Jewry policy can solve the ultimate dilemma confronting Russian Jewry.

The only long-term solution for Soviet Jewry is repatriation. At the same time repatriation represents for the Russian Government and people a truly genuine solution of the Jewish problem in a just and humane form. The International Committee for the Repatriation of Russian Jews will undertake the burden of that solution. In that spirit of humility, purpose, and faith, we ask God's help for its success.

#### ONE-SIDED U.N. RESOLUTION ON MIDDLE EAST

#### HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 2, 1969

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, I want to express my deep concern with the resolution passed by the U.N. Security Council yesterday condemning Israel for its attack on Jordan last week. This resolution, which passed the Council by an 11 to 0 vote, with the United States and Britain abstaining in opposition, virtually ignores the guerrilla actions that endanger the lives of Israeli civilians and provoke Israel's retaliation. It is a one-sided measure and is in every respect counterproductive to our efforts for a settlement of the Arab-Israeli strife.

French and Soviet support for this resolution splits the major powers at the very time when plans for beginning the big four talks on the Middle East are being completed. These talks were originally proposed by Paris and Moscow some months ago, and have involved arduous efforts to reach the delicate stage we are at now, and all four of the powers have a responsibility to maintain the atmosphere in which progress can continue.

The censure resolution adds weight to Israel's charges of bias by France and the U.S.S.R., and will make any of the proposals for settlement or promises of guarantees that may come out of the impending talks even more suspect in Israel's eyes. It is of even more immediate concern, furthermore, that the resolution will encourage the Arab terrorist groups that are openly determined to renew the conflict and bring us closer to the conflagration we have been working to prevent.

All violations of the cease-fire are counterproductive to peace and must be

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## III. REPATRIATION

If the concept of Jewish nationhood is firmly rooted in the Soviet past, even more so is the concept of repatriation. Following the Second World War, the U.S.S.R. voluntarily repatriated thousands of nationals from Spain, Poland, Hungary and Rumania. By the time they got around to Armenians, the Russians had transformed repatriation into an article of Marxist faith.

For almost 20 years following World War II, Moscow waged a tireless campaign to persuade one million overseas Armenians that their rightful place was not in the lands of their birth, but in the Autonomous Soviet Republic of Armenia. In promulgating that campaign, the Russians employed what can only be termed a form of "Armenian Zionism." The Soviet propaganda tracts and radio broadcasts directed at the Armenian overseas communities during those years would have been thoroughly familiar to Herzl and Nordau. They wrote them. One had but to substitute "Jewish" for "Armenian" and "Israel" for "Armenia" to compile a complete primer on the four W's of Zionism—What, Where, Why and When.

Nothing it has ever said or done so damagingly exposes Moscow's standard as its attitudes toward Jewish and Armenian nationalism. One has literally to turn language and semantics upside down to appreciate it. Yet, the history of no two peoples has ever been more strikingly analogous.

Jews and Armenians have both been the objects of centuries of persecution. Their ancient homelands were repeatedly overrun. As a result, they became dispersed throughout the world. Some have undergone assimilation. Some have clung tenaciously to their language, culture and historic traditions. Many have a profound religious attachment to the soil of a country they have never seen. In both instances, the majority have lived outside their national homelands for generations.

Despite these historic parallels, when Moscow speaks of Jews and Armenians, it speaks in two different tongues. The return of dispersed Jewry to Israel is "treason." The return of overseas Armenians to Armenia is the height of patriotic virtue. Consider the following statement in the March 31, 1964 issue of *Komosolskaya Pravda*:

"The Armenian People endured much suffering throughout its centuries-old history. Hunger and despair compelled many to leave the land of their fathers and seek salvation in foreign lands. These were later paths of suffering and humiliation. Only in the years of the Soviet regime has the cherished word 'return' crossed the Wandering Armenian's lips..."

*Izvestia* put the case in even stronger terms in an article on April 1, 1964:

"Tens of thousands of Armenians abroad who live under an alien and not always hospitable sky still strive to return to their Motherland, to Soviet Armenia. . . It is well known that love for the Motherland, the constant craving for unity, for life in the land of their ancestors have upheld the Armenian nation."

Have the Soviets ever considered what force upheld the Jewish nation through centuries of even greater travail?

The Soviet duality of mind becomes even more apparent in discussing the question of assimilation. For Russian Jews it is a "normal, desirable process" to be hastened by the denial of cultural rights. For Armenians the same prospect is nothing less than "a white massacre." The U.S.S.R.'s Erevan Radio puts it in the most chilling perspective:

"It is difficult to overestimate the political and historical significance of the newly organized repatriation of overseas Armenians. It is a matter of eliminating the consequences of the Turkish barbarian atrocities against the Armenian people and of saving our brothers and sisters in the diaspora from

the brutal reality of capitalism and the danger of assimilation that hangs over them like the sword of Damocles. The new repatriation has caused a wave of enthusiasm and joy in the diaspora."

The use of the word "diaspora" is grimly amusing. It is a Zionist slogan that has been denounced from every propaganda pulpit in the U.S.S.R. In employing it, Moscow apparently takes no cognizance of the fact that one man's "Motherland" might be another man's "diaspora." The Kremlin's schizophrenic approach to Jewish and Armenian repatriation raises an intriguing paradox. By the fate of history, Armenia is situated within the present borders of the U.S.S.R. while Israel is in the Middle East. One is tempted to ask what Moscow's policies on the repatriation of the two peoples would be if the geographical locations of the two countries were reversed. Would Jewish repatriation then become a categorical imperative? Would Armenian repatriation become a crime?

The Russians did more than borrow the phraseology of Zionism. They even copied its administrative machinery. Beginning in 1961, Soviet embassies in Turkey, Greece, Cyprus, Lebanon, Egypt, France, and the United States included Armenian emigration departments that were nothing less than replicas of Jewish Agency offices. Through these departments, the Russians organized the repatriation of some 150,000 overseas Armenians.

Nor did Moscow hesitate to pressure foreign governments for aid in facilitating its Armenian repatriation scheme. In a note to the U.S. State Department dated April 21, 1947, (the text of which was carried by the New York Times of December 5, 1947) the Soviet ambassador declared:

"The government of the U.S.S.R. with a view to satisfying numerous requests of Armenians residing abroad has given permission for the Government of Soviet Armenia to arrange for the return of Armenians who desire to go back to their Motherland, Soviet Armenia, from a number of countries, including the United States of America.

"In this connection the embassy requests the Department of State to render assistance to those Armenians who desire to return to their Motherland by permitting them to take export property which belongs to them, relinquish their foreign citizenship, etc."

The State Department, of course, informed the embassy that American citizens and alien residents of the U.S. were free to emigrate anywhere they chose and to take their personal property with them.

Moscow's language was somewhat less polite in dealing with French recalcitrance on the Armenian issue. The New York Times of December 23, 1947 reports of a note sent to Paris by the U.S.S.R. bluntly telling the French government to stop putting "obstacles in the way of the repatriation of Armenians wishing to go back to the Soviet Union."

The French Foreign Ministry denied it was doing any such thing. But informed sources in Paris admitted that the government was withholding visa applications from such prospective Armenian emigrants in the hope of negotiating an agreement for the return of a number of French nationals still in the Soviet Union.

The Armenian campaign was duplicated on a somewhat smaller scale in Moscow's drive to repatriate a colony of Cossacks that had been living in Turkey for 250 years. Again, fear of assimilation and a return to the Motherland were the principle propaganda lures. In short, as far as Moscow was concerned, Zionism had everything to recommend it, so long as it wasn't applied to Jews.

## IV. THE JEWISH STATE

The Soviets had no compunctions about deviating from this hard-line when it suited their political purposes. Moscow's chief political purpose in the Middle East during the

early fateful months of 1947 was to weaken British influence in that area. If it took the creation of a Jewish State to bring an end to the British Mandate in Palestine, the Russians were more than willing to turn Zionism back to its original authors, the Jews. Contrast present Soviet policy toward Israel, the Jewish people and Jewish nationhood with the moving words uttered by Andrei Gromyko in his speech before the General Assembly of the United Nations on May 14, 1947:

"In considering the question of the tasks of the Committee which is to prepare proposals on Palestine, our attention is inevitably drawn to another important aspect of this problem. As is well known, the aspirations of an important part of the Jewish people are bound up with the question of Palestine, and with the future structure of that country. It is not surprising therefore, that both in the General Assembly and in the meetings of the Political Committee of the Assembly a great deal of attention was given to this aspect of the matter. This interest is comprehensible and completely justified."

"The Jewish people suffered extreme misery and deprivation during the last war. It can be said, without exaggeration, that the sufferings and miseries of the Jewish people are beyond description. It would be difficult to express by mere dry figures the losses and sacrifices of the Jewish people at the hands of the Fascist occupiers. In the territories where the Hitlerites were in control, the Jew suffered almost complete extinction. The total number of the Jews who fell at the hands of the Fascist hangmen is something in the neighborhood of six million. Only about one and a half million Jews survived the war in Western Europe. But these figures, which give an idea of the losses suffered by the Jewish people at the hands of the Fascist aggressors, give no idea of the situation in which the great mass of the Jewish people find themselves after the war.

"A great many of the Jews who survived the war in Europe have found themselves deprived of their countries, of their shelter, and of means of earning their livelihood. Hundreds of thousands of Jews are wandering about the various countries of Europe, seeking means of livelihood and seeking shelter. A great many of these are in the camps for displaced persons, where they are continuing to suffer great privations.

"This was all clearly stated in the discussions of the Assembly's Committee by the representative of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

"It may be asked whether the United Nations, considering the very serious situation of hundreds of thousands of Jews who have survived the war, should not show an interest in the situation of these people who have been uprooted from their countries and from their homes. The Organization of the United Nations cannot, and should not, remain indifferent to this situation, because such an attitude would be incompatible with the high principles which are proclaimed in our Charter—principles which envisage the defense of the rights of men, irrespective of race, religious convictions and sex. This is a time to give help, not in words, but in deeds.

"It is necessary that we concern ourselves with the urgent needs of a people who have suffered such great hardships as a result of the war, in connection with Hitlerite Germany; it is a duty of the United Nations.

"Regarding the necessity of concerning ourselves with the situation of the Jewish population, which is without shelter and without means of livelihood, the Soviet delegation considers it necessary to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the following circumstances. The experience of the past, particularly during the time of the Second World War, has shown that not one state of Western Europe has been in a position to give proper help to the Jewish people



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deplored if we are not to further polarize hostilities and make any progress in solving this potentially explosive situation.

I am presenting here an article and editorial comment from today's New York Times on this urgent problem for the consideration of my colleagues:

ISRAEL CENSURED BY U.N. COUNCIL—RAID ON JORDAN CONDEMNED BY A VOTE OF 11 TO 0—UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN ABSTAIN  
(By Juan de Onis)

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., April 1.—The major powers split in the Security Council today on a resolution condemning Israel for an air attack against Jordan, but plans to open Big Four talks on the Middle East this week remained unaltered.

The Soviet Union and France indicated they would vote for the draft resolution sponsored by Pakistan, Senegal and Zambia, which condemned the Israeli air attack on the town of Salt on March 26 in which 18 civilians were killed.

Charles W. Yost, the United States delegate, said that the attack was "in the highest degree counter-productive" for peace talks, but that the United States could not vote for a resolution that took no heed of Arab terrorist attacks on Israel.

Despite the split among the Big Four, there was no change in their plan to open talks on the Middle East this week.

"Death is just as final and as shocking if it comes from a bomb in a supermarket or from a bomb from the air," Mr. Yost said.

## BRITAIN VOICES OBJECTION

Sir Leslie Glass, the deputy representative, said that his country could also not support a resolution that condemned Israel without encompassing all violations of the Middle East cease-fire of June 10, 1967.

"The outside world as a whole would surely scratch its head as to why the Council cannot at this delicate and important stage, in the most general terms and without any specific reference to either side, recognize the general state of violence, which undeniably exists, and deplore all violations of the cease-fire," Sir Leslie said.

Jordan, pressing her complaint against Israel, and the supporters of the Arab cause on the 15-member Security Council, contended that they had the necessary nine votes to carry the resolution. Since all Arab-Israeli war of 1967, all Security Council decisions on cease-fire resolutions have been adopted unanimously, with some reference to violence on both sides.

The split between the major powers, which are scheduled to open talks on the Middle East here Thursday, came despite arduous consultations during the day in which Max Jakobson of Finland succeeded in winning minor modifications in the three-nation draft.

But the Arab refusal to accept any language that would label actions against Israel by Arab commando organizations as cease-fire violations thwarted any accommodations.

Agha Shahi, the Pakistani delegate, said in introducing the resolution that the three sponsors had "gone a long way in diluting the resolution" to prevent a "division among the permanent members of the Security Council on the eve of the projected four-power talks."

"While anxious to prevent any division, we could not possibly disregard the fact that the situation, which is at present being considered by the Council, has deteriorated," he said.

The key operative paragraph of the three-nation resolution said that the Security Council:

"Condemns the recent premeditated air attacks launched by Israel on Jordanian villages and populated areas in flagrant viola-

tion of the United Nations Charter and the cease-fire resolutions and warns once again that if such attacks were to be repeated the Council would have to meet to consider further more effective steps as envisaged in the Charter to insure against repetition of such attacks."

## BLOW TO MIDEAST PEACE

The Soviet Union and France undercut their own initiative for Middle East peace yesterday when they voted for a United Nations Security Council resolution which condemns Israel for its attack on Jordan last week but virtually ignores the guerrilla actions that provoke Israeli retaliation.

French-Soviet support for the one-sided resolution—one the United States and Britain rightly refused to go along with—compromises their position just when arrangements are being completed for starting the Big Power peace meetings, originally proposed by Moscow and Paris months ago. It adds weight to Israeli charges of bias by the two powers, and tends to encourage truce violations by Arab groups blatantly bent on renewed conflict.

Despite this new handicap, the Big Four search for a new path to peace must not be abandoned. The primary responsibility for forging a final settlement remains with the contending Mideast nations, as Israeli and Arab leaders have taken pains to point out. But the Arabs and Israelis thus far have made no progress toward peace on their own. The Jarring mission is at a dead end.

In the face of rising violence that could envelop them all, the major powers have an obligation to themselves and to the world to make a new effort to promote a settlement through the U.N. The Russian and French have a special obligation now to undo the effect their vote by demonstrating that they recognize the rights and security requirements of the Israelis as well as those of the Arabs.

## A LEGACY OF DECENCY

## HON. R. LAWRENCE COUGHLIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 2, 1969

Mr. COUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, on this day of burial for Dwight David Eisenhower, we pay our final respects.

In the passing of General Eisenhower, Pennsylvania and Americans, we have lost a great leader and a beloved President.

His death, as his life, reflected courage and determination, calm and cheer.

Just as the Eisenhower years were a time of strength and peace, prosperity and good will, so they reflected the man for whom they were so warmly named.

Few men will soon forget the hearty smile, the outstretched hand, and "We like Ike." May many long remember the man, the strength, and the love that gave the world those peaceful, prosperous years.

While our 34th President leaves so much for us to remember him by, perhaps one of the finest legacies was his elemental decency as a human being.

This thought is expressed in the lead editorial of the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin on Monday, March 31, 1969, and I insert it for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

## A LEGACY OF DECENCY

Most men who make their mark upon the world and who die in greatness leave behind

as their legacy some specific deed or thing, or some words expressing inspiring or profound thoughts.

Dwight D. Eisenhower has given more. He has left behind, for all who will accept it, a legacy of decency.

As 34th President of the United States, as most respected citizen in retirement, as General of the Army, Mr. Eisenhower held to a strong and basic faith in his country and its people.

There was, he was certain, a strength, a resolve and a basic goodness in the land and in its people. To him the qualities of honesty, tolerance, self-reliance and patriotism were not to be described as old fashioned. They were part of each day.

When Mr. Eisenhower saw these qualities held up to ridicule he became concerned. He saw the young people of today as perhaps the finest the nation has ever produced. But he expressed fear that so many of them have been taught nothing of responsibility and self-discipline or the real meaning of life.

"You accepted hard work and a concern for others as a way of life," Mr. Eisenhower once said in describing his formative years. "We would have sneered at anyone who said we were underprivileged or anything like that."

Mr. Eisenhower was indeed, as President Nixon said yesterday, a product of America's soil and America's ideals. Mr. Eisenhower was, as he said in his London Guild Hall speech in 1945, from the "heart of America."

There is a tendency today to brush aside the qualities that were so much a part of Mr. Eisenhower as something of value only in a past, unsophisticated and simplistic era. But in truth they are as relevant and more needed today than ever before in the nation's history.

And, despite the cynicism and the skepticism that is part of America today, the vast majority of the nation holds to the same beliefs that Mr. Eisenhower held—a faith in themselves and in their country and a respect for their fellow man.

The difficulty today, as it has been in other periods of this country's history, is that it is difficult to hear the voice of this majority above the shrill shouts of those who seek confrontation rather than conference and conciliation.

President Nixon, in the eulogy delivered yesterday in the Rotunda of the United States Capitol said that these days of national mourning should also be days of gratitude for the inspiration and the strength which Mr. Eisenhower has given his countrymen.

These days can be something more. They can be days of rededication to the basic beliefs and the truths that were Mr. Eisenhower's. They can be the time of acceptance of Mr. Eisenhower's legacy of decency.

Nothing, in a nation so divided and torn by dissent, could be a finer tribute to a man who believed that his nation's future rested upon its moral strength.

## THE MONEY TREE: NEW JERSEY GETS SMALL SLICE OF U.S. PIE—I

## Hon. PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 2, 1969

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, the Passaic Herald-News of Passaic, N.J., recently carried a series of eight articles by Staff Writer Mike Stoddard, entitled "The Money Tree."

In these articles, Mr. Stoddard casts a critical eye at the Federal grant-in-aid

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programs, pointing up the difficulties encountered by local governments in applying for the various forms of Federal aid.

While the series deals primarily with Morris County, N.J., in my congressional district, the problems described are common to many areas.

I insert these articles in the RECORD and commend them to the attention of my colleagues:

THE MONEY TREE: NEW JERSEY GETS SMALL SLICE OF U.S. PIE—I  
(By Mike Stoddard)

Graftsmanship—The art of eliciting funds for specified uses from federal, state, foundation or private sources.

The foregoing definition, however, is not to be found in any of the current dictionaries since it has only become a recognized practice in the last few years, and even its practitioners are ready to argue that it may be science rather than art.

Historically, the roots of graftsmanship may be traced back to 1862 when the federal government, under the Morrill Act, established the first grant-in-aid program to states by giving them aid to education in the form of land grants.

The land grant colleges, as the primary national effort to utilize this country's resources to effect the nation's goals, set the pattern for today and unwittingly, perhaps, hardened for all time the uses to which grants of any type may be put.

From the land grants, national policy extended itself to aid to agriculture and as the nation became industrialized, a slow shift took place as the farmers' need for roads brought about the first major shift in policy in the 1920s when the federal aid programs for highway construction became a reality.

The roads and highways were not all the farmers received, for as industrialization forced the smaller farmers to bankruptcy, new skills were needed to cope with a world that could no longer afford to support the marginal farms and farmers.

The next step of vocational training funded by federal grants was only a short distance from the massive welfare and public works programs of the 1930s where the Great Depression shattered the economy of the United States.

The clock spun faster after the 1940s and the aid programs grew in scope, until today the spectrum of grant-in-aid encompasses, by one count, 1,271 programs which cost almost \$21 billion a year.

A federal government reluctantly admits having slightly more than 400 grant-in-aid programs citing the "bible" of grantmen, "The Catalog of Federal Assistance Programs" as the authority.

The catalog compiled by the Federal Office of Economic Opportunity for the President lists a bewildering array of programs in its 700 pages, which in addition to a brief description of the programs, tells who may apply and to whom.

Testimony to the confusion rising from the catalog may be deduced from a second book published under the seal of the vice president of the United States entitled, "Handbook for Local Officials" which in 300 pages explains how to use the first catalog.

To the experienced grantsman, however, the catalogs are so much window dressing, for a specific program and its funds are the target and that information is not easily available.

A new breed of public official, the grantsman, has been born to cope with the multiplicity of programs for local government up to and including state level civil servants lack the expertise and sophistication needed to stick their thumb into the federal pie and come up with plum.

In most cases, local officials, aware of an available supply of money, have no difficulty

in dropping their system of priorities to run after a grant-in-aid, simply because "the money is there."

To the professional grantsman, the bumbling approach is painful and to the sophisticated federal official administering a grant program, the rush of an outstretched hand is a sure guarantee of a turnaround.

#### FOURTEEN CATEGORIES

The key to the grant-in-aid programs is not in their diversity but in their limited applications for while there are more than 1,300 "money pots" they each fall into one of 14 categories.

The major criticism of the grant-in-aid programs is their "categorical" nature which is a severe drawback to those communities which may want something not specified in the federal guidelines.

The 14 over-all categories supply the clue to the national goals which shape the type and amount of assistance available.

New Jersey's inability to reflect the national goals is shown in its participation in the federal grant-in-aid programs where the over-all system of priorities is rearranged to put state highway spending ahead of all the other categories.

The New Jersey numbers, in addition to restructuring the national goals, show the state is paying a high penalty for refusing to comply, since it receives the least amount of money from the federal government of all the 50 states.

For the fiscal year ending July 31, 1968 New Jersey received only 1.95 per cent of all federal grant-in-aid funds, \$416,105,000, and tracing that amount to Morris County shows practically none of it ever gets home.

The national order of priorities established by the amounts of money appropriated for various categories according to latest information compiled by the state Department of Community Affairs is:

FEDERAL GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAMS FOR 1967-68

Program category	Total, all States	Total, New Jersey
Public assistance.....	\$4,201,015,000	\$70,169,000
Highways.....	4,021,980,000	103,756,000
Agriculture.....	3,501,238,000	6,278,000
Education.....	3,086,528,000	72,845,000
Public health.....	3,406,221,000	22,165,000
Antipoverty.....	1,377,264,000	51,808,000
National Guard.....	842,802,000	14,600,000
Food distribution.....	686,554,000	10,020,000
Unemployment insurance.....	614,797,000	24,884,000
Urban development and public housing.....	538,077,000	25,041,000
Veterans' benefits.....	306,916,000	7,141,000
Conservation practices.....	289,223,000	1,239,000
Vocational rehabilitation.....	266,821,000	4,578,000
Child care.....	233,172,000	3,313,000
Miscellaneous programs.....	491,865,000	1,053,000

#### THE MONEY TREE: \$12 WILL GET YOU \$1 IN FEDERAL FUNDS—II (By Mike Stoddard)

Out of the more than \$20 billion in federal grant-in-aid funds spent last year, New Jersey ranked last in the amount given all the 50 states plus Puerto Rico. Morris County, without any firm statistics, ranks among those which got the smallest slice of the federal melon.

In the jungle of federal statistics, the Office of Economic Opportunity in its annual survey of federal outlays states Morris County received \$146,494,071 during the last fiscal year.

The information derived from the new federal information exchange service, however, is preceded with the caution that the numbers shown are "obligations of government administered funds" and then proceeds to lump every penny spent in or outside the county on programs which may be pro-rated on national programs which have no effect upon the county.

The federal government with a broad

brush includes the money spent on defense programs, including the Picatinny Arsenal payroll as one of its major expenditures in Morris County.

That the federal government is not above coloring its largesse is indicated by the inclusion of \$218,920 from Coast Guard, marine, harbor and shore services and \$49,608 as the county's share of participating in the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Morris County also gets \$39,114 for feed grain direct payments to the owners of its nonexistent farms and receives \$1,536 in wheat direct payments for those same farms.

The Department of State, the report indicates, spent \$51,316 in Morris County for salaries and expenses of what must be assumed are foreign service officers, while the U.S. Information Agency put another \$18,988 in the local economy possibly for broadcasts behind the Iron Curtain.

The meat of the issue of how much Morris County gets from the federal government to aid local programs is carefully obscured behind the overwhelming numbers but it breaks down to very little.

The clue to Morris County's participation is found again in the state statistics using the per capita return to the state.

With New Jersey's getting the lowest per capita return of all the states, \$59.60 each, against the national average of \$105.81, the population of the county at 350,000 could only net about \$20 million.

The announcements of grants over the past year from the office of Rep. Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen, R-5th, show that less than \$6 million was allocated to Morris County including the expenditure of more than \$1 million for additions to Picatinny Arsenal.

One argued statistic released earlier this year by the New Jersey Taxpayers Association said it cost New Jersey \$1.70 for every dollar it received from the federal government.

#### SPEND \$12 FOR \$1

The truth is that for every dollar New Jersey received in grant funds, it paid more than \$12. Morris County with a larger than average per capita income, effectively paid its \$12 and got nothing.

That the county showing is so bad is not because the system of national priorities has no room for fitting the county's needs into the federal system of priorities for national goals but a local view that ignores those goals.

Freeholder Norman Griffiths, acknowledged to be Morris County's student of government, reaches back into as a county official to summarily dismiss the entire federal grant program as "a waste of time and effort."

Griffiths, who is quick to point out he has no political bias against having the county get federal grant-in-aid funds, remembered the years his years of activity as a local official, a state legislator and of trudging to Washington, New York and Philadelphia looking for the elusive dollars so sorely needed by the growing county.

Now in his 80s, Griffiths' voice shakes with indignation as he tells of the countless trips and snarls of red tape which frustrated his efforts to do something for his home county.

His indictment of the federal grant-in-aid program is encompassing for he could find no hope that something could be done for his constituents.

#### WASTE OF TIME

"It is a waste of time," Griffiths said. "The bureaucrats only use that money to make their empires bigger and give more jobs to their friends."

County participation in some programs, Griffiths quickly pointed out, was more onerous than "doing it ourselves."

He said the federal regulations on strings attached to the grant programs made them unworkable from their inception. The fed-

February and is up 4.7 percent in the past 12 months.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics explains that the printed budgets are not especially "typical" or "average"—but they are liveable. The family used by definition is: a 38-year-old husband working full time, a nonemployed wife, a boy of 13, and a girl of 8.

It is no accident that Austin ranks first. As Texas chronology goes, Austin is an old city; but nationally, it is young, and Austin has been blessed with leadership which kept the city abreast of development through the lean years and the boom years. Austin does not have the decay which is evident in some of the older cities of this Nation. It is still vibrant, moving and desirable. The tax base is broad enough to pay the way without imposing excessive burdens upon the taxpayers. Proof of this is easily illustrated. Just a few months ago, Austin became the first city in the State to receive an AAA rating on revenue bonds issued by the city. This resulted in a tremendous savings to the people who foot the tax bill, especially in light of the rising interest rates.

I am not advocating mass migration to Austin, but I would like to point out a few of the "reasons why" Austin is such a delightful place to live. My remarks are factual and without prejudice.

The population of 225,000 has a wealth of cultural and educational benefits at their fingertips: The University of Texas, St. Edwards University, Maryhill College, Huston-Tillotson College, Concordia College. These are available, too, for the men stationed at Bergstrom Air Force Base.

There are over 80 State and over 50 Federal agencies in Austin with over \$94 million in payrolls. Being the State capital, Austin has attracted over 200 statewide association offices, 35 insurance offices, 300 manufacturing plants, medical centers, and many State schools and institutions. Total payrolls are in excess of \$130 billion.

Then there is the sheer, natural beauty of the hill country and the highland lakes, and the weather, and the mood and atmosphere of the people—and most of all the people, for they are the daily writers of Austin's success story.

#### OUR RESPONSIBILITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

#### HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, the people of the Arab world are largely illiterate, wracked by disease and poverty, without the education and organization to enrich their harsh desert land. For decades, even the wealth of their oil fields has gone into palaces and Cadillacs, and above all into the armaments and trappings of war. For decades, irresponsible leaders have turned their people's frustration outward—toward the West, and to that tiny outpost of Western culture and ideals which is the State of Israel.

Israel has been fighting for her very existence too long. Only her arms and courage have allowed this tiny nation, with less than the population of New York City's Queens County, to defeat the armies of nations with total populations of tens of millions.

This gallant democracy, this nation of survivors from history's greatest example of man's capacity for senseless cruelty to his fellow man, cannot be allowed to succumb to the threats and assaults of her neighbors. And while this period of danger continues—until lasting peace settlement is achieved—we must maintain our vigilance in her behalf.

Since the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, the Middle East has been the setting for three bloody wars linked by border skirmishes and verbal threats. These conflicts have been both the flame and the fuel of an intense level of hatred in the area.

The loathing and hatred between Arab and Jew is an all consuming thing. Why has such mutual hostilities developed?

As many of us know, the story goes back nearly 2,000 years to the expulsion of the Jews from Palestine by the Romans in the year A.D. 70. This Diaspora marked the birth of a dream harbored by Jews throughout the world that someday they would be able to return as a people to the promised land. At last, in 1917, their chance came. Britain consented to establish a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

However, the Jews who immigrated to Palestine in the 1920's and 1930's, to buy land and to create a new state, were regarded as unwanted outsiders by many of the Arabs, who had been living in this barren land since the days of Christ. Under the yoke of foreign oppressors themselves for centuries, these Arabs dreamed too of an independent Palestine. Increasingly, growing Arab nationalism and Zionism clashed, often violently.

After World War II, under mounting pressure, the British proposed dividing Palestine into two states, one Arab and one Jewish. The Arabs protested that they wanted nothing less than one Palestine under Arab control. It might be true, they argued, that the Jews had been persecuted terribly in Europe. But then let Europe bear the cost of solving its own conscience, not the Arab world.

Without first reconciling these grave differences, the United Nations adopted the British partition plan, and in May 1948 Israel formally became a state. Outraged, the Arab armies attacked the new nation, vowing to drive the Jews into the sea. But, Israel, even in its infancy, had much more spirit and zest and determination and discipline than the Arabs. They were tougher inwardly and outwardly than the Arabs.

Israel did win the 1948 war, but peace in the Middle East was not realized. The Arab nations steadfastly refused to sign a peace treaty for this would have amounted to an unpalatable concession—recognition of the State of Israel. Instead, they declared they would not rest until our Jewish brethren was destroyed.

In less than a decade, the Middle East was ablaze again.

Following Egyptian President Nasser's nationalism of the Suez Canal in 1956 at

which time he barred the passage of all Israeli ships, and his blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba—Israel's only remaining outlet to the East—Britain, France, and Israel together invaded Egypt.

Within a matter of days, Israel had routed Nasser's Army and driven across the Sinai Peninsula to the Suez. But again victory did not result in a peace treaty. A cease fire was arranged which called for Israel to withdraw her armies, and the situation remained as explosive as before.

Since then, the Egyptian Army has grown in power—and continues to grow in power. Unified Arab command has forced Jordan to double the size of its army. Sophisticated weapons—jets, guided missiles and submarines—continue to flow in from the Soviet bloc.

These arms are a threat to peace. They waste valuable development capital; they threaten the only near Eastern state with traditions of democracy.

The irresponsible and dangerous nature of the course chosen by Israel's enemies is becoming more clear to the world every day. And our commitment to Israel must be equally clear; it must be a total one. We owe our Jewish brethren nothing less.

#### JOHNS HOPKINS PROFESSOR SAYS RISKS OF STARTING ON "SAFEGUARD" ABM OUTWEIGH ANY BENEFITS

#### HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 27, 1969

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, Prof. Robert Rothstein, in a second article on the ABM in the March 29, 1969, New Republic, says:

The risks of doing without a new weapons system may be much less than the costs of learning how to live with it.

I commend his perceptive observations on the so-called Safeguard ABM system to my colleagues. The text of the article follows:

NIXON'S ABM: VERY THIN INDEED

(By Robert Rothstein)

All that was missing from Mr. Nixon's virtuoso performance, when he announced his intention to begin deployment of a modified ABM system primarily designed to protect our land-based retaliatory forces, was the invocation of Eisenhower's name, or at least his benediction by telephone "consultation." Perhaps the omission is explained by the fact that several of Eisenhower's leading scientific advisers had spent a good deal of time that very week blasting the system as ineffective, unnecessary and provocative. Not at all, replied the President; instead, it will protect us from accidental attacks, from a Chinese attack within the next decade, and from a direct Soviet attack against our land-based retaliatory forces. He also assured us that the Russians will not regard the ABM as provocative, for its defensive intent is "unmistakable."

The contention that an ABM system would save lives in the event of an accidental missile strike, presumably involving only a handful of missiles, makes some sense in the abstract, but loses most of its force when placed in context. We cannot protect our-



March 27, 1969

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — Extensions of Remarks

E 2499

**WHAT EVERY EMPLOYER SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THE HANDICAPPED****HON. JOHN JARMAN**

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 27, 1969

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, the accomplishments of our youth today are too often submerged by the tidal wave of headlines about demonstrations and other displays of discontentment. Yet, some of us are likely to overlook the deep insight and keen interest our youth shares with certain problems existing in our present-day society. In this respect, I would like to take this opportunity to call attention to one particular young girl who has given serious thought to the problem of the handicapped person and his desire to be employed.

Becky Schumacher of Oklahoma City is one of this year's Ability Counts Contest entrants, and for her theme, entitled "What Every Employer Should Know About the Handicapped," Becky received top honors. For the benefit of my colleagues, I would like to include in the RECORD this outstanding essay:

**WHAT EVERY EMPLOYER SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THE HANDICAPPED**

(By Becky Schumacher)

The American way of life is taking on new dimensions. The canopy of opportunity is spreading over segments of human life which previously knew only the oppression of despair and prejudice. We are becoming an enlightened people; yet corners of darkness remain—shadows cast by fallacious information and conceptions. One of these shadows is the prejudice against the handicapped. To dispel this shadow, many must know the facts now available about the handicapped.

Otherwise-willing employers hesitate to hire the handicapped because of misinformation. Some hesitate because they believe the handicapped worker to be accident prone and thus assume that the company's workmen's compensation rates will rise. However, neither premise is true. Handicapped persons have about the same accident rate as that of the average work force. The handicapped are acutely aware of the results of accidents; consequently, their accident rate, in fact, is frequently lower. Since they are not accident prone, hiring handicapped workers does not raise the workmen's compensation rates. Only two factors determine these rates: the relative hazards of a company's work and its actual accident rate. The physical disability of the personnel is not a determining factor. Other employers hesitate because they believe that insurance company regulations prohibit their hiring handicapped persons. This, too, is untrue. The insurance contract says nothing whatsoever about the physical condition of workers whom an employer may hire. These premises, if true, would form valid barriers to the employment of the handicapped. However, none of them are true. Thus, the light of truth should eradicate these barriers.

Many of yesterday's reasons for reluctance to employ the handicapped are no longer sound. In today's society there are many jobs to be filled; and with automation, fewer of these required physical dexterity. The United States Department of Labor found that in a single ten-year period, thirteen million jobs disappeared and twenty million new jobs became available, creating a net gain of seven million new jobs; most of which were less physically demanding. We know that handicapped workers can perform these

jobs with competence. Evidence that disabled persons are effective and productive employees has increased over the years. Recent studies made by the Veterans' Administration and the Rehabilitation Services Administration show that the quality and quantity of work by the handicapped compared favorably with that of able-bodied persons, as did their rates of accidents and absenteeism. These studies also show that handicapped persons help stabilize the work force. When properly placed, they tend to stick to their jobs because they know the difficulty of finding employment.

Knowledge can dispel many misconceptions about the handicapped, and this knowledge must include facts about the mentally retarded also. Those handicapped mentally show two strong points: a desire to perform well and the initiative to work hard. The mentally retarded are co-operative workers who stay with the numerous jobs which require repetitive, routine tasks. These people have known much failure and, like all other human beings, yearn for an experience of success which will allow them to retain their self-respect. The repetitive nature of these jobs provides the opportunity for such success.

Prejudice concerning the handicapped is often fostered by the image many have when they hear the word *handicapped*, an image of a completely dependent person, unable to perform the basic functions of life. However, some employers know from experience that this picture is distorted, that the handicapped individual when matched to job requirements is no longer "handicapped." In fact, employers have found it advantageous to give certain jobs requiring sharpened sensibilities to handicapped persons. These employers know that the image of the handicapped as a useless, dependent member of society is a false one, that exactly the contrary is true. The handicapped worker seeks to command respect; he wants no preferential treatment. The greatest service an employer can render the handicapped is to treat him as he would any other employee.

Irony, is it not, that in the twentieth century, when enlightenment is our crowning virtue, our knowledge of things far outstrips our knowledge of people. However, a new force is stirring in our country, and this force consists of kinetic energy, a desire to know more about people and to provide each of them a place, where he can know self-respect and have assurance of his worth to mankind. The handicapped will share in the results of this new force. They will soon find that for which they seek, a product of our new dimension.

**IDAHO STUDENTS BACK EDUCATOR****HON. JAMES A. McCLURE**

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 27, 1969

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. Speaker, University of Idaho students were told in mid-March that students all over the country will rebel because that is the only thing left to do. The speaker was leftist leader Thomas Hayden, a cofounder of the Students for a Democratic Society and a guest speaker at the university's annual Borah Foundation Symposium. His subject was "Violence and War," and Hayden predicted:

A person who is in every respect a normal American will become a warrior.

Two days after his fiery speech and grim predictions, university students—4,500 strong—gathered in torrents of rain before the house of University President Ernest W. Hartung. They were not there as warriors, and they did not carry protest signs. They were simply there expressing their support for Hartung and his policies.

Student body president Larry Craig of Midvale, Idaho, summed it up well:

President Ernest Hartung has moved the University of Idaho forward in three years as it has not been moved in 50 years. He has given to education and to the State of Idaho progressive leadership. Through his leadership, we have seen change without the violence seen at many other universities throughout the country.

Civic and educational leaders joined the students in their rally. The remarks of Moscow, Idaho Chamber of Commerce president Philip Gullfooy were particularly appropriate:

I see here tonight thousands of salesmen doing a great job for the University of Idaho. This is probably the first time a college demonstration has ever been held for and not against a president.

Mr. Speaker and my honorable colleagues, I am proud of those students and I want to take this opportunity to pay my greatest respect to a fine university and its leader. All too often, American students are guilty of destruction and pointless dissent.

I think the students at the University of Idaho have proven that they can work in close cooperation with the educational administration to achieve common goals and intellectual freedom.

**MONEY LASTS LONGER IN AUSTIN, TEX.****HON. J. J. PICKLE**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 27, 1969

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, the Bureau of Labor Statistics has made official what I have been championing all along. According to statistics compiled in "Three Standards of Living" issued last week, it costs less for a family of four to live in Austin, Tex., than any other urban area in the Nation.

The model budgets set forth by the Department of Labor are designed for high, moderate, and low family incomes. In each instance, it takes less money to live in Austin than anywhere else. Specifically: the "high" budget on the national average is \$13,050—in Austin, to maintain the same standards requires only \$11,299; the "moderate" budget nationally is \$9,076—in Austin it is \$7,952; and the "low" budget nationally is \$5,915—in Austin, \$5,237. All budgets include taxes.

Statistics are useful only to statisticians and are not very meaningful to individuals; but it is comforting to know that dollars can go farther in Austin. Especially when we read that the consumer price index rose 0.4 percent in

S 3232

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

March 26, 1969

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Utah (Mr. MOSS) be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 309) to provide for improved employee-management relations in the postal service.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the names of the Senator from New York (Mr. GOODELL) and the Senator from Florida (Mr. GURNEY) be added as cosponsors of the bill (S. 335) to prevent the importation of endangered species of fish or wildlife into the United States; and, to prohibit the interstate shipment of any domestic species taken contrary to State law.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at its next printing, the names of the Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. NELSON), the Senator from New York (Mr. JAVITS), the Senator from Montana (Mr. MANSFIELD), the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. BROOKE), the Senator from Illinois (Mr. DIRKSEN), the Senator from Alaska (Mr. STEVENS), the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. FONG), the Senator from Utah (Mr. MOSS), and the Senator from Montana (Mr. METCALF) be added as cosponsors of the bill (S. 1519) to establish a National Commission on Libraries and Information Science.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the names of the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. COOK), the Senator from Kansas (Mr. DOLE), the Senator from Nebraska (Mr. HRUSKA), the Senator from Iowa (Mr. MILLER), and the Senator from California (Mr. MURPHY) be added as cosponsors of the bill (S. 1478) to establish a commission to study the antitrust laws.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the distinguished junior Senator from Alaska (Mr. GRAVEL) be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 607) the Utility Consumers Counsel Act of 1969.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the names of the Senator from Idaho (Mr. CHURCH), the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. RANDOLPH), and the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. WILLIAMS) be added as cosponsors of the bill (S. 819) to exempt senior citizens from paying national parks and forests entrance, admission, or user fees.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Texas (Mr. TOWER), I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the names of the following Senators be added as cosponsors of the bill (S. 364) to equalize the retirement pay of members of uniformed services of

equal rank and years of service: Mr. ALLEN, Mr. ALLOTT, Mr. BAKER, Mr. BENNETT, Mr. COOK, Mr. COOPER, Mr. COTTON, Mr. CRANSTON, Mr. CURTIS, Mr. DODD, Mr. DOLE, Mr. DOMINICK, Mr. EASTLAND, Mr. FANNIN, Mr. FONG, Mr. GOLDWATER, Mr. HOLLINGS, Mr. INOUE, Mr. MAGNUSON, Mr. MATHIAS, Mr. MCCARTHY, Mr. McGOVERN, Mr. MOSS, Mr. MURPHY, Mr. PEARSON, Mr. PELL, Mr. PROUTY, Mr. RANDOLPH, Mr. SCOTT, Mr. SPARKMAN, Mr. THURMOND, and Mr. YARBOROUGH.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Alaska (Mr. STEVENS) be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 1623), the Criminal Activities Profits Act.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Alaska (Mr. STEVENS) be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 1624), the Wagering Tax Amendments of 1969.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the distinguished Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. HARRIS) be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 845), the ammunition redefinition bill.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the distinguished Senator from Colorado (Mr. ALLOTT) be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 1613) to rename Glen Canyon Dam the Dwight D. Eisenhower Dam.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Texas (Mr. YARBOROUGH) be added as a cosponsor of the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 1), the direct popular vote for President amendment.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### SENATE RESOLUTION 171—RESOLUTION TO PROVIDE FOR THE FURTHER PRINTING OF THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON AGING

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 171); which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration:

S. RES. 171

Resolved, that there be printed for the use of the Senate Special Committee on Aging two thousand nine hundred additional copies of its report to the Senate, "Developments in Aging—1968," pursuant to Senate Resolution 223.

*ME*

#### SENATE RESOLUTION 172—RESOLUTION TO PROVIDE FOR THE EMIGRATION OF IRAQI JEWS

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey (for himself, Mr. CASE, Mr. CRANSTON, Mr.

GOODELL, Mr. HARRIS, Mr. HART, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. MATHIAS, Mr. MONDALE, Mr. MURPHY, Mr. NELSON, Mr. PROXMIER, Mr. RIBICOFF, Mr. SAXBE, Mr. SCHWEIKER, Mr. SCOTT, Mr. TYDINGS, Mr. YOUNG of Ohio, and Mr. GRIFFIN) submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 172); which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

S. RES. 172

Whereas there are approximately 2,500 Jewish people living in Iraq, many of whose families have resided in that land for generations dating back to the Babylonian era;

Whereas Iraq is engaged in a campaign of harassment, intimidation and persecution to the point of depriving them of a means of livelihood and of their civil rights and liberties;

Whereas many of these Jewish people now find it necessary and desirable to leave Iraq;

Whereas several nations, including the United States, offer opportunity for asylum and refuge to any of these persecuted people who may be permitted to emigrate from Iraq; and

Whereas it has been the traditional and historic policy of the United States to be actively concerned with those subject to persecution in foreign lands: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that the President of the United States undertake negotiations, alone or in concert with other heads of state to secure and facilitate the emigration to acceptable lands of refuge of the Jewish remnant in Iraq.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I have today joined in sponsoring the resolution urging assistance to the Jews of Iraq so that they may escape from the nightmare existence which they are now experiencing. The 2,500 Jews remaining in Iraq are all that is left of a once proud and flourishing community dating back to ancient Baghdad. No Jews have been permitted to leave Iraq since 1963, and during this time they have become the scapegoats of a military regime.

Since June 1967 they have been living under virtual house arrest, under constant surveillance and harassment. They have been fired from their jobs and forbidden to sell their property. Their telephones have been taken away from them, and their mail censored.

The infamous spy trial and public hanging of 14 defendants, including nine Jews, which took place in Baghdad in January shocked the world. This action by the Iraqi military regime caused worldwide condemnation. The condemnation has not influenced the regime in power. They continue the systematic persecution of the Jews of Iraq.

The resolution we submit today urges that the President of the United States undertake negotiations, alone or in concert with other heads of state, to secure and facilitate the emigration to acceptable lands of refuge of the Jewish remnant in Iraq.

The U.S. immigration laws will permit them to come here, and they will be welcomed. Many other countries will also open their doors, if these unfortunate people are permitted to leave Iraq.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, the persecution and harassment of Jews living in Arab countries, coupled with the flurry of anti-Semitism in other areas of the world, causes men of conscience to be greatly concerned.

(b) The portion of such revenues which should be allotted to each State and the extent to which each State should be required to distribute any of such revenues received by it to its local governments.

(c) The best manner of achieving an equitable allotment of any shared revenues among the States while helping to equalize the public services available to citizens in the different States.

(d) The extent of Federal control and supervision which should be exercised over the disbursement of any shared revenues to the States and local governments and the uses to which such revenues may be applied.

(e) The effect which the operation of any such system of revenue sharing might have upon the viability of the States as members of our Federal system.

(f) The extent to which any such system for the disbursing of Federal revenues should supplement or supplant alternative methods for the utilization of such revenues, such as specific grant-in-aid programs, direct Federal spending programs, tax reduction, and retirement of national debt.

(g) Any ramifications which might accompany the establishment of such a revenue sharing system not otherwise considered pursuant to a determination of the preceding questions.

SEC. 4. The Commission may transmit to the President and the Congress such interim reports as it deems advisable concerning its findings and recommendations and shall transmit a final report to the President and the Congress not later than January 1, 1971. Such final report shall contain a detailed statement of the findings and conclusions of the Commission together with its recommendations for such legislation as it deems appropriate. The Commission shall cease to exist thirty days after transmitting its final report.

SEC. 5. (a) A member of the Commission who is a Member of Congress, in the executive branch of the Government, a governor of a State, or a mayor shall serve without compensation in addition to that received in his regular public employment, but shall be entitled to reimbursement for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred in the performance of duties vested in the Commission.

(b) A member of the Commission who is from private life shall receive compensation at the rate of \$100 per diem while engaged in the actual performance of duties vested in the Commission and shall be entitled to reimbursement for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred in the performance of such duties.

SEC. 6. (a) The Commission shall have power to appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as it deems advisable, without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates. In addition, the Commission may procure temporary and intermittent services to the same extent as is authorized for the departments by section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (60 Stat. 810), but at rates not to exceed \$75 per diem for individuals.

(b) The President is authorized to appoint, by and with the consent of the Senate, an executive secretary to oversee the work of the staff of the Commission under the general direction of the Commission. The executive secretary may be paid without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of title 5, United States Code, relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates.

SEC. 7. The Department of the Treasury shall provide for the Commission necessary administrative services (including those related to budgeting, accounting, financial re-

porting, personnel, and procurement) for which payment shall be made in advance, or by reimbursement, from funds of the Commission in such amounts as may be agreed upon by the Commission and the Secretary of the Treasury.

SEC. 8. (a) The Commission is authorized to negotiate and enter into contracts with private firms, institutions, and individuals to carry out such studies and to prepare such reports as the Commission determines to be necessary to the discharge of its duties.

(b) The Commission is authorized to secure directly from any executive department, agency, or independent instrumentality of the Government any information it deems necessary to carry out its functions under this Act; and each such department, agency, and instrumentality is authorized and directed to cooperate with the Commission and, to the extent permitted by law, to furnish such information to the Commission, upon request made by the Chairman.

SEC. 9. The Commission, or any subcommittee or panel thereof as authorized by the Commission, may, for the purpose of carrying out its functions and duties, hold such hearings and sit and act at such times and places as the Commission or such subcommittee or panel may deem advisable.

SEC. 10. There is hereby established an interagency committee to be known as the Advisory Committee on Tax Sharing, consisting of the heads of any departments, agencies, and independent instrumentalities of the Federal Government (or their designees) concerned with or interested in any areas of study considered by the Commission, to advise the Commission and to maintain effective liaison with the resources of such departments, agencies, and instrumentalities. Such Committee shall elect a Chairman from among its members.

SEC. 11. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Commission, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, such sums, not to exceed \$1,000,000, as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

#### ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, at the request of the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. NELSON), I ask unanimous consent that at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Missouri (Mr. EAGLETON) be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 1612) the generic labeling bill.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, at the request of the Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. NELSON), I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. WILLIAMS) and the Senator from Maine (Mr. MUSKIE) be added as cosponsors of the bill (S. 860) to create a Cabinet-level Department of Consumer Affairs.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Washington (Mr. MAGNUSON) I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. ANDERSON) be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 1598) the Hospital Emergency Assistance Act.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE) I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the names of the Senator from Alaska (Mr. GRAVEL), the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. HARRIS), the Senator from Michigan (Mr. HART), the Senator from Washington (Mr. JACKSON), the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY), the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. MCGEE), the Senator from Montana (Mr. METCALF), the Senator from Utah (Mr. MOSS), the Senator from Maine (Mr. MUSKIE), the Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. PELL), the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. WILLIAMS), the Senator from Texas (Mr. YARBOROUGH), and the Senator from Ohio (Mr. YOUNG), be added as cosponsors of the bill (S. 1291) to provide an expanded legal services program within the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. WILLIAMS) be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 1090) to authorize funds to carry out the purposes of title V of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, as amended, and for other purposes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the junior Senator from Connecticut (Mr. RIBICOFF) be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 1), the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Land Acquisition Policies Act of 1969.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### ADDITIONAL COSPONSOR OF RESOLUTION

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. RIBICOFF) be added as a cosponsor of the resolution (S. Res. 78) to establish a Select Committee on Technology and the Human Environment.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the names of the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. MCGEE), the Senator from Utah (Mr. BENNETT), the Senators from Nevada (Mr. BIBLE and Mr. CANNON), the Senator from Oregon (Mr. HATFIELD), the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. YOUNG), and the Senator from Arizona (Mr. GOLDWATER) be added as cosponsors of the bill (S. 28) the Water Rights Act of 1969.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY) be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 1446) dealing with natural resources.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.



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The brutal and barbaric actions of the Iraq Government toward its Jewish citizens, along with the repressive atmosphere prevalent in Egypt, Syria, and Libya, deserve the condemnation of the civilized world.

This prejudice and bigotry have promoted irrationality and prevented a truly lasting settlement to the political problems of the Middle East. While the history of man is checkered with these illogical hatreds, it seems to me that modern man must make progress toward solving these primitive biases.

The persecution of innocent people must cease and the intolerable conditions ought not to be permitted by the Arab governments. Meaningful steps must be taken by responsible government officials to still the shrill cries of hatred that trumpet throughout many Arab lands.

Today I am cosponsoring a resolution calling for an end to the intimidation of Jews in Iraq, and the spirit of it applies equally to other nations of the world. This Senate resolution specifically urges that Jewish citizens be free to emigrate from their native land if they wish to do so.

The deprivation of basic human rights and civil liberties is senseless and cannot be allowed to exist free of dissent.

#### NOTICE CONCERNING NOMINATION BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, the following nomination has been referred to and is now pending before the Committee on the Judiciary:

Louis O. Aleksich, of Montana, to be U.S. marshal for the district of Montana for the term of 4 years, vice George A. Bukovatz.

On behalf of the Committee on the Judiciary, notice is hereby given to all persons interested in this nomination to file with the committee, in writing, on or before Tuesday, April 1, 1969, any representations or objections they may wish to present concerning the above nomination, with a further statement whether it is their intention to appear at any hearing which may be scheduled.

#### NOTICE OF HEARINGS ON OMNIBUS JUDGESHIP BILL

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, the Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery will begin hearings on S. 952, the omnibus judgeship bill, and related bills, including, S. 474, S. 567, S. 585, S. 852, S. 898, S. 1036, and S. 1216, on April 15 and 16, at 10 a.m. in room 6226, New Senate Office Building.

All persons wishing to be heard on these bills or on the need for additional Federal judgeships and related matters should contact immediately the subcommittee in room 6306, New Senate Office Building.

#### NOTICE CONCERNING NOMINATIONS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, the following nominations have been referred to and are now pending before the Committee on the Judiciary:

Harold O. Bullis, of North Dakota, to be U.S. attorney for the district of North Dakota for the term of 4 years, vice John O. Garaas.

George W. F. Cook, of Vermont, to be U.S. attorney for the district of Vermont for the term of 4 years, vice Joseph F. Radigan.

James L. Treece, of Colorado, to be U.S. attorney for the district of Colorado for the term of 4 years, vice Lawrence M. Henry.

Benjamin F. Holman, of the District of Columbia, to be Director, Community Relations Service, for the term of 4 years, vice Roger W. Wilkins.

On behalf of the Committee on the Judiciary, notice is hereby given to all persons interested in these nominations to file with the committee, in writing, on or before Tuesday, April 1, 1969, any representations or objections they may wish to present concerning the above nominations, with a further statement whether it is their intention to appear at any hearing which may be scheduled.

#### NOTICE OF HEARING

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I would like to announce for the information of the Senate and the public that the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs will hold an open hearing on the nomination of Mr. Harrison Loesch, of Montrose, Colo., to be Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Public Land Management. The hearing will be held on Monday, March 31, 1969, at 10 a.m. in the committee room, 3110 New Senate Office Building.

Any Member of the Senate who is interested is invited to attend and participate in the hearing.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a biographical sketch of Mr. Loesch be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the biographical sketch was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### DATA: HARRISON LOESCH

Family: Born Chicago, Illinois, March 10, 1916, to Joseph B. Loesch and Constance Harrison Loesch; married to Louise Mills, June 19, 1940; children, one son, Jeffrey H. Loesch, born June 14, 1946.

Education: Montrose Colorado school; B.A., Colorado College, 1936; Denver University Law School, 1936-1937; LL.B. Yale University, 1939.

Military service: Enlisted Pvt. AUS, 3-1942; OCS, Field Intelligence training, commission 10-1942, assigned 314th T.C. Gp., 9th A.F., North Africa (1943), Sicily, England, France, Germany. Distinguished Unit Citation, Air Medal (Cluster). Discharged, major, 10-1945.

Bar admissions: Admitted to Bar, Colorado, 1939; United States District Court; United States Court of Appeals, 10th Circuit.

Professional associations: Moynihan & Huges, Associate, 1939-1942; Strang & Loesch, 1945-1956; Loesch & Kreidler, 1956-1961; Loesch, Kreidler & Durham, 1961 to date.

Bar association memberships: Seventh Judicial District (President 1956); Colorado (Board of Governors 1950-1952; 1960-1963; President 1961-1962); American.

Organizations: Rotary, Elks, University Club of Denver, VFW, American Legion, Boy Scouts of America.

Politics: Republican.

Religion: Protestant (Preference, Episcopal).

Public land law experience: As a Colorado lawyer, I have had extensive representational

experience with the Bureau of Land Management and all phases of the Taylor Grazing Act including process, procedure, administrative appeals and litigation covering rights and duties of permittees, exchanges, sales of isolated tracts, withdrawals, grazing districts, and homestead entries.

During the uranium boom of the 1950's, I became experienced in the AEC procedures involving exploratory permits, leases and claims on withdrawn lands, as well as the ordinary process concerning mining claims on open public lands. These latter are of course the same as lode mining matters which had already been a substantial part of my practice.

In connection with the establishment and enlargement of the Black Canyon National Monument, I have dealt with the hierarchy of the National Park Service on trades, purchases, re-surveys and other administrative procedures, and have been instrumental in effecting compromises which benefited both the public and the land owners.

Of late years, I have handled the procedures provided for granting title to small residential tracts to long-time occupants of invalid (or invalidated) mining or mill-site claims.

I claim expertise in Colorado water law, and have handled all phases of individual and ditch company appropriation procedures, development, and litigation. I have dealt with the Bureau of Reclamation, the Uncompahgre Project Association, and the Tri-County Water Conservancy District on administrative accommodations for development of municipal and rural domestic supply for the entire area. Water matters have become of particular moment with progress of Colorado River development upstream from Glen Canyon, and have intimate connection with the use and disposition of public lands in the entire 5-state area, so acquaintance with Bureau of Reclamation rules, regulations and procedures is pertinent.

I have handled negotiations for access roads to public lands and have participated in litigation concerning them. I have some knowledge of the procedures involved in obtaining licenses for transmission line rights of way across public lands, and the rules and regulations involved in the process of building access roads to private lands.

This experience has afforded me a reasonable knowledge of the organization, structure and function of the Bureau of Land Management, the Bureau of Reclamation, the Rural Electrification Administration, the Forest Service, the Geological Survey, the Land Office, the Bureau of Mines, and the state organizations which interact with and supplement them.

#### NOTICE OF HEARINGS

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, for the information of Members of the Senate and the public, the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee has scheduled the following hearings before the

March 27, full committee: 10 a.m., executive, room 3112. Briefing and information hearing on operations under Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act.

March 31: Nomination hearing of Harrison Loesch, Assistant Secretary for Public Lands.

April 15 and 16, full committee: 10 a.m., open, room 3110. S. 1075 and other measures to establish a national environmental policy.

April 22, full committee: 10 a.m., open, room 3110. S. 1076, Youth Conservation Corps bill.

April 29 and 30, full committee: 10 a.m., open, room 3110. Alaska native land claims.

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At the April 15 and 16 hearings on S. 1075 and other measures to establish a national environmental policy, the committee will hear testimony from representatives of the administration and from the general public.

At the April 22 hearing on S. 1076, a bill to establish a Youth Conservation Corps, testimony will be received from representatives from the administration and the general public.

At the April 29 and 30 hearings on Alaska Native land claims, testimony will be received from the representatives of the administration, the State of Alaska, the Alaska natives, and the general public. At the present time, there are no bills pending before the committee on this subject. Last February I requested the Department of the Interior to draft legislation designed to implement recommendations for a proposed legislative settlement which were made by the Federal Field Committee for Development Planning in Alaska. When this drafting service is completed, the measure will be introduced for the committee's consideration together with other bills which may be introduced prior to the hearing.

## RICHARD BREVARD RUSSELL

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, earlier this month, I stated to the Senate my great pleasure whenever I see tribute paid to the extraordinary capabilities of Senator RICHARD RUSSELL, one of the Senate's true true giants of all times.

It has been good to note the remarks of Senators on both sides of the aisle in tribute to him this week, and I want to add my own words to the expressions of warm wishes for more carefree days ahead for the able senior Senator from Georgia.

The news of his illness is hurtful to me, as it surely is to all who know him. I wish that it lay within my power to perform some deed that would take away this trouble which has come to him.

This legislative body and this Nation have real need of his wisdom, his tremendous capacities for dedicated service, his proven abilities for leadership and conciliation, and his talent for making his associates want to stand tall in relation to his own great personal stature.

Indeed, when I think of the current wide usage of the term "charisma," I feel surprise that many years ago it was not applied to RICHARD BREVARD RUSSELL. Webster's dictionary describes the term as "a quality of extraordinary spiritual power attributed to a person capable of eliciting popular support in the direction of human affairs."

Can there be any doubt in anyone's mind, who has seen and heard the Members of the Senate speaking on the floor this week and in the years gone by, that the words spoken are testimony to a man—RICHARD BREVARD RUSSELL—who through his own great quality of spirit leads others to rise beyond and above themselves to serve the best interests of this Republic?

I believe that deep measure of charisma would have redounded to even

greater benefit for this Nation had the turn of the wheel of political fortune placed him in the White House, giving to all Americans a greater exposure to his influence and added opportunity to achieve new levels.

THE SLEEPING BEAR DUNES  
NATIONAL LAKESHORE

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I have introduced this year a bill to establish the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore in Michigan.

The purpose of this legislation is to perpetuate for the benefit and enjoyment of people now and in future generations, the special beauty and values of the Sleeping Bear Dunes landscape.

The 61,000 acres which we have carefully designated for this national lakeshore encompass an expensive diversity of scenic beauty. Crowning it all are the great dunes, themselves. Yet, our objective is not only to preserve the dunes, but also the setting of forested hills and natural lakeshore in which they are found.

Again, today, I stress the urgency of this project. This nationally significant landscape stands poised on the edge of decision. This Congress must decide. We can act now to pass S. 1023 and the identical House bill, H.R. 4287, establishing the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, to adequately protect and appropriately plan for the development of this landscape. If we do not, this special landscape cannot long withstand the threats of cottage subdivision, commercial development, and honky-tonk encroachment. These destructive forces have gathered pressure in recent years. Now, they are closing in for the kill.

Mr. President, never before in the 10 years that I have been actively working for this project have I felt this heavy weight of utter urgency. This is the year the die will be cast.

I am delighted, therefore, to call to the attention of my colleagues the editorial support of the New York Times for the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial, "Of Men and Dunes," from the Sunday New York Times for March 16, 1969, be included at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

## OF MEN AND DUNES

Natural sand dunes, the unending masterwork of wind and water, are among nature's more fascinating and useful creations. To the human eye, their clean lines and fantastic and changing shapes are a delight. To shore birds and migratory birds, they nurture and protect life itself. Birds nest in the beachgrasses and depend for food on the salt ponds and fresh-water pools behind the dunes. To the sea and the lakes, dunes are nature's own barrier to the devastation effects of violent storms.

But something there is in many men that does not love a dune. The only wild, clear call that they hear at the edge of the sea is the screech of profit and the bulldozer's mournful crunch. The land speculator and the summer cottage builder, the highway contractor and the jetport planner, all these

see only a beach to be leveled and subdivided into lots and paved with blacktop and sold for dollars.

In recent years, the struggle to save surviving sections of the nation's seashores and lakeshores has made progress. From Cape Cod and Fire Island to Texas's Padre Island and California's Point Reyes, some dunes have been saved by Federal law. But more remains to be done, and old battles have sometimes to be won a second and a third time.

The dunes created by Lake Michigan provided two such battlegrounds. The Indiana Dunes, just east of Chicago at the southern end of the lake, were rescued after a long fight between conservationists led by former Senator Paul H. Douglas and steel companies which wanted to build a deep water port. But the Chicago, South Shore and South Bend Railroad is now pressing the National Park Service for permission to construct a marshalling yard within the boundaries of the lakeshore.

Before this railroad issue is even settled, there is already talk in Indiana that a new jetport may be built immediately south of the national lakeshore. If the so-called Chesterton site is selected, jets would spew oil and fumes as well as roaring noise over the dunes.

Far to the north at the western edge of the State of Michigan, the lake has created the beautiful Sleeping Bear Dunes, so named because their profile from a distance resembles a great bear curled in sleep. Ten years ago the National Park Service identified these dunes as one of the dozen shoreline areas in the nation most worth saving. Michigan's Senators introduced a bill to protect them as a national lakeshore in 1959. The years have passed but the bill has not.

Intensive private development now menaces the viability of Sleeping Bear as a national lakeshore. Meanwhile, the cost of the Government of acquiring the land has risen by one-third. The bill has been reintroduced in both houses of Congress, but hearings have been delayed until the Nixon Administration makes its position known. It is imperative that legislative action be completed this year. Congress waits, but the grasping hands of the land speculators are busy. Soon the Sleeping Bear may not be sleeping but dead.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, this welcome expression from a great national newspaper well known for its concern with conservation is another illustration of the growing support for the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore. It is my hope now that the new administration will move with dispatch to support this legislation, and that the Congress will address itself to this matter with the sense of urgency that is required.

SENATOR GOLDWATER ADDRESSES  
THE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN  
FIGHTER PILOTS

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, on Friday, March 21, my good friend and colleague, Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, addressed the Association of American Fighter Pilots in Houston, Tex. His remarks on that occasion have, I believe, an important and significant bearing on numerous matters now under consideration in the Congress of the United States.

In short, Mr. President, the Senator from Arizona deplores what he describes as a deliberate campaign being directed against the concept of military strength in the United States. Because of its timeliness and importance I ask unanimous

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other men and women knowledgeable on Southeast Asian affairs.

The formula has to do with the present government in Saigon—the Saigon government wants a military victory so that it can maintain itself in power. For the Saigon regime only military victory can assure its continuance because it has little popular support and governs by terror.

Senator McGovern said it best on March 17:

We are trying to win on the battlefield and in Paris what the Saigon government long ago lost beyond all recall; the allegiance of its own people and the control of its own land.

There is no more time for "considering military options," no more time for "improving the bargaining position." In the name of decency and commonsense, there must be no further continuation of the present war policy, however, disguised in rhetoric or more hollow predictions of victory yet to come.

At this important crossroads for our Nation, I would hope that America could reap the bright promise of the President's inaugural address; and that in the spirit of that excellent speech, Mr. Nixon will reject the counsels of war and move to end the killing, and turn American energies back to the solution of our own problems and the search for a more decent world.

The voices of the American military are once more telling their old, and sad story—"Escalate the war a little bit more, bomb Cambodia, start another offensive, resume bombing of North Vietnam, and we will win."

The truth is clear. Escalation will not win any victories in Vietnam. Instead, it will increase the total of the dead, American and Vietnamese. Today, we have more troops in Vietnam than we had in Korea, and we have suffered as many or more casualties, but we have no victory, not even a stalemate. The truth is American military forces cannot win a victory in Vietnam, except by either killing every Vietnamese, or placing one guard over every Vietnamese.

Mr. Nixon, the unholy record of Vietnam is clear.

The only option left is peace.

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EDWARDS of California. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from California. (Mr. BURTON).

Mr. BURTON of California. I would like to express my own profound admiration and thanks to my distinguished colleague from California (Mr. EDWARDS), not only for his leadership today in helping bring this dialog to those here in the Chamber and throughout the country, but much more importantly, for his leadership over the past 4 years in this hitherto somewhat lonely effort to arrest and change the direction of our country's policy in Southeast Asia.

His record has been one of courage and principle, his numbers have been added to in recent months, but there are many more of our colleagues—I am sure he will agree with me—whom we need before this battle can be won on this floor.

We are grateful to those who have recently joined our ranks, and we are even more grateful to those in the country—who with their letterwriting and communications have expressed their con-

cern that this war be ended and ended now. I am sure the gentleman shares with me my gratitude to all those concerned citizens in the land who have been so very helpful in this very, very important effort to achieve peace.

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from California (Mr. BURTON). I cannot add words that will say it any better.

I do hope this dialog we have had today with so many Members of the House of Representatives from every part of the United States participating, will have its effect throughout the land, and the Congress—the Senate and the House of Representatives—will be overwhelmed with messages from the people of the United States instructing us to do everything possible to bring peace—not next year, but this year, immediately.

Mr. Speaker, I yield at this time to the gentleman from New York (Mr. RYAN).

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to commend the gentleman in the well, the gentleman from California (Mr. EDWARDS), for his very splendid statement this afternoon and for his abiding concern with peace and the question of Vietnam. The need to reassess past assumptions has been clear to the gentleman for some time, and he has constantly and forthrightly brought before the House his deep concern about the course of our foreign policy.

In these endeavors he has also been joined by two other distinguished Representatives from the State of California with whom I have been privileged to associate myself this afternoon, the gentleman from California, Mr. GEORGE BROWN, and the gentleman from California, Mr. PHILIP BURTON. These three distinguished Californians have been in the forefront of the battle to bring about a change in our policy toward Vietnam and have voted with me against appropriations for this war.

We were pleased that our colleague from California (Mr. BURTON) was selected last August at the Democratic National Convention to manage and lead the floor fight for the minority plank on Vietnam. He performed an excellent service in crystallizing for the American public the issues and in leading that fight.

Although the minority plank was not adopted by that convention, it is clear that the American people have overwhelmingly supported that plank and want an end to the war.

## THE WAR IN VIETNAM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California (Mr. BURTON), is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, we have concluded the presentation we wanted to make today. Therefore, I yield back the balance of my time.

## THE DANGER OF ARAB TERRORISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentle-

man from New York (Mr. FISH) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, the U.S. Government now appears to be moving toward "Big Four" talks with the Soviet Union, France, and England in pursuit of peace in the Middle East. President Nixon recently met with Israel Foreign Minister Abba Eban on this problem. And early next month, the President will see King Hussein of Jordan, who is coming to Washington as the official guest of this country.

I am confident that these initiatives taken by our Government to effect a settlement in the Middle East are based upon the soundest premises. I know the President is carefully assessing the problem and feel confident that we will not find ourselves in the position of being trapped into imposing a dictated four-power peace in the Middle East, when I am aware that many of my colleagues in Congress believe that peace in that area can only come from direct Arab-Israel negotiations.

Yet, even as these Mideast moves are taken, as a freshman Member of Congress, I am puzzled by certain policies initiated during the last administration—policies which I feel have borne no fruit. One such policy that is difficult for me to understand is our lack of response to terrorist actions and guerrilla warfare waged against Israel from bases in neighboring Arab States, especially the kingdom of Jordan. Sporadic Arab terrorism against Israel, of course, has existed for decades. This was true both before and after the establishment of the independent State of Israel. It was true both before and after the 1967 war. Terrorism is not a result of the 1956 or 1967 Arab-Israeli wars, but was one of the underlying causes of them.

The significant fact though, is that these terrorist activities have escalated in recent months, and have taken on new dimensions and gained new status since the 1967 6-day war. There is increasing evidence of new purpose, new direction, and new importance of terrorism in the Middle East. An activity that was largely sporadic, seems now to be assuming the proportions of purposeful policy.

Gen. Moshe Dayan, Israel Minister of Defense, has recently offered evidence to indicate a considerable number of Arab guerrillas have been trained in Communist China, and are now operating in Jordan as cadre elements. Techniques of the Vietcong are reportedly being used in underground terrorist warfare directed against Israel from Jordanian territory. There has been evidence that even Cuba is involved.

From June 6, 1967, to December 31, 1968, the time that an apparent new policy and direction of Arab terrorist activity was taking form, 1,288 acts of sabotage and border incidents occurred, in which Israel suffered 282 killed and 1,095 wounded.

On November 23, 1968, a timebomb killed 12 shoppers and wounded 60 other civilians in Jerusalem. On February 21, 1969, terrorists again exploded a bomb in a crowded Jerusalem supermarket killing two and wounding 33. On March 6, 1969, a terrorist bomb exploded in a Hebrew University cafeteria injuring 29.



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A clear pattern to disrupt Israel's airline, El Al, is also apparently developing. The fleet of eight airplanes have been brought under increasing attack: a hijacking in Algeria, a machinegunning in Athens, and a machinegun and bomb attack in Zurich. This is only a rough outline of the occurrences of the past few months, but form a significant pattern.

In this same time there is increasing evidence to make it appear that terrorists have sought and found a privileged sanctuary in Jordan. This has occurred while Jordan is being supplied with U.S. military assistance, including Patton tanks, antiaircraft weapons, field artillery, mortars, communications equipment, radar, and jet aircraft. It has occurred at the same time that Jordanian Air Force pilots are being trained at U.S. bases under a military assistance program initiated during the last administration.

So we see a situation that even while Jordan is receiving the benefit of American weapons and training, Arab terrorist organizations operating from Jordanian territory, such as the "El-Fatah" and various other so-called national liberation fronts, are receiving arms and training from the Soviet Union and Communist China. The obvious conclusion is that either King Hussein is willingly permitting the terrorists to operate on his soil, or he has become so weak that he has no alternative than to permit such abuses. In any event, the terrorists of Jordan have virtually become a state within a state.

We see consistent terrorist violations of the cease fire agreement. We are told that they are operating independently of the Arab States or States from which their attacks are launched. We are assured by terrorist leaders that no cease fire agreement is valid, as they maintain that Israel has no right to exist.

Mr. Speaker, this is the picture that raises some vital questions that perplex me. What will be the value of the projected Four Power talks if terrorists do not consider themselves bound by any agreement which recognizes Israel's right to exist as a nation. I raise this question as it has been amply demonstrated that the terrorists influence the Arab governments, but where is it evident that the Arab governments either can or will influence Arab terrorists?

I question also the wisdom of training Jordanian military personnel at U.S. bases, at the same time we are training Israeli military personnel, especially pilots, in this country. I question the wisdom of a policy of selling both Israel and Jordan identical weapons.

I raise these questions as the facts indicate clearly that Jordan is part of a unified military command linking it with Egypt and Syria, nations whose military establishments are trained, equipped, and advised by the Soviet military establishment. The fact that the regime of King Hussein is so shaky that there is the strong possibility of our technical manuals and classified equipment becoming immediately available to pro-Soviet Arab officers and their Russian advisers, should also be given consideration. We are helping to arm Israel

through the sale of Phantom jets and the training of some personnel because of the obviously mounting Soviet threat in the eastern Mediterranean. We know that Moscow, both directly and through heavy support of the Arab States, is exerting not only an ever increasing pressure on Israel, but upon the entire Middle East. Should we then assist in this Soviet thrust with our arms and our training?

The United States should unequivocally condemn Arab terrorist harassment of Israel as inimical to peaceful, direct Arab-Israeli negotiations, and as a threat to world peace. The world community which holds Israel responsible for acts of retaliation against this well organized Arab terrorism, should likewise hold Arab governments fully accountable for terrorist activities that are launched from bases in their countries.

Unless Arab violence can be effectively brought to an end by the Arab governments, the United States should view Israel retaliatory acts as justifiable and necessary responses to the condoned, organized harassment of her people and property.

Also, unless King Hussein can be shown to be taking effective steps to deal with terrorist groups which now flourish in his country, it would seem well to terminate the present program of military assistance with Jordan. For to arm both sides under the present situation is self-defeating. As to condemn one side for retaliating without condemning the other for retaliating is detrimental to world peace.

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, the situation in the Middle East is complex, but I believe that the responsibility of the United States there is clear. I believe we must pursue a policy of reducing tensions with the Soviet Union, so that we can take the Middle East out of the cold war. In this way alone, it seems to me, will the Arab States be persuaded to negotiate a meaningful peace. We must not seek to impose a settlement in that region, because it would be both unjust and transitory. No outside force can dictate the terms of relations between nations and expect them to endure. Meanwhile, we must see that the balance of power is not tipped in a fashion which would persuade the Arab states that they could win a war with Israel. We must, in other words, match Russian arms shipments, especially in modern aircraft. If we fail to prevent another outburst of hostilities, Mr. Speaker, I fear that the superpowers will inevitably become involved and that global disaster will ensue.

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, it is almost 21-years since the State of Israel came into being. Twenty-one years since the ram's horn sounded on the radios of the world proclaiming Israel's independence, while the Jews of the world wept and celebrated. It seemed then as if a corner had been turned in the long history of Jewish suffering at the hands of the Western nations.

Then the armies of seven Arab nations attacked the new state, with the avowed purpose of totally destroying her. And once again, the world stood by and watched the Jews fight alone. Those men

and women who only 3 years before had left the death camps of Europe were once again facing annihilation. This time, however, they also had the visible support of the world's Jews, which could be translated into money and weapons and volunteers. And this time there was no annihilation.

Twenty-one years have passed, and one must wonder: Was a corner turned, after all, on that historic day back in May 1948. Or must Israel become just another chapter in the Jews' long struggle to survive?

We look around at the world as it is today and we must wonder if all sanity has been lost.

We see the Security Council—including as it does the Russians, the French, the Arabs and the Asians—going through the motions of dealing justly with the Middle East. Going through the motions, I say, because no resolution condemning the Arabs is justified enough to even be submitted.

We see half the nations of the world falling all over each other to vilify and harass Israel at every opportunity, while blindly supporting and encouraging the Arabs. And we see the other half of the world bending over backward to appear objective or neutral or evenhanded.

We see the world's statesmen rush to excoriate Israel each time she employs her armed forces to combat the Arab terror. And we see the same statesmen hang back in total silence while the Arab madness reaches out of the Middle East to strike in Rome and Athens and Zurich and, yes, even in Los Angeles.

We hear the Soviets and the Arabs, echoed by the black nationalists and the mindless radicals of this country, call the Israelis "neo-Nazis" and compare the Arab refugees to the Jews of Europe as victims of a "Nazi-like genocide."

The Israelis are neo-Nazis? The Arab refugees are victims of Israel's Nazi-like genocide? I first heard those words with a kind of sick shock. And then I heard those words said again, and repeated, and then printed in the newspapers. And I asked myself: How is it the world can listen to those words and neither laugh nor cry nor roar with anger?

Is there no lie too big, no outrage too great, for the world to swallow when it is directed against the Jews, against Israel?

All the world is free to examine the strength and the depth of Israel's democratic society. And what is she surrounded with? For the most part, feudal monarchies and the military dictatorships. Nations where political prisoners are jailed without trials, executed in secret and hanged in the public squares. Where secret plots, political assassinations and bloody coups are a fact of life. Where the bullet-riddled body of a deposed, elected leader can be exhibited on television. Where the news media spews out vicious and obscene lies against neighboring states and all the countries of the west. Not only against Israel, but against fellow Arabs, too.

At this very moment, Israel's future may hang in the balance while representatives of the four powers confer. Two of them—Russia and France—are

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totally dedicated to the Arab cause. Britain is, at best, indifferent. And what is the U.S. position?

"If Israel was not Israel, but was instead some small Asian country, friendly to the United States, surrounded by countries which had been armed to the teeth by the Soviet Union, could we doubt then what the American position would be?

Suppose a neighboring government to the United States harbored terrorists who set off bombs in department stores and shopping centers, who machine-gunned American airliners in London and Paris, who planted land mines on roads traveled by suburban schoolbuses, and sent mortar shells across the borders into our farms. Suppose such a neighboring government permitted all this, and her prime minister praised the terrorists on national television, gave them weapons and money and all sorts of honors. Can any of us doubt then what the American position would be?

In view of all this, why has not Israel received more vigorous support from the democracies of the West? Why is it she stands virtually alone? Why has the most outrageous Arab propaganda fallen upon so many receptive ears?

We must insist that President Nixon keep his campaign promise and see to it that Israel maintains military superiority to the combined Arab nations, her only guarantee against annihilation.

We must insist that Arab governments be held responsible by the U.N. and the free world for the actions of the Arab terrorists.

We must insist that no outside powers impose a settlement on the Middle East which would, in fact, be a capitulation to and appeasement of the Arab nations, that any settlement be negotiated between and assented to by both parties.

We must never forget the Biblical injunction:

If I forget thee o Jerusalem, let my right hand forget its cunning.

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, the French capon acts as guide dog for the Russian bear. Of late I have been greatly saddened to see the United States succumb to French blandishments regarding major powers talks over the Middle East. France is not a major ally of the United States any longer. She works against major American interests at all times, as evidence of recent years amply shows.

France under De Gaulle is now acting in the best interests of the Soviet Union, slavishly obeying Kremlin orders in order to snap up a crumb from the tables of the mighty. Now she seeks a Czechoslovakia-style settlement at Israel's expense through four-power talks. She seeks to pull Arab chestnuts out of the fire of military disaster. France is seeking to set up a situation Russia can take advantage of for her own and Arab benefit at United States and Israel expense.

France seeks respectability by association with the mighty, not because she actually deserves consideration because of great military strength, moral force, or a powerful economy. The Gallic rooster is merely a barnyard relic, afflicted with

military mange and drooping international feathers.

How many divisions does France have in being? How many thermonuclear warheads and strike forces for delivering them does she possess? Shredded in 1870, drained in 1918, flattened in 1940, and forced to run like a whipped dog from Vietnam, France has as much of a military reputation as a herring has fur. Her economy is weak. Her empire has vanished. All she now possesses are delusions of grandeur and a vindictive leader who seeks to ruin America, enshrine 19th-century realpolitik, and destroy Israel so Russia may dominate the Middle East.

The only powers who should negotiate are the United States and the Soviet Union. France is less than a cipher. Fortunately, the Israelis are already forthrightly telling all parties involved they will not for one instant be dictated to by such a gathering. They know better than to trust in the fruits of such bargainings. If Czechoslovakia was awarded a posthumous Peace Prize in 1938, Israel does not seek to match this dubious distinction in 1969.

As for France, I can only think with pity of the shades of her past glory, when a Frenchman would never stoop to crawl on his knees to the Russians.

Heroes of Valmy would blush with shame. The Imperial Guard which held the Charleroi Road until Napoleon could flee would down their bearskins in rage. Paris' defenders in the siege would not recognize their posterity. Those men buried in the Trench of the Bayonets at Verdun would only gaze in stupefaction and horror at recent policies of present day France. But Pierre Laval would gleefully understand today's French Government, recognizing them for what they are.

I do not want to see Americans seated at the same table with the De Gaulle regime, discussing the fate of the Middle East. France has no right to be there. Not by might. Not by right. Not by courtesy.

Let America look to her conscience. Let the Israelis look to their weapons. As for France, as Jim Fiske once said: Naught is lost save honor.

One thing is certain, however. The price of a modern Judas' has gone up. De Gaulle will surely get more than 30 pieces of silver. Perhaps 31.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I have noted with great interest the statement on Arab terrorism by Congressman HAMILTON FISH and feel that it is a valuable contribution to the formulation of policy in a very important situation.

As a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, I have carefully observed the evolution of the current dilemma. Congressman FISH is correct in focusing attention on the role of Arab terrorists and the service these extremists are performing to the nihilistic Communist cause. Indeed, I feel that the proposed "Big Four" conference of our country with the Soviet Union, France, and Great Britain is jeopardized not only by Soviet and French bias favoring the Arab cause, but by the rise of the Arab terrorist movement. Even if the

Soviet Union, the French, the sovereign Arab States, and the State of Israel agreed on a settlement, it could be vetoed by the terrorists who proclaim themselves the only qualified spokesmen for the people of Palestine.

During the forthcoming visit of King Hussein to Washington, it is essential that we establish the extent of Communist supply of weapons to guerrillas and terrorists based in Jordan, the degree of Jordanian Government collaboration with such underground forces of so-called national liberation, and determine whether continued American arms shipments to the Jordanian Army, a force collaborating with Cuban-trained, Peking-trained terrorists, is indicated.

I urge a careful review of Congressman FISH's proposals in light of the foregoing observations and those of the executive department of our Government. The time has obviously come that some assessment must be made by our State Department of the insidious role of the Arab terrorist front.

Mr. McKNEALLY. Mr. Speaker, there are renewed reports that the United States is taking the lead in imposing a four-power settlement for the Arab-Israel crisis. I need not remind you that this flies in the face of the Western World's staunchest ally in the Mideast—Israel. The Israeli's want, and deserve, the dignity of coming face to face with their longtime tormentors. What kind of lasting settlement can we expect without the protagonists themselves coming to terms, among themselves? There are also indications that this settlement is to be worked out within the framework of the United Nations. The United Nations, through its Secretary General U Thant, has shown us how much objectivity we can expect from that organization. U Thant seems more concerned with Israel retaliation that he is with Arab terrorist provocations.

Finally, I would like to point out the inroads communism is making in the area. One of the Arab terrorist groups has finally surfaced as openly Marxist. This is the same group which claims what they call credit for attacking civilian-bearing El Al airlines.

As a matter of interest to the Members of this House, I am leaving for Israel on the 3d of April to see at first hand the situation as it exists and discuss the situation with Israel leaders.

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, the people of the Arab world are largely illiterate, wracked by disease and poverty, without the education and organization to enrich their harsh desert land. For decades, even the wealth of their oil fields has gone into palaces and Cadillacs, and above all into the armaments and trappings of war. For decades, irresponsible leaders have turned their people's frustration outward—toward the West, and to that tiny outpost of Western culture and ideals which is the State of Israel.

Israel has been fighting for her very existence too long. Only her arms and courage have allowed this tiny nation, with less than the population of New York City's Queens County, to defeat the armies of nations with total populations of tens of millions.

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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

March 26, 1969

This gallant democracy, this nation of survivors from history's greatest example of man's capacity for senseless cruelty to his fellow man, cannot be allowed to succumb to the threats and assaults of her neighbors. And while this period of danger continues—until lasting peace settlement is achieved—we must maintain our vigilance in her behalf.

Since the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, the Middle East has been the setting for three bloody wars linked by border skirmishes and verbal threats. These conflicts have been both the flame and the fuel of an intense level of hatred in the area.

The loathing and hatred between Arab and Jew is an all-consuming thing. Why has such mutual hostilities developed?

As many of us know, the story goes back nearly 2,000 years to the expulsion of the Jews from Palestine by the Romans in the year 70 A.D. This Diaspora marked the birth of a dream harbored by Jews throughout the world that someday they would be able to return as a people to the promised land. At last, in 1917, their chance came. Britain consented to establish a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

However, the Jews who immigrated to Palestine in the 1920's and 1930's, to buy land and to create a new state, were regarded as unwanted outsiders by many of the Arabs, who had been living in this barren land since the days of Christ. Under the yoke of foreign oppressors themselves for centuries, these Arabs dreamed too of an independent Palestine. Increasingly, growing Arab nationalism and Zionism clashed, often violently.

After World War II, under mounting pressure, the British proposed dividing Palestine into two states, one Arab and one Jewish. The Arabs protested that they wanted nothing less than one Palestine under Arab control. It might be true, they argued, that the Jews had been persecuted terribly in Europe. But then let Europe bear the cost of solving its own conscience, not the Arab world.

Without first reconciling these grave differences, the United Nations adopted the British partition plan, and in May 1948, Israel formally became a state. Outraged, the Arab armies attacked the new nation, vowing to drive the Jews into the sea. But, Israel, even in its infancy, had much more spirit, zest, determination, and discipline than the Arabs. They were tougher inwardly and outwardly than the Arabs.

Israel did win the 1948 war, but peace in the Middle East was not realized. The Arab nations steadfastly refused to sign a peace treaty for this would have amounted to an unpalatable concession—recognition of the State of Israel. Instead, they declared they would not rest until our Jewish brethren were destroyed.

In less than a decade, the Middle East was ablaze again.

Following Egyptian President Nasser's nationalism of the Suez Canal in 1956 at which time he barred the passage of all Israeli ships, and his blockade of the

Gulf of Aqaba—Israel's only remaining outlet to the East—Britain, France, and Israel together invaded Egypt.

Within a matter of days, Israel had routed Nasser's Army and driven across the Sinai Peninsula to the Suez. But again victory did not result in a peace treaty. A cease fire was arranged which called for Israel to withdraw her armies, and the situation remained as explosive as before.

Since then, the Egyptian Army has grown in power—and continues to grow in power. Unified Arab command has forced Jordan to double the size of its Army. Sophisticated weapons—jets, guided missiles, and submarines—continue to flow in from the Soviet bloc.

These arms are a threat to peace. They waste valuable development capital; they threaten the only near Eastern state with traditions of democracy.

The irresponsible and dangerous nature of the course chosen by Israel's enemies is becoming more clear to the world every day. And our commitment to Israel must be equally clear; it must be a total one. We owe our Jewish brethren nothing less.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to voice my deep concern and outrage at the increasing level of terrorist attacks against the people and the State of Israel. These attacks indiscriminately made against civilian and noncivilian alike, are repugnant to any civilized human being. It seems almost impossible to comprehend the depths to which these killers and assassins have plunged. The blowing up of school buses full of young children or the exploding of bombs in a university are acts that only can be characterized as subhuman.

The responsibility for the murders committed by these packs of savages lies not only with the terrorists and their sympathizers—for they make up only a small percentage of the population of the Arab States—but with those that give them aid and shelter. These are the officials of the Arab countries that surround Israel who let themselves be caught up in the demagoguery of the terrorist leaders. The spilling of Jewish blood seems to have greater priority for them than the economic and social development of their countries. It is they that fan the flames of the Middle East crisis by refusing to stand up against the terrorist. I suspect if they did, the power of the terrorist band in their countries would subside.

Backed up by Russian and American arms, the Arab States are beginning to harass Israel with increasing frequency along its borders. They delude themselves into believing that they can one day exterminate the people and State of Israel as Hitler's Gestapo attempted to do 30 years ago. If they attempt this, their dream will turn into a nightmare.

These acts of terrorism must stop. If they do not, the situation in the Middle East will reach crisis proportions even beyond the current level. The Arab States must be induced to control the terrorists within their borders and to prohibit them from carrying out their missions of murder and destruction.

It is the duty of every civilized human being, no matter what his nationality, to see that these murders are terminated.

There is much that the United States can do to help leaders of the Arab countries face up to the terrorist marauders within their borders. One mechanism is to provide an economic incentive. To this end, I have today introduced legislation to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to prohibit the furnishing of assistance to countries in which individuals are receiving training as members of the so-called Palestine Liberation Army.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend my distinguished colleague, the able gentleman from New York. (Mr. Fish), for his presentation on the grave danger created by the unrelenting use of terrorism by Arab extremists.

It is especially appropriate that the gentleman has raised this question today. We have just received the sad news of the death in a Zurich hospital of a young Israeli commercial airlines pilot, shot from ambush by Arab terrorists when his El Al airliner was attacked on the ground at a Swiss airport last month. This cowardly attack represents the first instance in which a pilot has died of wounds inflicted by terrorist hijackers in this series of attacks by Arabs and pro-Castro Cuban fanatics.

A touch of irony is added by the receipt of additional news that the Chief of Staff of the Cuban Communist Army was wounded by Israel forces when he accompanied an Arab guerrilla raid into Israel. The Cubans apparently are training and assisting the so-called Palestine Liberation Organization.

I am in total agreement with the gentleman that our Government should review the provision of arms to the State of Jordan in the light of the obvious collaboration of the Jordanian Government with the terrorists. A first order of business during the forthcoming visit to Washington by King Hussein of Jordan would be to clarify this question of collaboration with terrorism. It appears to me that evidence is already compelling to the point that arms shipments to Jordan should be discontinued.

I wish to take this opportunity to call the attention of this Congress to a report by Milton Friedman, a veteran White House correspondent, on the role of Communist China in the Arab terrorist movements. The report was published worldwide in the newspapers served by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency.

In the light of the obvious links between the Communists and the Arab terrorists, I feel that King Hussein must either stand up against the terrorists or face the immediate cancellation of American arms shipments.

Accordingly, I include Mr. Friedman's report for the information of all Members:

**AID ARAB TERRORISTS: MAO EMERGING AS NEW FORCE BEHIND MIDEAST CONFLICTS**

(By Milton Friedman)

WASHINGTON.—China's chairman Mao has incited and aided the Arab terrorist movement to such an extent that Washington officials are now newly assessing the Chinese role in the Middle East.



The Chairman wants much more than the liquidation of Israel. He hopes to embroil the United States and the Soviet Union in a fatal confrontation over the "Palestine Liberation" issue.

Chairman Mao's new line, as voiced by Radio Peking, is that Washington and Moscow, by discussing Middle East solutions, have actually entered "a criminal intrigue to establish American-Soviet hegemony in the Middle East by way of liquidating the Palestine question, stamping out the Palestine (Arab) peoples' armed struggle, and forcing the Arab nations to compromise with and surrender to the Israeli aggressors."

Aiming to perpetuate bloodshed between Israel and the Arabs, Chairman Mao has termed any pursuit of peace by Arab regimes or Washington as "counter-revolutionary political bargaining with the Soviet revisionists." Any political solution is rejected. The struggle must go on, until Israel is wiped out, he maintains.

The Chairman's thinking is that endless violence in the Middle East can be exploited by Peking. Moscow can be accused of "revisionism" and treachery if any accommodation is made with Israel. It is hoped this will force the Russians to identify with the terrorism and the rage Peking seeks to foment among the Arab masses. Such identification with Arab extremism may bring the Russians into an armed confrontation with Israel and the United States, he believes.

Peking's emerging line coincides with the disclosure that Communist China is arming, training, and instigating Arab terrorists. Hundreds have been to China and many are there now. Attacks on civilian airliners, bombing of supermarkets and universities, mining of roads—the strategy of terror perfected in Saigon—is designed, Mao-style, to convert Israel into "another Vietnam."

U.S. intelligence has substantiated Israel Defense Minister Moshe Dayan's recent charge that Arab terrorists are being trained and equipped in China. A pipeline has thus been established to transport terrorism from the Far East to the Middle East.

The growing Chinese involvement is one reason for President Nixon's desire to seek speedily a Middle East settlement. It is also a factor in Russian policy. But Moscow has yet to translate this into a settlement that Israel could accept. The Kremlin hopes to exploit what it sees as hysteria to avoid another Vietnam by getting Washington to impose unilateral pressure on Israel to withdraw from occupied territory without a genuine peace.

Peking's main assault, however, is not on the rulers of the Kremlin but against President Nixon. "Nixon's words and deeds indicate that U.S. imperialism will continue to go all out to foster Israel and back the criminal policy of the Zionist aggressors," he declares. The sale of Phantom jets to Israel "shows that U.S. imperialism will never change its ambition to use Israel as a tool for aggression and expansion in the Middle East."

In Peking's assessment, the President is manipulated by such persons as Sen. Jacob K. Javits, New York Republican. Sen. Javits is described by the Chinese as "a representative of the Jewish capitalist class."

Peking has asserted in its broadcasts that the Arab people have seen through Israel and recognize it as a U.S. base that must be destroyed. The Arab terrorist movement, El Fatah, is being quoted in the Chinese capitol as believing that "the policy of the United States is worked out by plutocrats and concerns of capitalism and imperialism."

The Radio voice of El Fatah, "Saut al-Asifah," is rebroadcast by Peking with an assertion that "whatever tricks the new U.S. Administration may play, it can never subdue the Palestinian people who are determined to carry their armed struggle through to the end."

China welcomed the condemnation of

Nixon by an important Iraqi newspaper, "An-Nu." The newspaper called on Arabs "to carry through to the end the struggle against Zionism."

Peking asserted confidently that, in seeking Arab favor, "no matter what tricks and sly measures Nixon might resort to, he can never save U.S. imperialism from defeat." In the Middle East, said Peking, Nixon "and Soviet revisionism have been colluding and struggling with each other with the purpose of redividing it and enslaving the Arab people."

Soviet "social-imperialism" has "stepped up its infiltration and expansion" into Arab states, said Peking. France hopes for "an imperialist return to the Middle East," as does Britain, according to Peking. So much for the Big Four.

Great changes are seen in Peking with "the daily awakening of the Arab people and the further development of the national liberation movement, particularly the surging of the Palestinian people's armed struggle . . . The Arab people are now rising up to master their own destiny."

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members be given permission to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous matter in connection with my special order today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

#### SOUTH AFRICAN AIRWAYS SERVICE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. Diggs) is recognized for 60 minutes.

(Mr. DIGGS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

#### GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may be permitted to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous matter on the subject of my special order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, the inaugural flight of South African Airways to the United States has arrived today, March 26. We oppose this extension of the South African apartheid system to this country. We oppose this extension for several reasons.

First, this new relation with South Africa is inconsistent with our relationships with the black, independent states of Africa. This inconsistency is well known to African states.

Just recently, in the pages of the Nationalist newspaper in Tanzania, the editor wrote:

In the final analysis it is not only insincere but also criminal on their part to continue soliciting the goodwill and friendship of the Africans while at the same time they continue to hob-nob with the enemies of Africa.

He continued:

If the American government had any regard for the conscience of the Africans and

the suffering of their brothers in South Africa, it would not, in the first place, have continued to consolidate its relations with the fascists of South Africa.

These sentiments expressed by one of the leading newspapers in independent Africa echoed the sentiments of a recent resolution by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity. This resolution stated:

The Council of Ministers has been informed of the air transport agreement concluded between the Pretoria regime and the government of the United States. The Council condemns this agreement, and deplores the uncooperative attitude on the part of the United States Government, which is contrary to United Nations resolutions, and to the assurances repeatedly given by the United States itself that it is only some U.S. private companies that still maintain economic and trade relations with South Africa. The Council addresses an urgent appeal to the United States Government to reconsider this agreement.

These sentiments are representative of the indignation felt by the governments of the African nations at the callous way in which our Government tries to play both sides of the street in Africa, or both sides of the color curtain.

The action by the Civil Aeronautics Board in granting South African Airways a permit was in clear defiance of a resolution passed by the U.N. General Assembly in 1962 which requested member states to act against apartheid and the measures specified included one which read:

To refuse landing and passage facilities to all aircraft belonging to the Government of South Africa and companies registered under South African laws.

But it is not only our Government which is trying to play a two-faced role in Africa. It is also American commercial airlines which practice the same callous maneuvers. Pan American Airways, for instance, flies to a number of West African states and then uses the facilities in those West African states to fly on to Johannesburg. I am sure it will not be very long before they are faced with a choice between abandoning their South African trade in order to maintain their operations in West Africa. What is particularly ironic about Pan American's action is that while they have applied for an additional route to Johannesburg through Rio, they have also promoted one of their black employees to a high-level executive position to direct the development of black American travel through the use of Pan American facilities. How in good conscience can they advertise for the travel dollars of black Americans at the same time that they are planning to expand their service to South Africa, services that will not be available to black Americans. Black stewardesses, flying for Pan American in West Africa, have also been removed from the aircraft before it proceeds to South Africa.

Trans World Airways and Braniff are also playing this game. TWA has applied to the CAB for rights to fly to South Africa as an extension of its current route to Nairobi. They, too, are trying to play both sides of the color curtain in Africa.

Braniff, meantime, has applied for rights to travel to South Africa via Bra-

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zil. Does Braniff, too, mean to affront black Americans?

I am appalled by this callous disregard by both the American Government and three American airlines of the feelings of independent Africans and Americans of conscience, both white and black.

The second reason that we oppose this extension of the apartheid system to the United States is because of the manner in which it was carried out. It is certainly bad judgment and bad government when an official agency of the United States, the Civil Aeronautics Board, can unilaterally act to extend our relationship with South Africa. The Board, in its own words, found:

It is in the public interest to issue a foreign air carrier permit to South African Airways, authorizing it, for an indefinite period, to engage in foreign air transportation . . . between a point . . . in the Republic of South Africa . . . and the terminal point New York.

This was their recommendation to the President who then issued the enabling order on November 7, 1968.

The American Committee on Africa has asked the President to now reconsider this order and to ask the CAB to reopen hearings on whether or not such granting of these facilities is in the public interest. The replies to the American Committee on Africa by the White House maintain that the President has no power to reopen the case before the CAB. The CAB, on the other hand, has indicated that "the matter is now under study."

I do not feel that the grant of these facilities to South African Airways is in the public interest. I know from personal experience that these facilities will be available only on a racially discriminatory basis. I do not believe that the bilateral air agreement, initiated in 1947, before the advent of the apartheid system, is conclusive evidence of the public interest. I support the request of the American Committee on Africa that they be allowed to testify on behalf of the public interest before the CAB. If this request is not granted, I will consider it necessary to examine this whole affair through the Subcommittee on Africa of which I am the chairman.

Indeed, it is time that the hearings on American-South Africa relations begun by my distinguished predecessor, Barratt O'Hara, be continued.

The third reason why I oppose the extension of apartheid by South Africa to our shores is because of the grave insult it represents to my fellow black Americans. Normally, I consider myself the representative of all my constituents, both black and white. But in this matter I feel a particular responsibility to voice the outrage of black Americans over this action.

The foreign policy of the United States should be a non-racial one. It should be a foreign policy which Americans of all races and creeds can find moral justification. This, and any, action which extends and expands the relationships between our country and the Government of South Africa are not sections in which we can find any justification. The inequities of the South African sys-

tem toward its nonwhite majority are well known. How then can we regard this latest action as any other than a callous insult by our foreign policymakers to the black citizens?

Already black Americans are sorely vexed by the inability of the establishment to respond to their very real needs and feelings. Black Americans can only regard the extension of racially discriminatory facilities to John F. Kennedy International Airport as a retrogressive step against the achievement of full human rights in this country.

The fourth reason which causes me to speak out against the latest racial injustice is that it disregards the growing prospects of a Vietnam situation in southern Africa. Already the prospects of a racial and ideological war in southern Africa loom large. The liberation struggle in southern Africa has begun. Freedom fighters representing the nonwhite majority are already on the offensive in Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia and parts of South Africa. We should be supporting their struggle for freedom. Instead we find ourselves increasingly engaged on the wrong side. This extension of rights to South African Airways is just another accelerating step toward engagement on the wrong side of human justice and liberty.

This engagement with the suppressive regimes of southern Africa if it continues, will find us heavily involved on the wrong side in yet another country. We are not so naive to believe the development of American economic interest in South Africa does not carry with it the implied possibility of action to "safeguard" these interests at some date in the future. If that happens, then the just struggle for liberty and self-determination will take on unattractive overtones of race and ideology.

We cannot be comfortable with the knowledge that this new link with South Africa through the extension of South African Airways has just begun. The implications of this new engagement cannot be disregarded.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DIGGS. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. DERWINSKI. I appreciate the gentleman's interest in the subject, and also appreciate his alerting the members of the African Subcommittee to the fact that he would address the House.

I am sure the gentleman would not mind my making perhaps an observation just to keep the record clear.

Obviously the U.S. Government is not alone in granting air rights to the South African airline. I guess they do have an excessive area they serve, Australia, among others. They will be stopping in Brazil, I understand, on the flight up to New York.

It would seem we are following, rather than leading a trend of recognition—that is, through the CAB—of their service.

Is that not at least an accurate analysis?

Mr. DIGGS. Well, we need not follow the precedents of other countries with respect to granting of this airline per-

mit, if that is the gentleman's point. I can think of a lot of precedents that we have followed in the wake of policies of other countries from which I wish we could extricate ourselves. The situation discussed in the previous order, on our policy in Vietnam, is a classic example.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Again, if the gentleman will permit me, the thing which disturbs me is the fact that the CAB has a complicated enough procedure in and of itself. If it is to weigh our domestic political considerations or the domestic political complications in another land, this would place an intolerable burden on the technical problems which are in and of themselves quite great.

For example, I happen to be one of the Members who take a dim view of the Soviet airline flying into New York City, for reasons of the domestic policy of the Soviet Union.

Yet the CAB granted that permission over a year ago, and now the Soviets fly into New York. I think we are at the stage where we are faced with the facts of life. If in this particular case the South African airlines meet the technical criteria, I imagine on that basis the certificate was properly issued. This is an observation that I believe should be considered.

If the gentleman will permit me to say so, I was intrigued when the gentleman did advise us of his interest in this subject and pointed out the special concern he had that the South African Airways was completely owned by the Government of South Africa. Out of idle curiosity I did check all of the foreign airlines which have been granted permits to serve the United States and found something like 75 percent are entirely Government owned. So from a technical standpoint, at least, this fits the pattern. The lack of private enterprise investment is really not a major concern. I want to emphasize that I appreciate the gentleman's interest and his position and his responsibility in heading up our Subcommittee on Africa. I appreciate that he is always interested in having us probe these matters with as much objectivity as possible.

I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to submit the following list of the airlines I mentioned:

Percentage of ownership by foreign governments of airlines which have been granted permits to service the United States

[In percent]	
Argentina	100.00
Australia	100.00
Austria	79.58
Belgium (another 35 percent owned by Government in Congo)	65.00
Canada	100.00
Chile	100.00
Colombia	62.00
Costa Rica	33.33
Scandinavia (Norway, Sweden, and Denmark)	50.00
Dominican Republic	100.00
Finland	73.00
France	98.55
Germany	74.83
Guatemala	100.00
Honduras	19.00
India	100.00
Ireland	100.00

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is a necessary step toward the ultimate establishment of world freedom and world peace.

At this time the Byelorussians in the BSSR do not have any possibility to defend their own national interests. It is for us to take up their aims for liberation from the horrors experienced during these past 50 years of Soviet Russian occupation, and for restoration of an independent Byelorussian state. We hope and pray that next March 25, we shall all rejoice in the attainment of the Byelorussian objective for independence.

ME

## IF ISRAEL LOST THE WAR

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 25, 1969

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, a constituent of mine, Richard Z. Chesnoff, of Bayville, N.Y., is one of three coauthors of a new and important novel entitled "If Israel Lost the War." The other authors of the book, published by Coward-McCann, are Edward Klein and Robert Littell.

The plot of the book is simple—what would have happened if the 6-day war of June 1967 had been reversed and Israel were the conquered and not the conqueror.

This hypothetical situation is, of course, a warning about what could happen in the future. The situation in the Middle East is more tense now than at any time since the 6-day war and the possibility of still another war is all too real.

There are those that question the wisdom of American support for Israel. I, for one, have long felt that the future of Israel, as the only democracy in the Middle East, is crucial to the future of the Mediterranean and in that sense crucial to the future of all the world.

If Israel lost the war the country would have ceased to exist and the world would have been put to shame. This did not happen in 1967 and it must not happen in the future.

Mr. Chesnoff and his coauthors have written a highly relevant book that I commend to my colleagues' attention as the United States debates its policy in the Middle East. "If Israel Lost the War" is not only an important novel with a frightening warning to the world, it is also a well-written, exciting book that makes its "what if" plot believable.

The new Prime Minister of Israel, Mrs. Golda Meir, has said of the book:

Believe me, what Mr. Chesnoff and his colleagues have written could have happened here despite the courage of our people who would have fought to the end with sticks and stones. I really hope that "If Israel Lost the War" will help people understand what the war was all about and why we are determined not to let it happen again.

Mr. Speaker, "If Israel Lost the War" is a book that should be on all the Members' reading lists just as it should be read by all people interested in seeing

Israel survive as the free, independent nation it is.

I am proud that Mr. Chesnoff, a constituent, is a coauthor of this important book.

## RED CHINA—NOTHING HAS CHANGED

HON. ALBERT W. WATSON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 25, 1969

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest frustrations felt by the American liberal is his inability to wield enough national consensus to force an administration into recognizing Red China or supporting U.N. membership for this regime.

Each year the liberals gather their weapons for another onslaught on the Chinese question, and with perennial regularity they go down to defeat. But the liberal is not a gracious loser, and his demands of late have become so vociferous as to be shocking even for a liberal. The latest pronouncement was among the cruelest blows of all, namely that of the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY). As most of us know by now, the Senator made some rather astounding observations about Red China before a group of Chinese experts meeting in New York recently.

Of course, he failed to mention a few points which are of minor concern to the liberals, such as our treaty obligations with the Republic of China, the blatant defiance of the U.N. and its principles by Red China, the open aggression against the U.N. in Korea by Red China, the active role played by Red China in Vietnam, and so forth. As we all know, the list is practically endless.

It is just incredible how some well-meaning—and I give them the benefit of the doubt—Americans can actually suggest that we abandon our allies and good friends on Taiwan in favor of recognition and support of Red China.

Mr. Speaker, down my way in South Carolina, we have a rule of thumb when we are stocking a pond or lake with good game fish. We never dump a load of mature catfish in with bass, trout, etc. The reason is obvious. Catfish are scavengers and they thrive on the eggs of other fish. Certainly, no offense is intended toward the catfish. As a matter of fact, I will compare South Carolina catfish stew and hushpuppies with that found anywhere. Nevertheless, it is difficult to keep catfish out of a well-stocked pond, but it can be done. Now, Mr. Speaker, Red China is a great deal like that catfish. However, like the catfish, it can be contained.

Now, if the liberals have their way, Red China will gain world respectability while actively working for territorial conquests at the expense of its neighbors. For Mao and his gang of international gangsters the entire world is a giant lake and they are the scavenger fish. By thrusting this regime of dedicated revolutionaries on the world community, all

of our efforts in the last 20 years to hold it in check will go for naught.

Really, I am shocked and dismayed that the Senator from Massachusetts would even dare suggest that this Nation sanction the Peking government. In what possible way has Red China changed? Has it mellowed? Has it shown any inclination toward accepting the peaceful charter of the U.N., or for that matter any interest in even joining the U.N.? Why, of course, the answer to these questions is negative.

Mr. Speaker, beginning with the illegal takeover of the Chinese mainland by Mao and his Communist cronies, every President of the United States, including the brother of the gentleman in question, has unalterably opposed seating Red China in the U.N. and according diplomatic recognition to it.

American men are dying this very minute from weapons manufactured in Red China. Just over 15 years ago, American men were dying as a result of weapons fired by the Red Chinese. Recognition of Peking now or in the future would be a horrible and sad testament to every one of these brave Americans.

If admitted to the U.N., the Red Chinese would only use this organization as a forum from which to spew further venom on this country and other freedom loving nations. If the United States accepted this government as a diplomatic equal, the free nations of Asia and the Pacific would justifiably lose confidence in our pronouncements to oppose the spread of communism in that part of the world.

## TESTIMONY OF GOV. RAYMOND P. SHAFER, OF PENNSYLVANIA, TO THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 25, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the strong statement by Gov. Raymond P. Shafer, of Pennsylvania, in support of extension of the Appalachian Regional Development Act, presented in testimony before the Subcommittee on Economic Development of the Senate Committee on Public Works on Wednesday, March 5, 1969:

STATEMENT BY HON. RAYMOND SHAFER, GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS, U.S. SENATE, CONCERNING EXTENSION OF THE APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACT

Mr. Chairman and distinguished Senators, I am here today at the request of Governor Rhodes of Ohio who is currently State Co-chairman of the Appalachian Regional Commission to present testimony on behalf of all 13 Governors of the Appalachian States concerning S. 1072 which extends the Appalachian Regional Development Act.

As Governor of Pennsylvania, I also appear as a Member of the Commission and, with your permission, will also present a



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statement concerning the impact of this program upon my own Commonwealth.

Mr. Chairman, the 13 Governors like this program. We like it for many reasons.

It enjoys a direct line of communication with the President on matters affecting the welfare of 17 million Americans.

It is the kind of partnership between the Federal and State Governments which most Governors have advocated for a long time.

It provides a new kind of flexibility in Federal assistance that helps assure that public dollars are being spent on the right problems.

It is helping the states to bring many local jurisdictions together to solve their problems.

It provides a new way for states, localities, and the Federal Government to share talent, experience, and expertise in order to find the best answers to difficult problems.

Mr. Chairman, we Governors feel so strongly about the Appalachian Program that I felt compelled to discuss the program personally with President Nixon. In those conversations, I told him that the Appalachian experiment represents the kind of reform we need to make the American Federal system operate more efficiently. He agreed. He assured me that he was committed to this program and that it was his intention to keep the program answerable to the Office of the President in carrying out its mission.

Most of the Governors feel that the Appalachian Regional Development Program can serve as a model for the rest of the country—a model whose application to the rest of the United States is worth serious study by this Committee, the Executive Branch, the National Governors Conference, and other groups.

At my suggestion last June, the 13 Appalachian Governors subscribed to just such a recommendation and forwarded it to the Platform Committees of both political Parties. Since that time, many other Governors around the country have joined us. Last week, a special committee of the National Governors Conference, on which I serve, was directed to study the question of the nationwide application of regional commissions.

## THE APPALACHIAN PROGRAM WORKS

Over 175 vocational-technical schools have been built with Appalachian assistance. They are capable of training 110,000 additional students in commerce, trades, and industry.

Since you approved creation of the Appalachian Housing Fund, the Appalachian Regional Commission has approved six times as many housing units for construction in the six months of the program's operation as were approved for construction under Federal housing programs in the preceding six years.

When we started in 1965, Appalachia, with over 9 percent of the American population, was receiving only 7.2 percent of Federal grants-in-aid because many of its communities were too poor to participate in regular programs. With the new supplemental grant program which you approved under the Appalachian Act, Appalachia is now receiving 9.7 percent of Federal grants-in-aid.

Over \$425 million in Federal, state, and local funds have been committed under this program for improving health and education in Appalachia.

New highways are being constructed, though not as quickly as we would like, and their impact is already detectable. In my own State, we can cite industries which are expanding or locating because of new locational advantages. And the same is true in many other states.

Many of the serious physical problems of Appalachia are being solved with help under this Act. By the end of this calendar year, every major mine fire in anthracite Pennsylvania will be under attack with Appalachian assistance. Land reclamation programs under the Appalachian Act have given a whole new sense of direction to Federal programs in this field.

## THE IMPACT OF THIS PROGRESS IS NOW MEASURABLE

Employment is now increasing faster in Appalachia than in the rest of the U.S. and rate of unemployment is falling faster.

Per capita incomes in Appalachia are now rising more quickly than in the rest of the U.S.

And out-migration from Appalachia is only one-half of what it was in the previous decade.

All these are healthier signs than those of the 1950's—signs that progress has begun in Appalachia and that conditions are better.

However, Mr. Chairman, the Governors would be the first to admit that the task is barely begun. We have a long way to go. Unemployment in Appalachia as a whole is still higher than the U.S. and incomes in many areas are barely half those in the rest of the country.

That is why the extension of the Appalachian Regional Development Act is so critical. We cannot stop a job barely started. We cannot disappoint the millions of people who are banking on this program to help solve the problems which have afflicted our mountain areas for generations.

In your consideration of the bill, I urge you to review the current authorizations for the Appalachian Development Highway System. When Congress first authorized the Appalachian Development Highway System, that authorization was based on engineering estimates developed in 1963, or earlier.

As you well know, because of the international situation, it has not been possible for Congress to provide the level of appropriations necessary to provide that authorized amount within the six-year period in which the Highway System was originally scheduled to be constructed.

As a result, inflation has taken its toll. The original estimates of the costs of construction are now seriously out of date because of rising costs. And the longer it takes to construct the System, the more these costs will increase.

The Governors have recognized that Congress could not provide the annual appropriations originally anticipated and in June of 1968 they prepared a resolution recommending that the period for funding the Appalachian Development Highway System be extended by two years so that Congress might be able to appropriate the full amount of the authorization.

In doing so, however, they recognized that the longer it takes to construct the System, the more expensive the System becomes because of inflation.

To build the most effective System with the limited funds available, the states and the Commission determined the adequacy of existing highways within the designated Appalachian Development Highway System. We have concentrated construction on the least adequate sections of these highways. Because of the limited funds available, we estimate that we will be able to construct only 1,263 miles of the 2,600 miles of the Development Highway System. Construction of slightly over 1,000 miles of the presently approved System has been deferred out of sheer necessity.

It is obviously in the national, as well as Appalachia's, interest to build the entire Appalachian Development Highway System if the highways are to achieve the objectives Congress and the states have established.

It is our hope that this Committee will consider the situation and make it possible for us to assure that the entire System, as originally envisioned by Congress, is built.

We cannot overstress the importance of the Appalachian Development Highway System to the ultimate success of our whole undertaking. Not only will the Development Highway System make it possible for us to link the key economic centers of the Region to national markets so that they can support

development of new employment, it will also make it possible for people in the Region to commute to jobs and services and for our children to reach better schools.

We frequently describe the Appalachian Development Highway System, together with the Interstate System, as a giant framework upon which we intend to concentrate the location of most of the new facilities and services being developed under the Appalachian Program. We are doing this because we believe it is the most effective way to assure that as many people as possible will have convenient access to these new services and facilities.

To date, 82 percent of Appalachian investments have been concentrated along the Interstate and Appalachian Highway Systems.

We are well aware that highway improvements alone are not the answer to Appalachia's problems. But without a good transport system which provides access to new educational, health, and other services—and, most importantly, to jobs—we cannot solve the problem at all. In the first four years of this program, we have invested more in Federal, state, and local funds in health and education—investments in the people themselves—than we have in the Appalachian Development Highway System. But the System is one of the important keys to our success.

Mr. Chairman, we have been extremely pleased with the administration and effectiveness of this program. But the Governors have recognized that a number of improvements could be made to the Act which would reinforce the program's effectiveness and accelerate our efforts to solve the Appalachian problem.

Our amendments deal, in the main, with increased efforts to provide manpower retraining and to assist smaller communities in dealing with their problems.

On behalf of the Governors, I respectfully submit to the Subcommittee for its consideration a number of amendments which would improve the operations of the Appalachian Program. We believe their incorporation into the Act would speed attainment of the goals you have set for us in Appalachia.

We owe this Committee a great vote of thanks for making it possible for us to begin to solve our problems in Appalachia.

Appalachia Pennsylvania exemplifies that which the program can accomplish for economic development, and better conditions of health, education and housing for the citizens of a State. It is bringing new life and hope where before lethargy and stagnation all too widely were accepted conditions of everyday life.

On the attached exhibit are shown the more than 180 projects that have been funded in Pennsylvania with Appalachia aid. The exhibit map that you see locates these projects. A total of \$101,525,028\* in Appalachia dollars has been channeled into these much-needed undertakings to add to the human and material wealth of our Commonwealth. There is no doubt that without the Appalachia program most, if not all, of these projects would still be little more than wished-for dreams: 26 access roads to reach industrial, recreational or school sites previously inaccessible; 32 mine fires being combatted; 7 mine subsidence projects undertaken; 4 strip mine areas being restored or corrected, to turn blighted lands into "promise lands"; 19 vocational technical schools to make realities out of promising new employment opportunities for our young people; 4 airports being expanded and improved to place communities in the main stream of transportation; 15 higher education facilities, to enhance the learning advantages of our college-age sons and daughters; 20 hospitals, 4 nurses' training facilities, and 13 mental health facilities to upgrade the health care of our citizens, and more, as you will note.

\* This figure includes all approved Appalachia projects under Sections 201A, 201B, 203, 205, 207, 211, 212, 214 and 302.

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

Dr. Murray L. Weidenbaum: Chairman, Dept. of Economics, Washington University, St. Louis Mo., Corporate Economist, Boeing Co. (1958-63); Consultant on Economic Consequences of Disarmament (1964); Director Economic Research Program, NASA (1964); Publications on economic impact of defense spending.

Dr. Herbert York: Chancellor of University of California, San Diego, Calif. Member, research and teaching staff, Lawrence Radiation Lab. University of California (1943-58); Director (1952-58). Research Administrator, Institute for Defense Analysis; Trustee of IDA. Director of Research and Development at Department of Defense (1953-61). Member and Vice Chairman, President's Science Advisory Committee, (1965-66).

ME

## PROSPECTS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

HON. LARRY WINN, JR.

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 19, 1969

Mr. WINN. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest dilemmas threatening world peace since the end of World War II has been the dispute between the State of Israel and her Arab neighbors.

Since 1948, when Britain gave up its rule over Palestine in favor of the creation of an independent Israel, we have witnessed no less than three Arab-Israeli wars—1948, 1956, and 1967.

With each passing day, the tension and the potential for yet another all-out conflict seem to increase. We have watched terrorist raids lead to armed reprisals, and we wonder how it has continued for so long. In the Middle East there is a growing belief that a fourth war is inevitable. Some, there, even look forward to it as the most conclusive possible solution.

As Americans, the Middle East situation is particularly frustrating. We are involved in only a secondary manner, and therefore our ability to help solve the problem is restricted. As I will discuss later, the Soviet Union potentially holds the trump card. But even the Russians—assuming they are willing—may be unable to successfully exert their influence, due to the limited number of alternatives presently acceptable to the Arab governments.

I do believe that a fourth Arab-Israel war can, and must, be prevented.

Before we can intelligently discuss the role of the United States and possible solutions to the conflict, we should explore the questions that are at issue generally, and the specific issues resulting from the 4-day war of June 1967.

The central issue is the question of the state of Israel's right to occupy its geographic location. At the turn of the century, the area became a center of the world Zionist movement—the desire for an independent Jewish state. At the end of World War II—influenced by the shock of Nazi atrocities—Britain granted independence partly for this purpose.

The Arab States, however, feel that the territory historically belongs to them. They believe the State of Israel has no right to exist—at least at that location. For this reason, the Arab States are

adamant in their refusal to recognize and conduct diplomatic relations with Israel.

The war of 1949 resulted from Arab attempts to stop the creation of Israel.

The 1956 war came when Egypt attempted to seize the Suez Canal.

The provocation that started the war of June 1967 is still in question. Mostly, it was the believed threat to the security of each side, and the general distrust of each other. The important point is that it seems to take less and less provocation to start the fighting again.

The outcome of the June 1967 war left a number of specific situations that are key factors in developing a Middle East settlement.

Prior to the war, Egypt and most of the other Arab countries had developed their military strength through assistance from the Soviet Union. This created a condition of Arab dependence upon the Soviets. In the war, Israel almost totally destroyed the Arabs' military machinery. That the Soviets completely rearmed the Arabs after the war, has made the Arab States even more dependent upon them. This, it would seem, increases Russia's influence on the Arab States—an important consideration.

The war placed under Israeli control, several geographic areas previously controlled by the Arabs. These include the Sinai Peninsula; the militarily strategic Heights of Golan; and the west bank of the Jordan River which includes the Arab sector of the city of Jerusalem. Israel continues to hold this territory partly because of its strategic military value, and partly because it will enhance their bargaining position in the event of peace talks.

Another important factor is the existence of approximately one and one half million Arab refugees. These are the former residents of the now captured territory who fled into nearby Arab countries such as Jordan, Egypt, Syria and Lebanon. Guerrilla units, made up of such refugees, are the source of much of the current anti-Israel terrorist activity. The potential for a fourth war is made greater by the fact that the governments of these countries are either unable or unwilling to keep control of these refugee terrorists.

In looking at the specific issues that would be discussed in Mideast peace negotiations, we see four main points:

First, there is the recognition by the Arab governments, of Israel as a sovereign state. At present, the Arabs do not extend diplomatic relations to Israel. Israel, on the other hand, has continuously pressed for negotiations.

Second, there is the subject of the captured territory. It is possible that Israel would agree to release most of it, but would continue to hold some parts that are militarily strategic.

Third, is the question of compensation for the refugees. The Arabs contend that Israel owes this to them for the loss of their land, and the inconveniences their people have suffered.

The fourth main topic would be the need for an agreement to guarantee the free access of international waterways. This includes the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, and the Straits of Tiran.

These are the main issues. There are others. The question now is "What can the United States do?" There is no easy answer. In the interest of a lasting peace, it is important to avoid a rigid alignment, or "choosing of sides" in the Middle-East. The United States and Russia should avoid this because of the confrontation it could lead to. It would be wise to remember the words of President Nixon in his inaugural address, "We cannot expect to make everyone our friend, but we can try to make no one our enemy."

There is general agreement between the Arabs and Israelis that a peace imposed by other powers would be clearly unacceptable. In other words, if talks are to lead to a peaceful settlement, they must be direct talks between the two parties concerned. Our greatest role in the conflict can come by helping to bring them to the conference table. But even in that capacity, our opportunities are limited.

France and the Soviet Union have proposed a "Big Four" conference on the Middle-East situation. The four parties include the Soviet Union, France, England, and the United States.

The purpose of the conference would be to discuss the specific issues of the conflict, and to suggest possible agreements. By keeping open lines of communication with the Arabs and Israelis, these talks could provide an opportunity for both sides to know what concessions and demands the other might make in the bilateral talks that would hopefully follow. This, also could provide an opportunity for the Soviets to attempt to use some of their influence to encourage the Arab governments to negotiate with Israel in a reasonable manner. This implies that it is of vital importance that all parties concerned try to better control the terrorist groups.

If the key to Arab participation in peace talks lies with the Soviet Union, then it is logical to ask, "Why should the Russians cooperate?" Do they not enjoy great influence by having the Arabs obligated to them for military aid? The answer is "Yes." But at the same time the Soviets have other points to consider.

First, there is the danger of another Arab-Israeli war leading to a Soviet-American confrontation.

Second, there is the fact that if a fourth war resulted in a crushing defeat for the Arabs, then Russia's prestige would suffer. It would be a thorn in Russia's side.

And, third, the present situation gives them an opportunity to play the role of peacemaker in the Middle East. The Soviets are very conscious of world public opinion. In the aftermath of their invasion of Czechoslovakia they would be glad to get some favorable publicity—both in the free world and among other Communist countries.

The truly discouraging aspect of the entire situation is the fact that so many of the Arab governments give almost no indication of a desire to negotiate. We must be aware of the possibility that even the four-power talks and the Soviet's influence will not be enough to bring Arab cooperation. In spite of the fact that some Arab leaders may want

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to talk, many Arab citizens and refugees are too emotionally charged to be reasonable. This severely limits the alternative courses of action and increases the danger of war.

The final point I would make is this: Until a peace agreement can be worked out, Israel's military strength is the main reason the Arab governments hesitate to launch a full-scale attack. We must, I feel, try to restore diplomatic relations, cultural exchanges, and trade with the Arab countries. We must not make them our enemies. We must work toward an even-handed Middle East policy. But at the same time, we must continue to recognize the importance of the survival of Israel. We must not abandon our agreement to sell to Israel the materials that are vital to her security. By helping Israel to maintain its strength, we are buying the time that will be necessary to develop a workable peace agreement in the Middle East.

#### ARAB TERRORISTS: MILITARY FAILURE—POLITICAL MENACE TO ALL MANKIND

**HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 19, 1969

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, of late, some journals in our country have run articles on the terrorists and alley fighters in the Middle East who pose as "commandos." These articles have at times had the effect of glorifying their activities. Yet it is fairly common knowledge that their efforts have been a dismal failure as far as material harm to Israel and her people are concerned. Fortunately, the reality of these murderers by night does not match the bloodcurdling threats and belligerent poses they strike for photographers.

Alfred Friendly has recently done a very penetrating piece on what is really happening on the borders of Israel. It is worthy of note and most informative. I insert it now for the enlightenment of other Members of the House:

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 16, 1969]

#### ANTI-ISRAELI GUERRILLAS ARE MOSTLY A NUISANCE

(By Alfred Friendly)

TEL AVIV.—Palestinian commando activities, the Israelis concede morosely, are a bloody nuisance. Their assaults against life and property are to be expected as certainly as the sunrise. At the same time, the Israelis consider the results of those attacks as the biggest Arab military defeat since the Six-Day War.

On the basis of almost two months of reporting in Israel, Egypt, Lebanon and Jordan, that judgment seems correct. Whether measured against their avowed aims, their practical potential, their financial resources or in terms of the damage caused, the guerrilla activities of the several Palestine liberation organizations have been a grotesque failure, militarily and psychologically, within Israel.

#### SOME 117 KILLED SINCE WAR

According to Israeli figures, commando attacks since June 15, 1967—including both raids and shelling from across the borders—

have killed 47 civilians and 70 soldiers, among them four colonels. They have wounded 320 civilians and 274 soldiers. The Israelis say that the commandos have lost 600 dead and 1500 captured.

The figures of the liberation movements, of course, are very different. Al Fatah, the largest, gives none, but admits to the loss of fewer than 300 men. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the second major commando organization, issues several bulletins a day giving the picture of Israeli soldiers slaughtered like sheep.

Whose figures can one trust? Israel is a small country with a fiercely democratic tradition despite a censored press. A soldier's death is not a casual event; it is known to his neighborhood, his friends, his city in a matter of hours.

I know of no foreign reporter who feels that he has been deceived on Israeli statistics. Israeli reporters, as suspicious of authority as those of any other country and as good sleuths, express few reservations about the truth of what is announced.

Yet Fatah has an estimated 3000 to 5000 men under arms and the Popular Front, 700. Add those of two or three other commando organizations and the total may be as much as 7000. In such a situation, Israelis shudder at the thought of what the commandos—terrorists, in the Israeli term—might have done.

#### INCIDENTS ARE WORST

Most of the commando-inflicted casualties are from the cross-border shelling. Since the completion of Israel's defense fence, casualties inflicted by military infiltrators—as distinct from sabotage groups operating deep inside Israel—have been minor, even though the fence is by no means impenetrable.

The worst aspect of the terrorism is those occasional incidents in the cities, such as the bomb in the Tel Aviv bus terminal and the recent explosion in Jerusalem's largest supermarket.

After that deed, some 70 people were arrested. Officials believe that they caught 90 per cent of all the Israel-based agents of the Popular Front, the group responsible for the supermarket bombing and almost all such previous events.

Even so, there will be more such occurrences. What is remarkable is the minimal effects they have on Israeli fears and firmness. The explanation, Israelis say, is that they have been shot at for so long—ever since about 1936, not counting 2500 years of history before that—that it has become a way of life.

#### REVOLT AND TERROR

The commandos, however, say that something entirely different is happening in Israel. What they say, a weeks-long examination of the Arab press discloses, is that the territories Israel occupied—the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem—are seething with revolt and resistance, that the border settlements are besieged and that the urban population lives in terror.

The evidence for the first is a series of school strikes by children under 18, occasionally joined by teachers, and brief, sporadic strikes of merchants. Israel's response to the school affairs is mainly indifference. If the Arab children don't want to go to school, that's their problem. They are allowed to shout imprecations, display banners or do whatever they like inside the school compounds.

"I won't say they never had it so good," one official said, "but they never had it so liberal under previous governments"—Ottoman, British mandate or Jordanian (or, for Gaza, Egyptian).

As for the settlements on the borders, in the Jordan and Beissan Valleys, the children in the kibbutzim (collective settlements), who sleep in dormitories apart from their families in any event, have been spend-

ing the nights in shelters for the last six months. Those in the moshavim (cooperatives) go to the shelters with their families when there is shelling. No one pretends to like it, but not one family has moved out, and production increases month by month.

In the cities, the population is in a fury as a result of the occasional bombings, but terror is about the last word to come to an observer's mind.

#### THE MAO STRATEGY

From their public statements and from interrogation of prisoners—who the Israelis claim interrogate easier than any other POWs in history—the liberation fighters' objective comes from The Book—The Book of Che Guevara or Mao Tse-tung. The aim is a popular revolution preceded by a weakening of the enemy's will to resist, a disruption of his military machine, his means of production and communication and the creation of general chaos.

The strategy indicates a very bad reading of Israel. Nothing of the sort is happening or is likely to. And the tactic of trying to terrorize the civilian population rather than delivering sharp blows at costly installations or military materiel is little short of insane. If nothing else, it is the cement which Israel is chronically worried about losing in an increasingly affluent life.

Furthermore, for organizations as richly financed as everyone agrees they are—the commandos claim that most of the money comes from individual contributions of Palestinians all over the Arab world; the Israelis claim that 80 per cent comes from governments, large institutions and very rich Arabs—the terrorist incidents are few enough. There have been about half a dozen in Jerusalem since the 1967 war, or what Saigon experiences in a few days.

The guerrillas now operate against Israel on four fronts:

In Egypt, there is a paper unit called the Organization for the Liberation of Sinai. It consists, if at all, of some Bedouins whom Egyptian intelligence officers send across the Canal to lay mines. The Israelis believe that its main purpose is to demonstrate to other Arab states that Egypt is in the commando business.

In Syria, the government held commando incursions into Israel at a level of almost zero until a few weeks ago. Then it was decided to unleash an organization called Siaka, 100 per cent under Syrian army control. It made a few raids and Israel's response was to bomb two Fatah camps near Damascus. Israel believes that Syria got the message.

Lebanon, the Israelis believe, is in a dilemma with the commandos. About 500 commandos from Syria are operating on the northern and western slopes of Mt. Hermon. When they push farther west, the Lebanese army arrests them and lets them loose again back in the eastern area. Their incursions have been reduced in the last few weeks and were never very serious, but the Israelis hope that the Lebanese will not let things get worse.

The biggest concentration, of course, is in Jordan, where, as distinct from Egypt and Syria, the government does not control the commandos, mostly Fatah. King Hussein tried, but an agreement he reached with Fatah last November to end shelling across the river and stop Fatah men from going about in Amman armed and in uniform is now virtually forgotten. The Popular Front, also operating from Jordan, specializes in organizing sabotage and was responsible for the three attacks—the hijacking in Rome and the shooting in Athens and Zurich—against El-Al airplanes.

#### WHY THEY FIGHT

The most interesting question about the liberation movements is whether their leaders appreciate their military failure and the absurdity of trying to cause turmoil in



with the rest of the world. Such frescos were originally done as contracts to cover walls. As the work proceeded, the artistic merit shone through. Rough working sketches used by the artists under the frescos often showed the real feelings and expression of the artist. So much of this 15th century Renaissance art was the Italian artist showing the beauty of man and life. These Italians brought man up from hell and down to earth through their art work. It was an affirmation of their love of life.

Italians have given to Western civilization the seed of creativity in art which has blossomed out ever since. This spark still glows in the hearts of the Italian people now. Their successful rescue of frescos in Florence is evidence of this.

This world, rushing headlong along a road to nowhere might pause for just a moment to pay tribute and show appreciation to the people of Italy who have rendered such a service to all men, and succeeding generations as well.

ME

HIS EXCELLENCY ABBA EBAN COMMENTS ON THE MIDDLE EAST

**HON. JAMES G. FULTON**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the highlights of the remarks made by His Excellency Abba Eban, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the nation of Israel, at the National Press Club luncheon on Friday, 14 March 1969.

The highlight of Mr. Eban's remarks follow:

HIGHLIGHTS OF HIS REMARKS BY HIS EXCELLENCY ABBA EBAN

"The Arab States and Israel must look more and more towards each other for what they want—and less and less towards the external forces which have traditionally shaped the destiny of our region. The Middle East has passed once and for all into the epoch of sovereignty. Its progress will be commanded, not by external pressures, but by internal impulses.

"Peace in the Middle East cannot be imposed from outside: It can only grow out of the agreement and sovereign consent of its governments. If this principle is respected and defended against encroachment, then 1969 could still be a year remembered for the patient but active exploration of peace."

Mr. Eban said that Israel's policy was firmly and irrevocably rooted in four central principles:

1. There can be no movement from the cease-fire situation except to peace—in its full potential and juridical sense.

2. The peace must have treaty form so as directly to engage the interest and honor of the Arab States and Israel. The disastrous collapse of the "hopes and expectations" with which we were satisfied in 1957 teaches us to insist on the contractual principle today.

3. There must be an opportunity to negotiate secure and agreed boundaries since it would be suicidal for Israel to return to the fragile armistice lines which were never recognized as political boundaries. On the other hand, the cease-fire lines are not agreed boundaries.

4. There must be an integral peace not a piecemeal or phased process. In other words: it is only when agreement is concluded that implementation can begin.

Mr. Eban said that these principles are firmly grounded in international and especially in American policy as expressed since 1967. "The Soviet and French proposals are not consistent with them; they look backward to a shattered past instead of forward to a brighter and more stable future."

Mr. Eban made these further comments on various aspects of the Middle Eastern problem:

The Cease-fire: Today's tensions must be viewed with concern, but not with panic. They have been kept and can be kept within a local and limited framework. There is no danger to world peace. Impatience is the worst enemy of peace. No Middle Eastern State and no Great Power has the combined will or capacity to generalize the conflict. But there should not be a passive mood. We should explore the peace prospect actively and constantly, making full use of the Jarring Mission which has now resumed its activity. This activity would lose its purpose if it were obscured by a pluralism of initiatives outside the region, at U.N. Headquarters or elsewhere.

The Open Frontier: We should aspire in the relations between Israel and Jordan, and in the life of the Palestine Arabs, to a community relationship as in Western Europe, with a free commune of men, goods and ideas across a newly established political boundary. My peace-plan of October 8, 1968, is the central document on which Israel's policy is based.

Four Power Guarantees: This concept is full of complexities, some of them dangerous. We should not seek to globalize the conflict by making every small frontier incident into a Berlin Wall, with all mankind trembling. Local agreement is more vital than international involvement. Moreover, there are amongst the Great Powers those whose unbalanced attitude rules them out as possible guarantors. A government which refused to respect and understand Israel's evident peril in May-June 1967 could never be trusted to recognize any Israel peril or grievance in the future.

PICKING UP THE PIECES

**HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, perhaps we will never know the extent to which this Nation has been stymied in its programs of defense preparedness since early in the 1960's. The policy of parity pursued by the Department of Defense in recent years, whereby we sought to reduce our military capabilities to reach a par with the Communist countries has left its effect on our present defense setup. It was argued that if the two major powers, the United States and the U.S.S.R., could reach parity in the armaments race, there would automatically ensue a condition of stalemate which would lead to world peace. Considering the Soviets' 50-year history of aggression, this argument insults the intelligence of a high school student, yet this hogwash was given credence in our highest official circles.

In addition, Mr. McNamara's widely touted cost-effectiveness program placed a priority on frugality at the expense of

our national welfare, though it is still hard to explain the adamant pursuit of the TFX dream in the face of the loss of millions of dollars and persistent opposition. Speaking of cost effectiveness—"defectiveness" might be a more appropriate word—since January 1967, a total of 14 planes, which are the product of the TFX program, have crashed at a loss of approximately \$6 million per plane.

Too numerous to be cited here are the many objections raised in various quarters in opposition to the Defense Department's ineptness in recent years. The Chicago Tribune of July 22, 1968, quoted Air Force Chief of Staff Gen. John P. McConnell as calling it imperative that the United States move as fast as possible to develop a new FX jet fighter to counter the growing Soviet air threat.

Also on July 22, the New York Times reported that Chief of Naval Operations Adm. Thomas H. Moorer attacked the Defense Department's decision to reduce the number of Navy carrier air wings from 15 to 12 by mid-1971. Admiral Moorer warned the Navy would find it "very difficult" to meet its operational requirements in the event of another war on the scale of the Vietnam conflict.

The Associated Press of September 19, 1968, reported that Congressman GLENN CUNNINGHAM asked the President to review some of the proposed disbanding of the Strategic Air Command's manned bomber program. Congressman CUNNINGHAM was quoted as saying:

Based on Senate and House investigations, there is increasing concern on Capitol Hill about the state of readiness of U.S. defenses.

Early this year, the chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, Congressman L. MENDEL RIVERS, commented on the preparedness of the Atlantic, Mediterranean, and Pacific Fleets:

The exact status is classified, but let me tell you that our recent examinations of the readiness of our Atlantic Fleet and our Mediterranean Fleet is shocking. Nor do we have any cause to be satisfied with the readiness of our Pacific Fleet.

With the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviets still but a matter of months in the past, there is no excuse for not realizing the urgency of keeping our defense capabilities in a condition of readiness. Jerry Greene, the wide-ranging reporter for the New York Daily News, provided extensive information on our defense posture in a lengthy article appearing in the Sunday, March 16, issue of the News. After reading Mr. Greene's review, one can more readily appreciate the monumental tasks ahead of us, although we can be thankful that the blundering policies which have characterized the Defense Department in the past have, hopefully, departed with the policymaking dabblers in defense mythology.

I include the article, "U.S. Defenses Wearing Thin," by Jerry Greene in the March 16 issue of the New York Daily News in the RECORD at this point:

U.S. DEFENSES WEARING THIN

(By Jerry Greene)

The bottom is rusting out of the United States Navy. The Army's jeeps and trucks

The smug suburbanite who remains unwilling to help the core city solve its crime problem will soon find the problem on his own doorstep. The ghetto leader who rejects offers of cooperation and guidance—because these offers conflict with his ideas of separatism—may soon find that crime has left him with nothing separate to protect.

#### THE POLICE

One of the specific proposals in the District of Columbia crime message was a program to increase the size and efficiency of the police. Our preliminary study in the Department of Justice indicates that for fiscal 1969 and 1970 alone we may ask as much as \$4.4 million in added funds for the police department. While some of the money is slated to fill 1,000 additional police positions, the majority of the funds will be used for educational, scientific and other supporting services. Here too, President Nixon has offered a guide for the nation.

There is no question that effective law enforcement depends upon an adequately staffed, well-supported police department. The policeman is the first-line of defense. It is he who must chase the teenage gang into dark alleys. It is he who must handle incidents which could touch off racial disorders. It is he who must adjust instantly to cope with a family dispute or a fleeing bandit.

While our police face increasing crime, the nation frequently has been less than willing to help them. In many cities the policeman is underpaid and undertrained. He is deprived of sufficient supporting services to do the kind of job we expect in our complex and sophisticated society. He has been denied the educational and scientific tools he needs on the frontline.

For example, while we insist that physicians have 5,000 hours of training before they prescribe even an aspirin tablet, we are willing, in some cities, to send a young, untrained patrolman into a racially tense neighborhood where his actions could lead to death and destruction.

Even though Watts, Detroit and Newark were touched off by police—ghetto confrontations, many cities still have no community relations programs or, at best offer pro forma shams. It is not enough to lecture a policeman for an hour or so on racial relations and then expect him to have sufficient knowledge to handle the multiplicity of problems which he may face in a racially tense neighborhood.

It is not enough for a few minority leaders to visit a precinct house to learn about police problems and then to expect that an entire minority neighborhood will be more cooperative to law enforcement.

One tragic result in those cities which have no intensive police community relations programs is a serious corrosion of confidence between the police and the community. The police, with much justification, believe that City Hall politics and not justice will determine whether they receive governmental support in a controversial situation. The community, with some justification, believes that the police may ignore or attempt to evade regulations.

The solution is not for the police to seek refuge behind a small pro-police establishment; nor for political leaders to undermine the police under pressure from large numbers of voters.

While we welcome the new dignity of many ghetto residents, this dignity should not be established by derogating the dignity of law enforcement; nor should the police defend their own position by derogating the dignity of residents in high crime areas.

Well planned community relations programs—with in-depth analysis of ghetto problems, with broad personal contact between police and ghetto residents, with frank discussion and understanding, are

absolute requirements but this type of program costs money. The President and the Mayor are committed to obtaining this money and we urge other urban communities to follow our example.

#### COURTS, PROSECUTORS AND DEFENSE COUNSEL

As you well know, however, law enforcement is not merely a police matter. Efficient police work is of little value if the administration of justice is not just and prompt.

If our courts are slow, the guilty proudly walk the streets month after month, flouting their contempt for the law. Thus, I believe that President Nixon's policy for the District of Columbia—in asking for more judges and for a reorganization of the court system—should be a guide for other over-crowded urban court jurisdictions.

But more judges alone are not enough. What is also required is long hours on the bench, efficient scheduling of cases, the utilization of every modern management aid and a very serious reexamination of how our judicial system is going to accommodate the proliferation of motions, hearings and post conviction remedies within the framework of our Constitution.

During recent years, backlog and delay in our courts have grown to unprecedented proportions. In the District of Columbia, the time between indictment and trial has more than doubled in the past 5 years. In fiscal 1963 the time between indictment and disposition was a median of 3.6 months. Now it is approaching 10 months. In the same period, the backlog of pending cases has nearly trebled. Preliminary figures for the first half of fiscal year 1969 show a 46 per cent increase in indictments in the United States District Court and a decrease in dispositions.

But the President's message also recognizes that justice is a tri-partite procedure in our adversary system. Not only do we need more judges, but we need more prosecutors and more defense counsel.

From our supplemental appropriation for fiscal 1969 we shall request 20 more Assistant U.S. Attorneys for the District of Columbia and in 1970 we may ask for about \$900 thousand for 20 more Assistant U.S. Attorneys, as well as investigators and supporting personnel to prosecute suspected criminals.

Also, the President has pledged to support the Legal Aid Agency's 1970 budget request for \$700 thousand to increase its staff by more than one-third. In addition we will support the Ball Agency request of \$150 thousand to provide first-class investigation of persons who come before the courts for release, and in addition we are considering another \$250,000 appropriation to provide first-class legal representation for indigents.

I believe that prosecutors should not be so over-worked that the guilty go free. I believe that defense counsel should not be over-worked so that the innocent are convicted.

I am sure that our proposals for the courts, for the prosecutors and for defense counsel will insure the type of equal justice we need and I hope it will be a model for other cities.

#### NARCOTICS CONTROL

One last word on another aspect of the President's message which should be of significance to the nation and that is on narcotics. We recognize that the control of narcotics and drug abuse is virtually a prerequisite to the reduction of crime.

In order to stop the flow of narcotics, we have already substantially increased the personnel in Washington through the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs. A crucial part of this program will be to concentrate on long-term deep agents who can work their way into the narcotics distribution syndicate and can identify the major sources of supply.

Too often in the past, narcotics control has consisted primarily of arresting street addicts who sell a minimal amount of heroin

to maintain their daily habits. While street addiction is a problem which our increased personnel will work on, our real emphasis will be the wholesaler.

We also will have operational by April 1 a narcotics testing laboratory. It will be available to all the local governments in the Washington metropolitan area.

Our preliminary survey shows that we will support a supplementary request for about \$1.6 million for juvenile facilities, narcotics treatment facilities and narcotics prevention program in the health and welfare departments of Washington.

In addition, we expect that some of the \$4.4 million which I mentioned previously as a supplementary request for the District Police Department will be earmarked for an increase in narcotics forces in the Metropolitan Police.

I hope that other cities and states will follow our attempt to crush narcotics addiction by a fundamental attack utilizing education, scientific coordination, intelligent law enforcement and first-class rehabilitation.

#### CONCLUSION

What I have talked about today are just parts of the District of Columbia crime control program—the necessity for adequate funding of all plans; the necessity of city-state cooperation and urban-suburban cooperation; the necessity of a well-staffed and well-trained police force with special emphasis on police-community relations; the necessity of an efficient court system supplemented by adequate prosecutors and defense counsel and the necessity of an effective narcotics control program.

On behalf of President Nixon, I ask you to familiarize yourselves with the District of Columbia crime control program and some of its important philosophical and pragmatic suggestions. We hope we will have your support and involvement to make Washington a model for the rest of the nation.

#### ITALIAN GENIUS PRESERVES IRREPLACEABLE ART

#### HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, while the rest of the world tears itself apart for money, military victories, political gains, and territory, the Italian people for the past 2½ years have successfully applied technology in order to save an irreplaceable portion of not only their own history, but that of Western civilization. After the ruinous flood of November 4, 1966, in Florence, Italy, numerous frescos were found to be in danger of being ruined. Mainly located in basements, the floodwaters drenched the plaster walls they were painted on. Salt in the plaster began ruining them. A major effort, aided by concerned Americans, was launched by Italian experts, utilizing a 300-year-old method invented by an Italian.

The effort has been in the main successful, as recent reports and exhibits have shown. This is one bright spot in the name of civilization in a too-often dreary world picture.

The Italian sense of artistry showed clearly through in this major effort. It not only was their desire to preserve their own works of art, but they also sought to share this beauty and treasure

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The American Legion has compiled an illustrious record of dedication and service to our country since those days when it was formed in Paris after World War I.

Its focus has been on patriotism—about which all of us should be more concerned than we are.

Along this line, the design of the commemorative stamp is most appropriate. It involves an adaptation by Artist Robert Hallock of a portion of the Great Seal of the United States, showing the American Eagle clutching an olive branch—the heraldic symbol of peace.

The Legion also has been concerned, as we all should be, with the need to maintain law and order. The continuation of our way of life—as a free nation and as a leader in the effort to bring about world peace—this is very much dependent upon our ability to maintain law and order within our own boundaries.

It is not simply a matter of personal safety on our streets and in our homes and in our business establishments, but it also is a matter of peaceful existence in our public places, in particular in our schools and colleges. No one argues with the right to dissent, so long as it doesn't infringe upon the rights of others.

It was four wars and a half century ago that the American Legion was founded in Paris.

Throughout its history, its major concern has been the aiding of veterans as they return to civilian life. This is a great service and one for which the Legion is well organized.

Besides its fundamental concern with the returning veteran, the Legion also gives great attention to programs for our young people. It is this work for which, it seems to me, the Legion warrants the accolade: "50 years young."

Each year, more than 750,000 young men from around the country participate in Legion-sponsored programs. These include: Boys State and Boys Nation, American Legion baseball, the National Oratorical Contest, Boy Scouting and Boys Clubs.

The cornerstone of all of these programs is the recognition given to the ideal of human values and the dignity and worth of the individual.

It is a great honor for me to be here on this memorable occasion, for the American Legion and for its millions of members.

The commemorative stamp which is being presented to the public for the first time today, is one of the more impressive stamps which has been issued by the Post Office Department, and I want to commend the Department and the designer.

#### NEW YORKERS AGAINST ABM

**HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I very much regret that President Nixon has decided to proceed with deployment of an ABM system. I will have more to say on the subject at a later date. Meanwhile, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to a resolution adopted on March 8 at the founding meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee of New Yorkers Against ABM, a group of community leaders in the New York area which I took the lead in convening. This resolution, which was sent that same day to President Nixon, reflects the concerns of millions of Americans and therefore de-

serves our careful consideration. The text is as follows:

#### NEW YORKERS AGAINST ABM

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: As concerned leaders and members of the New York community, we have today met together to reaffirm our opposition to deployment of an anti-ballistic missile system. To this end, we have adopted the following resolution, and urge that you give it the urgent consideration which this vital subject so fully deserves:

Whereas leading spokesmen of the American scientific community have testified that the presently-conceived Sentinel ABM system will be largely ineffectual and will be obsolescent or obsolete before it is deployed; and

Whereas deployment of an ABM system at this time will have a serious destabilizing effect on the current balance of strategic arms between this country and the Soviet Union, thus jeopardizing the prospects for successful negotiations on the limitation of offensive and defensive missiles; and

Whereas such deployment would contravene the spirit, and perhaps the letter, of Article VI of the Non-Proliferation Treaty; and

Whereas the costs of an ABM system have been variously estimated from \$5 billion to \$10 billion for a "thin" shield and from \$40 billion to \$400 billion for a "thick" shield; and

Whereas an expenditure of this magnitude can only be made at the expense of other critical national priorities, such as the eradication of hunger in America, the assurance of a decent home to every American, the improvement of our educational system, the guarantee of full and equal opportunity to every citizen, and the defense of our environment against pollution;

Now, therefore, be it resolved,

That the undersigned firmly oppose deployment at this time of an anti-ballistic missile system, whether located in close proximity to urban areas or deployed for protection of offensive missile installations, and urge that the President halt the acquisition of sites and procurement of components for such a system, thus permitting the resources otherwise destined for this purpose to be reallocated to programs of human betterment for the American people and for the world.

AD HOC COMMITTEE OF NEW YORKERS AGAINST ABM

Jonathan B. Bingham, Roswell Gilpatric, Ogden Reid, Stephen Smith, Stanley Stein-gut, Eleanor Clark French, O. Edmund Clubb, Sarah Kovner, William Vanden Heuvel.

Members of the following organizations have endorsed this resolution:

Americans for Democratic Action—New York Branch; Ansonia Independent Democratic Club; Bay Ridge Independent Democrats, Benjamin Franklin Reform Democratic Club, Bolivar-Douglas Democratic Club, Bronx-Pelham Reform Democratic Club, Brookhaven Reform Democrats, Episcopal Peace Fellowship, FDR-Woodrow Wilson Reform Democratic Club, Lenox Hill Democratic Club, Lexington Democratic Club.

McManus Democratic Club, Murray Hill Democratic Club, New Chelsea Reform Democratic Club, New Democratic Coalition, Park East Reform Democratic Club, Park River Democratic Club, Park Lincoln Free Democrats, Park Slope Democrats, Renaissance Republican Organization, Riverside Democratic Club.

Roosevelt Kingsborough Independent Democrats, Rutgers New Frontier Democrats, SANE, St. George's Church, Universities Committee on the Problems of War and Peace, U.S. Youth Council, Village Independent Democrats, West Brooklyn Independent Democrats, West Side Progressive Forum, Women Strike for Peace, Women's City Club of New York.

ATTAINMENT OF PEACE WITHIN  
SECURE BOUNDARIES IS ISRAEL'S  
FIRM RESOLVE

**HON. JAMES G. FULTON**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to call to the attention of the U.S. Congress and the American people the following interview with the Foreign Minister of Israel, His Excellency Abba Eban; by Alfred Friendly of the Washington Post, Thursday, March 6, 1969.

The interview follows:

TEXT OF INTERVIEW WITH ISRAEL'S FOREIGN MINISTER EBAN

Question. The Arab states insist that Israel has never stated that it accepts the Security Council resolution of Nov. 22, 1967, or would implement it. Is this true?

Answer. We've made so many statements on the acceptance of the resolutions as the framework of a negotiated settlement that we can't even attach seriousness to any Arab assertions to the contrary. On Oct. 8, I myself said in the U.N. General Assembly: "Israel accepts the Security Council resolution . . . and declares its readiness to negotiate agreements on all matters mentioned therein."

That is the cabinet position. Now the Arab states have reservations about our use of the word "agreement." The word "agreement" is in the resolution. It is the very essence of our position.

That peace must grow from agreements in the Middle East, not from settlements dictated outside it. There are no Security Council resolutions calling for any action except on the basis of agreement.

Question. Have you ever declared that your implementation of the resolution would entail the withdrawal of Israeli troops to new borders? The Arabs claim you refuse to say so.

Answer. I was asked that by Ambassador Jarring in a memorandum presented by the United Arab Republic (Egypt). I gave him a clear answer, namely that in a peace agreement we would replace the cease-fire lines by secure and agreed boundaries and that the disposition of troops would then be made in accordance with the new boundaries.

It is ludicrous to say that Israel and an Arab state would agree to negotiated and recognized boundaries and then would re-station their troops in places where they were not entitled to be under the agreement.

The trouble is that the Arab states ask for withdrawal without peace or the establishment of new boundaries.

Question. Why has Israel not made public in more specific terms the new territorial arrangements it envisions?

Answer. Here we're in a quandary. When we make our ideas public it increases the complexities. We make certain proposals and the Arab states look at them, recoil and say they cannot negotiate on them. I think it is much better to say officially that at the negotiating table the whole problem of boundaries and territories is open for agreement. The territorial question is open for free discussion, anyone can make any proposals he likes for negotiation.

When I go to my colleagues to discuss possible terms, they say "Have you got an Arab government that is willing in principle to talk peace? If not, why should we fight among ourselves about something hypothetical."

If I came one day and said, "Gentlemen, Arab government XYZ says it wants peace and would like to explore its conditions, then



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who is doing an excellent job in leading this great veterans' organization.

There were a number of dignitaries on the dais including Rev. C. J. Olander, national chaplain; Chairman Albert V. LaBiche, and Vice Chairman Donald E. Johnson, of the Legion's 50th anniversary committee; Mrs. Arthur B. Hanell, national president of the American Legion Auxiliary; Mrs. Walter H. Glynn, chairman of the Legion Auxiliary's 50th anniversary committee; James M. Henderson, special assistant to the Postmaster General for public information; and Robert Hallock of Newton, Conn., designer of the Legion's commemorative stamp.

Among those present in the audience were the New York State Commander, Michael J. Kogutek of Lackawanna, N.Y., and the Erie County Commander, Joseph Herberger, of Buffalo.

There were several members present from my own Legion Post, Adam Plewacki Post No. 799 in Buffalo, N.Y., including Dr. Matt A. Gajewski, president of the Adam Plewacki Post Stamp Society, and several fellow stamp enthusiasts. This is the largest stamp club in the American Legion.

I would like to commend Dr. Gajewski for the important role he played last year in helping to bring into fruition Public Law 90-353. He was a key advocate in behalf of my bill, H.R. 15972, to permit the reproduction of U.S. postage stamps in color.

Following is the text of the very appropriate remarks of Postmaster General Blount:

REMARKS BY POSTMASTER GENERAL AT LEGION STAMP CEREMONY

I am delighted to be able to share this important ceremony with you today.

The dedication of a new commemorative stamp is an important occasion because it enables the nation to honor American individuals and institutions that have made important contributions to the development of the nation.

The stamp we dedicate today commemorates the 50th anniversary of the founding of the American Legion, an institution that has played a unique and historic role in national affairs.

Over the last half century, the country has suffered through four major armed conflicts. The American Legion emerged to give voice to the needs of the millions of men who fought in those wars.

The activities of the Legion have expanded beyond direct concern with veterans affairs to an involvement in many areas of our national life, including child welfare, community development, education, youth activities, the preservation of Americanism, and national security.

It is an organization through which veterans, as citizens, can work to build a better America.

This is the theme of our American Legion stamp. The design is adapted from the Great Seal of the United States, and shows that part of the eagle which clutches an olive branch, symbolic in this case of the peacetime activities of veterans. Printed on the stamp are these words: "American Legion . . . 50 years . . . Veterans as Citizens."

Veterans as citizens have been a force for good in our society reflecting the peacetime equivalent of that patriotism which compels a man to risk his life in defense of freedom. The same patriotism and love of country which carry men courageously to the battlefield also make them valuable citizens.

The Legion has long believed that man who fights for his country on the battlefield will want to struggle to build his country in peacetime. He has earned for himself an important stake in the destiny of his nation.

For the veteran, when he returns from the front, finds many battles still to be won—battles against apathy, forgetfulness of ideals and purposes, the deterioration of our moral and physical strengths, the abuses of freedom. There are campaigns to be waged for better neighborhoods, healthier communities, quality schools, and effective government.

And he faces the struggle that never seems to end, the struggle for peace. This has been a continuing concern of the Legion. Down through the years, it has consistently advocated military preparedness, without losing sight of the fact that we must work just as diligently to strengthen our ability to wage peace.

In his inaugural address, President Nixon said:

"After a period of confrontation, we are entering an era of negotiation. Let all nations know that during this Administration our lines of communications will be open."

Like the stamp we dedicate today, this Administration will focus on the olive branch. Veterans, perhaps more than others, realize the vital importance of the peace initiative and of the skills which the President brings to this effort. At the same time, we also have the assurance—evident in yesterday's decision on the ABM—that the nation's military might will not be neglected.

The American Legion is like so many great American institutions which grow in response to a particular need, and in serving that need, serve the entire nation as well.

Following World War I, thousands returned from Europe disabled, in one way or another, by that war. They returned to a society unprepared to assist them in their great need of rehabilitation and readjustment, and indeed, a society largely unaware these needs existed.

The Legion, after its formation in Paris by officers and men of the American Army, championed the plight of these heroes of the nation and succeeded in gaining just compensation for them.

The Legion is largely responsible for the structure of state and federal veterans' legislation today. It had an important role in the creation of the Veterans' Administration, in the system of 165 veterans' hospitals throughout the nation, and has been a major factor in almost every piece of veterans' legislation passed in the last 50 years.

It was the motivating force behind the passage in 1944 of the GI Bill of Rights. More than 11 million men were educated or trained under the provisions of this Act, and some 7 million borrowed money for homes and businesses. We can only imagine the extent of the impact of this measure on the nation's development over the past two decades, but certainly it has been a considerable factor in the growth of the economy, not to mention the untold benefits for individuals and their families.

The extent of the Legion's involvement in child welfare is such that it is responsible for helping raise the standards, through federal and state legislation, of juvenile court procedure, child adoptions, and guardianship, and the rights of children in general.

Legion posts are particularly active in community and youth activities, sponsoring baseball teams, Boy Scout troops, high school oratorical contests, Boys' State programs, and various community patriotic, education and charity programs.

On this 50th anniversary, we can salute the American Legion for attaining most of its objectives in the field of veterans' benefits. The United States has the highest standard of veterans' benefits in the world. Yet, there is perhaps a greater need for the Legion's service today than ever before.

Because of its broad involvement in many

areas of our national life, because it has shaped for itself a role in solving modern problems, and because it brings together like-minded men for service to their country, the Legion faces challenges it will not exhaust in the next half century.

President Nixon has said we are approaching the limits of what government can do alone.

"Our greatest need now," he said, "is to reach beyond government, to enlist the legions of the concerned and committed."

One need not hold high office to be concerned and committed. Nor is it necessary to do great things. In the gathering bigness of things, we often lose sight of the fact there is something each of us can do. Each must labor to perform those daily, often unnoticed often thankless tasks which build and hold together a nation.

Or as the President said: "... We need the energies of our people—enlisted not only in grand enterprises, but more importantly in those small, splendid efforts that make headlines in the neighborhood newspaper instead of the national journal.

I am convinced the action is going to be at the community level in the coming years. There is a new awareness of needs of the communities. Great national problems are reflected, in one way or another, in every smaller city across the nation. Some communities are exploding with tension and discontent. Others have a quiet, desperate need for attention. Community efforts, guided by the personal touch of concerned and committed Americans, often meet a need in a way that is impossible for the sweeping, national program.

The voluntary efforts of organizations like the American Legion promise more than all the grand programs we can devise. I urge you to continue your commitment to our nation's communities.

It seems to me very appropriate that the Post Office cite veterans through a commemorative stamp. The military and the Post Office have traditionally had strong ties. The Department has devoted much time and effort to improving mail service to our fighting men. And this is important. General Eisenhower is said to have considered the mail as vital to his armies as an additional division of troops.

We will be endeavoring, in the coming months and years, to improve not only military mail service, but mail service for the entire nation. The Post Office is in serious need of better efficiency and performance. I believe the American people want better mail service and are willing to support the necessary steps to achieve it. Those of you who are veterans can particularly appreciate the importance of making these improvements.

My friends, I am certain all Americans join with me in saluting the impact which veterans as citizens have had on this nation, and the important and historic role which the American Legion has played in promoting that citizenship. This stamp will serve to remind us we are twice indebted to our veterans—for service abroad and at home.

The chairman of the ceremony also called upon me for a few brief remarks. Following is my text:

REMARKS BY CONGRESSMAN DULSKI AT LEGION STAMP CEREMONY

Mr. Chairman, Commander Doyle, Mr. Postmaster General, and friends: This is a golden occasion for the American Legion, and I am grateful that our Post Office Department is recognizing it with the issuance of a special commemorative stamp.

It is an honor and a pleasure for me to be with you today. I am very proud of my membership in one of your larger posts, the Adam Plewacki Post #799 in Buffalo, New York, which also has one of the largest stamp clubs in the American Legion.

March 27, 1969

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—Extensions of Remarks

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we would have to cross the Rubicon. We would have to give our negotiators concrete positions, determining what things are indispensable for us and on which matters they can be flexible.

The Arab states have never put us in the position of having to work out a detailed range of contingent positions.

They will not negotiate directly, they will not negotiate indirectly—as Nasser told *The New York Times* the other day—they will not negotiate orally, they will not negotiate with Jarring or without him. They will not even negotiate by correspondence course.

That's where the frustration lies. Unless they negotiate with us they will never know and we ourselves will never know the true limits of our flexibility and of theirs.

Question. You have said that details of a peace agreement are secondary to the principal objective, the *sine qua non*: an end to the long Arab campaign for the extinction of the State of Israel. Do you believe that the Arab states are, as they claim, sincerely renouncing that goal by accepting the Security Council resolution?

Answer. The policy of the UAR must be interpreted in accordance with the statements of its leaders and from communications to us by Ambassador Jarring. These are quite consistent: There isn't any distinction between them. They present the following picture:

They want us to withdraw in the first stage to the June 4, 1967 boundaries—what we call our nightmare map. They want us to reconstruct our own peril and put us back into the straitjacket. But this is only stage one.

Stage two is that the Arab armies would follow our retreat. Notice that in the Soviet Union's dialogue with the United States, the principle of demilitarization in Sinai is dropped: Arab troops move into to wherever Israeli troops move out. The June 4 powder keg is reconstructed.

Then the blockade is re-established. Freedom of passage in the Suez is made contingent on settlement of the refugee problem, which is at the very best a matter of years—I hope not decades.

The same is true about passage through the Straits of Tiran, the issue that exploded into the June war.

The UAR tells us that they would oppose any permanent arrangement not contingent on their consent. The Sword of Damocles would be put back into place. The May 23, 1967, crisis could be recreated whenever the UAR decided to do so.

Thereafter, the Palestine problem, as they call it, would have to be settled by allowing all the refugees back into what remained of Israel after its withdrawal. Enough Arabs must be introduced to convert Israel into something that is not Israel.

Then, Nasser says, he would make peace with the Israel that it then would have become, namely another Arab state.

This is so clear, so repeatedly stated, that to assume that Nasser wants peace with Israel as a sovereign Jewish state in its own national personality is utterly frivolous.

In fact, in the last few days, the governments which are in closest contact with us have told us very frankly that they do not now believe that the UAR is ready for a peace with us on terms that Israel would accept or that friendly governments would advise us to accept.

At the most, Nasser would accept a Jewish community in an Arab state, or perhaps a sort of Lebanon. But the idea that Israel is an independent nation with roots in the Middle East, no less deep and much older than Arab roots is foreign to Nasser's thinking.

Our case is that Israel is part of the Middle East past and the Middle East present and

the Middle East future. This is something that he has never grasped.

I think that this is the real essence of the conflict—that Arab intellectual and political leaders have never really solved the mystery of Israel's deep and authentic roots in the Middle East past and destiny.

Question. Is the same unwillingness that you assert on the part of Egypt to make peace true with respect to Jordan?

Answer. The situation is different, in the psychological sense. There are Palestinian and Jordanian leaders who say frankly that they would have preferred Israel not to exist but that its existence is an inextinguishable fact.

If Nasser can allow himself to dream, however vainly, of a military victory as a final solution, the Jordanians cannot possibly have any such illusions.

The question is whether there is in Jordan a sovereign capacity to negotiate. The question marks are whether Jordan can negotiate without a green light, or even an amber light, from Cairo; whether the green or amber light exists; whether it could explore a settlement with us under the pressure of the terrorist organizations; whether the presence of Iraqi troops in Jordan exercises an inhibiting effect.

But the issue is not dead. What I have in mind is an integral solution solving the problems of Israel, Jordan and the Palestinian Arabs by establishing an open boundary on the community model familiar in Western Europe, as for example Benelux.

We must look for a way of living together without a million Arabs being forced into an unwanted allegiance.

Question. How can there be the "real peace," the sincere willingness of Arabs to live in peace with Israel, unless the refugee problem is solved? Have you a proposal for its solution?

Answer. I used to think that a solution of the refugee problem would bring about peace. It is my conviction now that the exact opposite is true, that only peace can bring about a solution of the refugee problem.

So long as the Arab states do not want peace, they will not want a solution of the refugee problem.

The Security Council resolution is the first international recognition of the fact that the refugee solution can only come as a part of an integral peace solution. The problem was caused by war; it can only be solved by peace.

Nevertheless we did make a proposal, to which the press has given insufficient attention, that ahead of any question of peace or boundaries or recognition, we should have an international conference to charter a five-year plan for the solution of the refugee problem with the participation of Middle Eastern states, of governments which help to support the refugees and the U.N. specialized agencies. I should be anxious to know what is wrong with that suggestion. In proposing in New York in October to try to reach an agreement on each of the eight or nine subjects in the Security Council resolution, of which the refugees is one, I said it made no matter to me which was discussed first.

I said let's begin with navigation, or the refugee problem, or boundaries, or take them up simultaneously with subcommittees to discuss each of them.

UAR Foreign Minister Riad's answer was to book passage back to Cairo because any response to this would have involved him in a dialogue with us. The peace idea was becoming too concrete for his liking. The proposal for a refugee conference was rejected rather nervously by him, because it is not easy to explain to world opinion that it should be rejected by anyone who cares anything for the refugees.

Question. But have you stated, even in principle, what Israel is prepared to do to solve that enormous problem?

Answer. We are on our guard against any manner of thinking that makes the refugee problem an exclusive Israeli responsibility. Israel simply cannot solve the problem; it can make a contribution to its solution. I don't believe the states of the Middle East can solve it alone. It has to be solved regionally and internationally. That is why we must create a regional and international framework for the refugee discussion. But when I say that peace could solve it, I mean that the psychology of peace would open up possibilities which we cannot envisage in a condition of war.

That's what I think the Arab governments don't understand. The key to the Israeli attitude lies in their hands. The moment they negotiate with us, they unlock in the Israeli mind all kinds of impulses which have been held back.

Question. In the absence of progress towards a settlement, will the Palestine liberation movement grow and capture the imagination of the Arab peoples, to the point that a political settlement becomes impossible.

Answer. These groups are a burden on our security in some places, but in my mind they are still marginal and not central.

Arab governments established these organizations. Without Arab governments they would have neither weapons nor support. The mastery still belongs to the Arab governments. If Nasser or King Hussein decided to negotiate peace, I believe these movements would dwindle at the negotiating stage and fade away at the settlement stage.

Question. They have not become Frankenstein's monster, more powerful than their creator?

Answer. I think the governments still retain executive control. The Fatah is simply a convenience for Arab governments which do not want to fight with their regular armies and yet do not want a period of tranquility leading to peace.

Question. Israel is accused of asking for a degree of security that no other country enjoys; that you refuse to gamble on the possible turning of your adversaries' minds towards a peaceful outcome.

Answer. On the contrary, I would settle for the kind of security which every other country has. I would take any sovereign country in the world and ask what are its relationships with its neighbors in a state of peace. I would shut my eyes, pick one, and settle for that.

Question. How will the Israeli government changes affect the relationship between hawks and doves? Where do you stand personally in that division?

Answer. The ornithological definition is not useful. The hawk-dove phrase has done more to confuse public thinking on international problems than any other semantic device.

We are all hawks only in our ambition to make Israel really secure, and most of us are doves in our ardent desire for peace. My colleague (Defence Minister Moshe) Dayan is called a hawk but it was he who told your people on television that he "would give up a lot of territory for peace" with Egypt or Jordan. That sounds dovish to me.

Mrs. Meir, who I hope will lead the next cabinet, has said that she opposed the extreme slogan of "no surrender of territory" and that if our boundaries are to be agreed boundaries they cannot be the present ones, but that only a peace negotiation can make the discussion real.

So there is a national consensus which I have been expressing all these months.

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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — Extensions of Remarks

March 17, 1969

SHALL WE CONTINUE TO REPAIR,  
OR BUILD A NEW HOUSE?

**HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, in law-enforcement efforts, as well as in almost every other aspect of today's world, we must make certain that improvements which we might plan really would contribute toward the favorable end result which we might have in mind.

Police Chief Everett F. Holladay, Monterey Park, Calif., Police Department, is one of those farsighted individuals who has this capacity to look beyond the first step. He has an excellent background in police work and in accomplishments to his credit, and is fast earning the respect of law enforcement people throughout the Nation.

A recent article featured in Police, November-December 1968, which describes itself as a "journal covering the professional interests of all law enforcement personnel," was written by Chief Holladay and deals with the need for enlightened attitudes toward change in police procedures.

I am quite pleased that Everett Holladay heads one of the police departments in my congressional districts and can report that the city of Monterey Park knows that they have one of the finest small city enforcement agencies on the west coast—thanks to Chief Holladay.

The article follows:

SHALL WE CONTINUE TO REPAIR, OR BUILD  
A NEW HOUSE?

(Editorial feature by E. F. Holladay)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—We have invited a number of different individuals representing different areas of opinion and geography, to prepare editorials of their own subject selection and representing their own opinions rather than, necessarily, that of Police.)

(This editorial has been submitted by Chief Holladay who has been in the field of law enforcement for twenty-five years. He served with the Pomona Police Department from 1943 to 1962 during which time he rose through the ranks to the position of Assistant Chief. He was appointed Police Chief of the city of Monterey Park on August 1, 1962.)

(While at Pomona, Chief Holladay attended the Delinquency Control Institute at the University of Southern California and, in 1951, organized Pomona's first Juvenile Bureau. He is an alumnus of the USC School of Public Administration where he occasionally guest lectures. He is the Secretary-Treasurer of the California Police Chiefs Association.)

(Having taught Juvenile Court Law and Procedure at Mount San Antonio and Chaffey Junior Colleges, Chief Holladay has always been a strong advocate of crime prevention. One of his first acts upon becoming administrative head of the Monterey Park Police was to initiate "Operation Identification," a project to reduce burglary and theft whereby the citizen etches his driver's license number on his personal property as positive evidence of ownership, traceable by law enforcement agencies. Later, the program, P.A.C.E., (Public Anti-Crime Effort) was developed and implemented involving active participation of the citizens of Monterey Park in the prevention of crime.)

(It is the opinion of the Editorial staff of Police that in a free society it is desirable to have these different points of view and

recommendations, and we encourage others to submit similar editorial comment.)

Ted and Mary Jones were respected citizens who lived comfortably in their farmhouse on the outskirts of Centerville. Ted was one of the first to buy a tractor and get rid of the walking plow. When rural electricity became available, he had the necessary lines run down to the house from the highway and bought Mary a new refrigerator to replace the old ice box. Ted, Jr., had gone through the local high school and on to A & M College. On occasion when he wanted to apply some of the college-learned theories in the operation of the farm, he found Dad opposing on the basis of impracticality. However, these arguments generally resulted in the young man's persuasion leading to the adoption of the innovation. Yes, in retrospect, Ted and Mary felt quite proud of their modernization.

During this period, something was happening to Centerville: urbanization. Although the Jones had heard some talk about it, they weren't too concerned until a subdivider offered them more money than they could afford to turn down for their "south 40."

Later, when the newcomers began to occupy the many homes that dotted the hill-sides where the Jones' cattle had formerly pastured, the change that had taken place became vividly personal when complaints were launched against them for the offensive odor of their pignens and against the noises of the rooster crowing at daylight. After much discussion, they reluctantly disposed of the hogs and finally gave up the chickens out of deference to their new neighbors. But these sacrifices were not made easily and some ill will was created as a result.

Later on they were sadly surprised to find that the general location of their farmhouse had been rezoned R-1 and they were now subject to a revolutionary and shocking number of requirements, all designed to make their living more enjoyable.

The plumbing inspector prescribed the work to be completed to provide for the sanitation of the family; the electrical inspector prescribed the increased-capacity type service which meant tearing out a portion of the old system and installing the new. And the crowning blow came when a new street was surveyed in front of the house and they were informed that, to conform with the setback regulations, the front room would have to be removed and relocated on another side of their home.

Ted and Mary sat down and reflected on all the changes they had experienced during the past several years, and realized that most of these had not been of their own choosing; and yet, realistically, the end result had improved some aspects of their living conditions. And so Ted asked, "Should we continue to repair and remodel to meet these requirements, or should we build a new house?" The family resolved to build a house which would not only include all of the modern code requirements but would be designed to foresee similar changes of the future so that its architecture and serviceability would reflect their own desires and personalities for many years to come without the necessity of intervention by outsiders.

Has the family of law enforcement arrived at a similar point of decision? It would seem so. Since World War II we have continued to improve techniques, procedures, policies, and personnel. Yet our record of accomplishment seems sadly lacking.

During this 25-year war on crime, though we have fought gallantly, we have been criticized, cajoled, cramped and constrained while the weight of the advantage continues toward the lawless element as crime rates soar.

Social changes accompanying urbanization of our exploding population have daily represented new challenges. As we struggle to meet these required adjustments, the pe-

riodic visits of the inspectors—the Supreme Court by decision—invariably prescribe additional limitation of our traditional methods by what would appear to us to be an insatiable desire on the part of the court to insulate the criminal at the expense of the protection of society.

Shall we continue to commiserate our wounds, making our required changes with a disgruntled attitude toward our position? Or, shall we use our wits and, as the wise man, turn the situation to our own advantage? Shall we continue to repair? Or, shall we build a new house?

Thinking only of the present, it obviously would be easier to continue the repair in an attempt to maintain compliance with requirements. This course would offer no relief, however, from the frustrations of having other people telling us what to do.

On the shoulders of law enforcement today rests the greatest responsibility in the history of its existence, and from the aspect of sensitivity, perhaps the greatest immediate responsibility of any single profession. If we are to wear this proudly, we must be the architects of our own destiny. We must not choose to simply adjust to the requirements of the day. Like the farmer, we must study every possibility of change likely to be required of us in the future and set our course in areas to produce greatest support and least legal criticism. This would mean research in far greater depth than that to which we are accustomed. It would mean a re-examination of our role in the total spectrum of the administration of criminal justice, and an intensified study of forces of support which are presently available to us.

A limited assessment of our present position would indicate that our two most obvious pursuits should be in the technological and sociological fields. As never before, the attention of society is currently focused on our needs and the dilemma of our position. Never before has the technical scientist been so willing to provide answers if we will specifically described our problems. Never before has the citizen been so willing to get behind the man behind the badge, not just with empty lip service but by actually adjusting or changing his personal habits in a manner designed to frustrate the criminal.

Recently legislation to appropriate funds for our use is unprecedented. This money should not be looked upon with fear of upstream government control. Rather, our legislators should be approached as "financial partners" to whom we submit our architectural renderings as a normal prerequisite to securing the loan to build.

As we enjoy our brief moment in the spotlight of Shakespeare's stage, let us direct our attention to recognizing the overwhelming potential of imagination and creativity represented in our ranks. Let us reflect upon our traditions with a question as to present-day usefulness, and let us properly utilize the support available to us. In so doing, we will build our new house with pride, and, in fact, we will play the lead role in a historical chapter during which both the rise and the fall of crime are duly recorded.

**CRIME REPORT—A RECORD OF  
EXTREME LIBERALISM**

**HON. JOHN R. RARICK**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Daily News publishes a crime clock which lists the "reported crimes in Washington, D.C."



"It is our sincere pleasure to present this land to the people of the Commonwealth with the knowledge that it will be held in perpetuity and developed for public outdoor recreational purposes."

Practically all of the big tract had been stripped and then restored by Mr. Hillman, one of the first coal operators in the nation to advocate complete restoration of the land.

For more than two decades before the passage of the State's strip mine law in 1963, Mr. Hillman was backfilling and grading his strip mine pits and planting trees, shrubbery, and game feeds to restore his lands to useful purposes.

He was one of the leaders in the fight that eventually gave Pennsylvania a strip mine law that serves as a model for the rest of the Nation.

#### NEAR RACCOON PARK

The land gift lies about eight miles south of Raccoon State Park and is slightly more than half as big as the park itself.

Gov. Shafer noted that for a number of years, the State Dept. of Forests and Waters had been inspecting sites in southwestern Pennsylvania for state park purposes "with little success."

"The Hillman family land gift is beyond our highest hopes since the site is uniquely located in relation to high population centers, has excellent access, and it has topographical features conducive to State Park development," the Governor said.

Gov. Shafer said the Dept. of Forests and Waters is including in its capital budget for fiscal year 1969-1970 a request for funds with which a master development plan for the area could be produced. This money would come from the State's Project 500, the land and water conservation and reclamation fund.

#### HILLMAN NAME

"It was my distinct pleasure," Gov. Shafer said, "to recommend to the State Geographic Board that this area be named in honor of, and be so designated as Hillman State Park. Although this was a departure from the board's policy of naming state parks, it concurred in that recommendation that this unprecedented bestowal to the people of our Commonwealth by the Hillman family be perpetually recognized."

The big land tract will be placed under the administration of the park superintendent of Raccoon State Park for now. The Governor explained that this would permit immediate public use of the area for snowmobiling, horseback riding, cross country skiing and hiking.

Although the biggest, the land gift announced yesterday was not the first park donated by Mr. Hillman. In 1949 he donated a number of parklets to the City of Pittsburgh and later developed and presented a 2000-acre park complete with swimming pool, picnic areas, and recreational facilities to the community of Burgettstown.

In recognition of this and other gifts, the citizens of Burgettstown erected a monument to him a number of years ago to express their gratitude.

#### PUBLIC SERVICE CAREER

The park gift was in keeping with Mr. Hillman's career of public service that extends over more than a half a century.

Essentially a modest man, Mr. Hillman worked in the background of many groups that led to a better Pittsburgh. He was the moving spirit in the starting of Pa Pitt's Partners that organized a cleanup campaign in 1947. He served on hospital boards and was president of the Pittsburgh Park and Playground Assn.

He was a supporter and director of the Civic Light Opera Assn. and a member of the Fine Arts Committee of Carnegie Museum.

Mr. Hillman, who celebrated his 80th

birthday a few days ago, is continuing his active interest in conservation matters.

At present, he is working out with Federal and State officials the details of a system of disposing solid wastes in abandoned strip mines.

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#### SOBER THOUGHT ON AMERICA'S ROLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST: AN ADDRESS BY SENATOR BIRCH E. BAYH

#### HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to include in the RECORD the eloquent address delivered by Senator BIRCH E. BAYH on Sunday, February 23, 1969, at the New York Hilton Hotel, when B'nai Zion, the American fraternal Zionist organization, honored our former esteemed colleague, Herbert Tenzer. The Senator's address follows:

#### SOBER THOUGHT ON AMERICA'S ROLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

I do not plan this evening to offer panaceas or magical formulas for what ails the Middle East. I have no cure-alls; nor does anyone else. The complex task of achieving peace in that land of riddles—so aptly characterized by the enigmatic Sphinx—has baffled and eluded the United States and our Israeli friends for nearly two decades. Nevertheless, I would like to suggest some perspectives on America's role in the struggle to insure the existence of a Jewish homeland and produce a Middle East at peace with itself. These perspectives I offer to you of B'nai Zion this evening—and to men of good will everywhere—in the hope that, possibly, they may serve as the building blocks from which that elusive peace can be fashioned.

You in B'nai Zion are dedicated to friendship, peace, the betterment of mankind in the United States and in Israel; the B'nai Zion Home for Retarded Children in Israel and the America-Israel Friendship House in the United States are monuments to your enegry. As members of an organization whose focus is set on works of friendship and whose deeds are marked by understanding and compassion for human suffering, I know that you share with me the agonizing knowledge that as long as ploughshares are turned into swords, the peoples of the Middle East—Jews, Christians, and Moslems alike—cannot expect to reap a harvest of peace.

The dramatic story of the creation of the Jewish homeland—poignantly described by Israel Zangwill as "the land without a people waiting for the people without a land"—is particularly relevant to our hopes for a new and peaceful Middle East. For it clearly shows that when the mind and the body and the spirit are devoted to the tasks of creation—and not destruction—the human potential is unlimited. Prophecies can be made into realities. Deserts can be made to bloom. It was done in Zion. I saw it done there. It can be done in other nations of the Middle East. Israel can help them do it. The United States can help.

That is the message we must bring to an Arab world seething with frustrated and starving masses and fed on the inflammatory statements of extremists. But that message must also state, in no uncertain terms, that there can be no economic and social progress without peace—and there can be no peace until the permanent existence of the State of Israel is recognized by its neighbors.

What can the United States do to assist the nations of the Middle East to move forward to a peaceful settlement of their differences? That is a question to which I have been devoting a great deal of time and thought since my return from Israel in early July, 1967. I wish I could say to you tonight that, yes, the United States can bring peace to the Middle East. In all honesty, in my judgement, it cannot; nor can any other power outside of the area. Nor should it be within the power of an outside nation to work its dictatorial will on this tragic land, which has for too long now suffered the effects of the old imperialism.

A peace is just—and can be permanent—only to the degree that it is voluntarily entered into by the parties directly involved. An imposed peace, however well-intentioned the peacemakers, is an open invitation to renewed hostilities. That is the lesson of 1956. Can we, in good conscience, once again ask Israel to surrender the fruits of victory in exchange for promises, not from its adversaries, but from others? I say no, for history tells us these are empty.

Ten years ago, the maritime powers pledged that the Suez Canal would be open to Israeli shipping and that if Egypt tried to close the Canal they would be prepared to deal with such a situation in a firm and decisive manner. In those ten years, there has been enough diplomatic rhetoric about free transit to float the entire Israeli Navy through the Canal many times over—but there was no action when Nasser acted unilaterally to restrict passage.

More recently, as a prelude to the June War we witnessed Egypt's open defiance of the 1957 United Nations arrangements for free and unobstructed passage in the Straits of Tiran and the Gulf of Aquaba.

And what of the 1956 and 1957 guarantees of territorial integrity? With a commitment from the Western nations in hand, Israel withdrew behind her previous borders. The Sinai Peninsula was completely evacuated in exchange for the presence of United Nations forces. These troops stayed in the Sinai, as we were to see, only at Egypt's pleasure. When the time came for Nasser to mobilize his armies in the desert, the United Nations forces were told to pack—and they did!

So much for international guarantees.

Upon my return from the Middle East, I said that a strong and secure Israel is the best deterrent to aggression. I think this bears repeating now, particularly in view of the Soviet Union's policy of lavishing armaments upon the Arab states.

Recent estimates put Russia's military aid at \$1 billion since the defeat of the Arab forces in June, 1967. As a result of the steady and continuing arms build-up, Syria and Iraq are now at full strength. The Egyptians are reported to have more tanks now than ever before and their air force is at about 50 percent of its pre-war level.

These reports are cause for alarm. They are also cause for the United States to reassess its policy of military assistance. Simply, we cannot afford to see the balance of power tipped in favor of aggression. For that reason, I have not hesitated to call upon our government to make available to Israel the necessary AF Skyhawks, Hawk Missiles and, most importantly, the F4 Phantom Jets. The prompt delivery of the Phantoms in 1969 is an essential ingredient in the Middle East equation—an equation that was upset decisively by France's high-handed action in refusing to deliver the Mirage Jets already paid for by Israel. I believe the United States must take up the slack caused by France's sudden courtship of the Arab states.

In view of France's recent posture and the Soviet Union's continued policy of re-arming the Arabs, the United States must proceed with extreme caution in any Four Power talks. In fact, the stepping-up of terrorist activity and the increasing intransigence of

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hectic weeks that we've had here, as we tried to get a handle on the problems and put together our team.

They've tried to guide us and as we would ask stupid questions, they would straighten us out and tell us about the problems with some of the suggestions that we'd made—but they have considerably lightened the burden during the transition period we have been facing.

I recognize, of course, that their efforts of the last few weeks have been very small indeed when compared to the total service and the total efforts that they have given to the Post Office in their years of service.

If the figures that were given to me are correct, they represent between them a very talented 86 man-years of service in the Post Office Department.

All of us know that the Post Office Department has more than its share of problems but I find myself amazed that, under the circumstances, it performs as well as it does.

The reason it is able to carry out its mission, of course, is because it has been successful in attracting and developing capable executives such as those we honor here today, who despite the difficulties, have managed to accomplish a great deal—and the Postal Service and the nation are indeed indebted to each of you.

Three of them—Fred Batrus, Pete Dorsey and Henry Montague—symbolize the vast store of potential talent that is available within the Post Office Department—within the Postal Service.

They have worked their way to the top, and along the way they have obtained an intimate knowledge of the Postal Service. This knowledge, plus their own obvious talents, have enabled them to make important contributions at the upper levels of this Department.

The other man that we honor today, Ralph Nicholson, symbolizes the outside source of talent that is available to the Postal Service.

Although after eight years, I don't know who'd say "outside sources," really, Ralph—but men from the outside, from business and other areas who have become experts in particular fields, and who like Ralph, are often willing to make that expertise available in public service at personal sacrifice.

The combination of the career postal management and talented newcomers from outside, seems to me to make for a real vital blend for continued progress in the Postal Service. Both are very important.

In terms of years of service, Henry Montague stands senior among us today. He entered the Postal Service at Roughkeepsie, New York, in 1937 as a substitute clerk and he rose through clerical and supervisory ranks to become an inspector in 1942. He became Chief Inspector in 1961.

Since that time, he has led the Postal Inspection Service in many of its major investigations and successful criminal prosecution efforts, including vigilance in protecting the public interest through investigations of rackets involving millions of dollars in mail frauds.

During the transition, he has been invaluable in assuring a smooth changeover in the area of enforcement of postal laws.

Fred Batrus and Pete Dorsey both entered the Postal Service in 1946, Fred as an attorney in headquarters, and Pete as a Postmaster of Upper Marlboro, Maryland.

Pete and I have a mutual friend that lives in Upper Marlboro. My mother—when she was in Washington—used to visit there often. I understand that's the hunt country, but I can't imagine Pete Dorsey riding to the hounds!

Fred served in a number of executive positions in transportation, including Deputy Assistant Postmaster General, prior to his appointment as Assistant Postmaster General for Transportation. He has applied this extensive experience to the continued efficient

transportation of the mails during this change.

The transition period has been marked by several difficulties, including the longshoremen's East Coast strike affecting international mail—and Fred's assistance was particularly helpful in weathering this event.

Pete Dorsey was named Director of the Bureau of Operations' Post Office Changes Branch in 1962 and was assigned in March, 1964, as staff assistant to the Deputy Assistant Postmaster General for Field Operations.

In May of 1966, he was promoted to be Special Assistant for Policy and Projects, and in August of that same year, moved up to Director of Installations Management Division. In 1967, he was appointed Deputy Assistant Postmaster General for Operations. A few months ago he was named Acting Assistant Postmaster General for Operations.

Ralph Nicholson came to the Post Office Department in 1961 from a New York advertising agency as Assistant Postmaster General for Finance and Administration.

He has been particularly helpful in assisting our new postal managers in obtaining a full grasp of the complex field of postal finance and administration—and to me personally as I have attempted to get a grasp on the problems that I have faced.

I have been told many times of the extreme respect that the people on the Hill have for his intimate knowledge of the financial areas of this Department.

The description on this distinguished Award reads:

"For distinguished public service in the interest of a better postal system for the Nation."

Again, I'd like to say that I'm grateful to each of these gentlemen for what he has contributed, and for the opportunity that I've had to have worked with them personally.

Each of these gentlemen is unselfishly remaining here in one capacity or another at my request—to continue to assist us in our efforts and I deeply appreciate their commitment and the personal sacrifice to them.

#### A BILL TO ESTABLISH A NATIONAL COMMISSION ON LIBRARIES AND INFORMATION SCIENCE

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I am today cosponsoring with the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. BRADENAS) a bill to establish a National Commission on Libraries and Information Science.

The creation of such a permanent Commission was the first recommendation of a report issued last fall by the National Advisory Commission on Libraries. The bill we are introducing today would create a 15-member independent Commission, appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, to study our library and informational needs; evaluate the effectiveness of current programs; develop plans for meeting national needs in this area; provide technical advice to Federal, State, local, and private agencies; promote research and development in the field; and advise the President and Congress on program and policy needs.

This legislation would authorize a first-year appropriation of \$500,000 and continuing appropriations thereafter as the

Congress shall determine. The Commission would be independent of any given agency, but the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is directed to provide it with administrative support, to be paid for out of the Commission's funds. I hope that this bill and related legislation will be the subject of early hearings by the Education and Labor Committee.

#### GENEROUS CONSERVATION GIFT OF MR. AND MRS. JAMES F. HILLMAN, OF PITTSBURGH

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to call to the attention of my colleagues in the U.S. Congress and the American people the generous gift of 3,654 acres of land to the State of Pennsylvania by Mr. and Mrs. James F. Hillman, civic leaders of Pittsburgh, Pa.

The land, located in Hanover Township, Washington County, about 20 miles west of Pittsburgh, will be designated Hillman State Park.

My hearty congratulations to Mr. and Mrs. James Hillman for this fine contribution. Their enlightened and forward-looking leadership for the public good is a fine advance in the preservation of our natural heritage for Pennsylvania and the American people.

I present for the RECORD at this point an article by Fred Jones, conservation editor of the Pittsburgh Press, which describes the Hillman State Park and Mr. Hillman's long interest in conservation:

CITY LEADER GIVES STATE 3,654 ACRES FOR PARK  
(By Fred Jones)

A Pittsburgh conservationist has given the State a 3654-acre tract of land valued at more than \$1 million for use as a park.

The gift from James F. Hillman, of Parish Lane, Oakland, is the largest single land gift for State park purposes in the U.S., according to officials.

IN HANOVER TWP.

The tract is located in Hanover Twp., Washington County, just north of Rt. 22 about 20 miles west of Pittsburgh.

Receipt of the land was announced yesterday by Gov. Raymond P. Shafer who declared that "Mr. Hillman's benevolence manifests his life-time philosophy that conservation of natural resources, wise use and protection, results in benefits that go beyond economic considerations; that lasting value to all people and community, is the primary goal."

"Many times recognized for his responsive and dedicated leadership in community development, Mr. Hillman again demonstrates meaningful and effective expression of his profound humanitarianism. The Commonwealth has gratefully accepted his unparalleled gift in the same spirit as which the Hillman family has bestowed it," the Governor said.

EXPRESSES 'PLEASURE'

Mr. Hillman, president of the Harmon Creek Coal Co., in notifying the Governor of his gift, said:

March 12, 1969

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—Extensions of Remarks

Arab extremists may very well turn out to be part of Soviet-Arab strategy. This policy of provocation might be designed to create a false climate for the upcoming talks in which peace at any price appears as the only alternative to further aggression. The aim of this strategy, of course, is to force the United States into a compromising position with its Israeli ally and to pressure us into forcing concessions from Israel.

Before any talks begin, therefore, I suggest that the President of the United States clearly state to the Russians and to the French, our determination to protect the territorial integrity of the State of Israel. That should be the main principle of American policy. The specifics of that policy should be, as I said on June 23, 1967, when I joined my distinguished colleague, Senator Javits, in sponsoring a "sense of the Senate" resolution on the Middle East:

1. Every nation has the fundamental right to exist and to have that right respected by its neighbors.

2. An equitable solution to the thorny refugee problem.

3. Free and unobstructed passage through international waterways, including the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba.

4. A halt to the dangerous and spiralling arms race.

5. Recognized boundaries, voluntarily agreed to by the parties involved.

Point number one calls for an end to the state of war, embodied in a peace treaty, and recognition of Israel. The only way to implement this, it seems to me, is to have the parties themselves sit down face-to-face and negotiate a settlement.

I am not naive. This will not be easy. Winning a peace never is, but as Aristotle wisely pointed out: "It is more difficult to organize peace than to win a war; but the fruits of victory will be lost if the peace is not well organized."

For twenty years, the refugees have been fertile soil for exploitation by Arab politicians. I suggest that this is the one area where Israel can take the lead and by so doing, can demonstrate to a watching world its obvious and sincere desire for peace. By taking the all important step toward the compensation, rehabilitation, and resettlement of these unwitting victims of aggression, Israel can deprive the Arab states of a potent political weapon.

My concern for free and unobstructed passage through the Suez Canal and Gulf of Aqaba is not a new policy. Traditionally, both avenues of commerce have been regarded as international waterways. Of course, until the Arabs are prepared to sign a peace treaty, Israel's holding on to the strategic outpost at Sharm-el-Sheikh is a necessity. It simply cannot afford to have this vital lifeline cut once again.

The answer to the spiralling arms race, as you know, lies not with Israel, the United States or even with the Arabs. It lies with the Soviet Union, now the main source of money and weapons for the Arabs and a new force to be considered in the already confused Middle East picture. This is one area where the Four Power talks can prove useful and where Russia's often stated desire for peace in the Middle East can be tested.

Resolving the many complex and centuries old boundary disputes will be a particularly difficult task—but a task in which there appears to be some room for give-and-take. The ideal solution would be a settlement in which neither Arabs nor Jews gained a decided military advantage—and Israel's borders were secured. But no one who believes in the Israeli cause—and in the cause of freedom and peace—can, in good faith, ask her to agree to a settlement that would permit hostile forces to be arrayed along her borders, as in 1967.

As a visitor to a kibbutz on the Sea of Galilee, I personally witnessed the vulnerability of these borders. I saw the disastrous

effects of Syrian artillery shelling on innocent civilians. The Golan Heights must never again be used as a military outpost from which shells are launched on women and children below.

The question of Jerusalem involves more than just land and even security. It is a question of great religious significance for Jew, Christian and Moslem—and for that reason will prove the most difficult of all to resolve. I suggest that while Israel retain the City, it agree to some sort of international status for the Christian and Moslem holy places.

So I say to my Israeli friends: Persist in what is just and we shall have a just peace. As long as the Arab nations are unwilling to recognize Israel and give up the foolhardy idea of driving the Jews into the Sea, Israel is justified in retaining those strategic areas that proved so vulnerable in 1967.

To negotiate a lasting peace in the Middle East, is indeed a monumental task. But as the poet Milton observed: "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war." For if peace comes to the Middle East, all of its peoples will benefit and the works of creation can begin again. I am confident that with Israel's faith, perseverance and justice, we can accomplish this goal.

Tzee Yon B'Meeshpah Teepaeh—Zion shall be redeemed through justice.

Shalom, my friends. May peace be with you forever.

## THERE IS NO LACK OF GOOD CHARACTER

## HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, we hear a great deal these days about the lack of character in people and true Americanism as it was understood in our country for many years. Yet from time to time something always happens in one part of the country or another to prove that this is not so, that most Americans are still proud of their country and still very much interested in their fellow men, despite the demonstrations and the violence.

Such an example occurred recently in Norwich, Conn., in my congressional district. During a large public sale at a local well-known retail store, which attracted many people, there was a sudden fire scare and everyone had to leave the building. A brief letter from the owner of the store, Mr. John Meyer, published several days later in the Norwich Bulletin, describes the situation in precise words. I can only add that everyone concerned deserves commendation for their behavior, their honesty, and for preventing a panic. His letter reads as follows:

THANK YOU

Mr. Editor: To everyone who was attending our Annual Public Sale on Thursday evening at the time of the "fire scare," let me extend my personal thanks and gratitude for the manner in which you reacted.

In these days of confusion, demonstration, and rioting, the people from this area are splendid examples of true Americanism. People showed concern, remained calm and when we were sure there was no fire or danger, these people reentered the building with the garments in their arms.

The Norwich Police Department reacted quickly and reported they saw no one leaving with unwrapped merchandise. We had two people call to tell us they had to leave due

to problems but would be in Friday to pay for their garments.

The Norwich Fire Department responded to the call within minutes and double checked to assure everyone that all was well.

Again—Thank You—one and all for coming and for being "wonderful people" in what could have been a real panic.

JOHN MEYER.

PVT. HENRY BETHEA, U.S. ARMY,  
KILLED IN VIETNAM

## HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, it is my sad duty to report that another one of my constituents, Pvt. Henry Bethea, U.S. Army, of Montrose, N.Y., died in Vietnam earlier this month.

I wish to commend the courage of this young man and to honor his memory by inserting herewith, for inclusion in the RECORD, the following article:

[From the Peekskill (N.Y.) Evening Star, Mar. 8, 1969]

MONTROSE PARATROOPER KILLED—PVT. BETHEA  
IN VIETNAM ONLY 2 WEEKS

Pvt. Henry Bethea, foster son of Mr. and Mrs. James Jones, of Dutch Street, Montrose, was killed in Vietnam early in March, two weeks after he had arrived in the war zone, the War Department has announced. The youth would be 21 on March 22.

The former outstanding athlete of Hendrick Hudson High School, a native of New York City, had been a member of the Jones family for 12 years. He was a member of the 1967 graduating class of Hendrick Hudson. He entered the service last October, and trained at Fort Gordon, Georgia. Following basic, he had selected paratroop training.

The family was notified on Wednesday that the youth was missing, and a telegram received yesterday advised that he had been killed.

A younger brother, Rayfield Bethea, it was learned this morning, has been notified of his impending induction in the armed services and will have a physical examination next week.

Funeral arrangements have not yet been completed. It is expected that the body will arrive in about five days. A foster brother, Sgt. Ronald Jones, who served in Vietnam for a year and returned home two months ago, is expected to be an escort. Sgt. Jones is now stationed at Fort Huachuca, Arizona, for the balance of his six months in the army.

The first notice from the War Department stated that Pvt. Bethea was missing when his platoon returned from action. He was a member of Co. C of the Third Brigade.

## OUTSTANDING ATHLETE

At Hendrick Hudson, Pvt. Bethea played varsity football for four years, and was a halfback on the 1966-67 undefeated team. He was also on the wrestling team, played JV basketball and held the school track records for hurdles and broad jump.

Following graduation from high school, Pvt. Bethea attended Community College at Garden City, Kansas, for several months before entering the service.

Surviving is Pvt. Bethea's brother, Rayfield Bethea; his foster parents, Mr. and Mrs. James Jones, and several foster brothers and sisters.



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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — Extensions of Remarks

March 12, 1969

SEARS MIDWESTERN TERRITORY  
MAGAZINE TELLS STORY OF IN-  
DIANAPOLIS ANTICRIME CRUSADE

## HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

—OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, in the 7 years that the Indianapolis Anticrime crusade has been in operation, mobilizing the talents and energies of 50,000 members of over 1,000 Indianapolis women's organizations, it has become a model for cities all over the country.

The following article from Sears Midwestern Territory magazine for October 1968 describes the crusade and the help they received from the Sears-Roebuck Foundation:

IT CAN BE DONE: THE AMAZING ANTICRIME  
CRUSADE OF 50,000 INDIANAPOLIS CLUB  
WOMEN

Crime and public apathy toward it were on the rise in Indianapolis the night that Dr. Margaret Marshall, a 90-year-old retired psychologist and teacher, stepped from her doorway into a darkened street. Without warning, a mugger lashed out at her head with a blunt weapon and snatched her purse. When Dr. Marshall died of her injuries, the *Indianapolis News* was deluged with letters from infuriated women. Assistant Publisher Eugene S. Pulliam asked one of the paper's staffers, Margaret Moore, a petite 57-year-old widow, to help 30 prominent, civic-minded women to decide on a course of action.

Within weeks, Moore, with the help of local club leaders, had mobilized the 50,000 members of more than 1,000 Indianapolis women's organizations into an Anti-Crime Crusade. That was in March of 1962.

What has happened since is a modern-day miracle. In 1965, Indianapolis crime dropped 2.2 per cent while the national crime rate was rising 6 per cent. Although in 1965 and 1967 there was a 5.2 per cent resurgence in the city's total crime, this was less than half the 11 per cent rise the FBI reported for the nation as a whole.

Recently, President Johnson's Crime Commission pointed to the Indianapolis Crusade as "the most dramatic example in the country of a citizens' group that has addressed itself forcefully and successfully to the problems of crime and criminal justice."

Last month the Anti-Crime Crusaders, members of the Seventh District Federation of Clubs of Indianapolis, received a check for \$12,500 from Indianapolis Group Manager Vincent Haggerty on behalf of The Sears-Roebuck Foundation as top honors in the 1966-68 nationwide Community Improvement Program.

Following is the story of how these Indianapolis clubwomen—not much different, probably, from the ones in your home town—helped clean up crime in their city with the support of The Sears-Roebuck Foundation.

## LOOKING AND LISTENING

"The first six months," says Mrs. Moore, "we went to the power structure and listened to all their problems in crime prevention. Then we listened to outside experts explain ways of dealing with them." The view was the same from the male side of the fence, too. "They were around here for months asking questions before they made a move," says Police Chief Winston Churchill.

To get a better view of the problem, Mrs. Moore and her Crusaders camped at police headquarters for 48 hours, often riding with the police on their neighborhood patrols.

## TURNING THE LIGHT ON CRIME

On one of these rides, a Crusade volunteer learned that a high percentage of violent crimes were committed on dark streets. "The

worst," says Crusade Coordinator Moore, "were the semi-commercial, semi-residential neighborhoods near the downtown area."

Soon women were appointed to the lighting advisory committee for the Board of Works, and they appeared at city council meetings to speak in favor of an increased budget for lighting. The result is that well over 9,000 new lights have been installed at a cost of \$1,000,000 since the Crusade began. Police figure that crime has dropped as much as 85 per cent in some of the newly illuminated areas. Further, night accidents have decreased 38 per cent on these same streets.

The Crusaders next turned their attention to the lot of Indianapolis policemen. They lobbied for pay raises and uniform appropriations. They established quarterly merit awards for policemen. They fought to change a city council ruling that prohibited the police department from recruiting men from anywhere but the city of Indianapolis. And they won a partial victory, too—the department can now accept as recruits men who come from outside the city but live in Marion County, in which Indianapolis is located.

The Crusade also worked to refurbish the image of the policeman. They persuaded the department to let two sharp, young officers give talks at city schools, at the same time passing out pamphlets that discuss laws affecting juveniles. As a result, today most students have formed a new opinion of the police department and its work.

## BROOMS AND BUCKETS

In a spruce-up campaign, the Crusaders learned that good housekeeping is a crime deterrent, too. Says Mrs. Moore, "We picked one of the dirtiest blocks we could find and asked the city to close it to traffic one Saturday afternoon and lend us a truck to haul away the junk. About sixty kids came running out to enlist, and pretty soon their mothers were tossing so much junk out of the windows that it took six truck loads to haul it away."

Before very long the women saw the fruits of their labor. "The houses were so clean and there was so much more room," Moore discovered, "that the children had a place to study and made better grades. Their mothers were more content, so the fathers stayed home and didn't get in trouble with the police."

Since then, Mrs. Mattie Coney, a Negro school teacher who was appointed spruce-up chairman, has organized more than 500 citizen block clubs. Last year she spearheaded a city-wide clean-up drive in which 175,000 tons of trash and junk were hauled away.

"People make slums," says Mrs. Coney, who received a top Freedoms Foundation award for her work. "Bad neighborhoods develop because individuals fail."

## COURTING IMPROVEMENT

At the end of 1962, the women began a "court watchers" program. Some 3,000 women have sat in on more than 70,000 cases, filled out reports on the defendant, the charge, the plea, the verdict, the proceedings. Was the judge punctual? Were the attorneys prepared with their cases, or did they ask for a continuance? Was the arresting officer present to testify? Some attorneys disapproved, but court efficiency increased. "It's the only honest evaluation we get," says Judge William T. Sharp. "It shakes everybody up and makes us analyze our decisions."

As the women sat in courts, they noted that many juvenile offenders were high school dropouts. So they began a pilot project in which 28 women worked with 28 dropouts on a person-to-person basis, furnishing tutoring help, encouragement, books, clothes and carfare.

When 26 of the 28 went back to school and stayed, the school administrators asked the women to help with 520 dropouts. They have since been able to get more than 2,000 dropouts back in school without city expenditures. Clubs assist by holding benefits, book-

and-author luncheons, apron sales, chili suppers.

The first step in the stay-in-school program is to write a personal letter to the student, offering help with any problems that may have caused him to drop out. About 75 per cent of the students who have responded said they dropped out because no one cared if they stayed. The women showed they cared by visiting the youngsters in their homes or treating them to a soda.

## THE "FIVE-FINGER DISCOUNT"

On a bus one day, a Crusade member overheard one girl ask another, "Did you take your 'five-finger discount' today?" They were talking, the volunteer deduced, about shoplifting. A little spadework subsequently revealed that merchants all over the city were despairing about a steadily rising rate of light-fingered theft, but most were afraid to act against possible "boosters" for fear of being sued.

Crusaders joined the city police department and business organizations in sponsoring seminars for merchants, where experts demonstrated ways to spot and discourage shoplifting. The women then wrote an anti-shoplifting guide which has been distributed to more than 10,000 store owners. They also pressed vigorously for new legislation that would allow store personnel to detain and search suspicious customers with impunity.

The law was passed last year and is credited by Police Chief Winston Churchill with increasing shoplifting arrests in Indianapolis more than 30 percent and hiking the conviction rate to an unprecedented 87 per cent. The number of reported offenses, meanwhile, is dropping.

## WHAT YOU CAN DO

To the bewildered lady who asks, "But what can I do about crime prevention?" the women of Indianapolis have prepared the following checklist:

Sponsor a one-day workshop on crime prevention and law enforcement. Invite the mayor, police chief, district attorney, parole and probation officers, police administration professors, and a representative of the Chamber of Commerce to participate in panels.

Visit law enforcement officials on the job. Take a look at lighting in your town or city. Ask police for help, and conduct a lighting survey correlated with high crime areas.

Begin a court-watching program. Start a crime alert program. Make sure the citizens in your town or city know what the crime rate is and how much it's costing them in human lives and money.

Find out if you have dropouts. Your help may be needed to start a back-to-school movement.

Make sure children in your town or city know the laws that affect them.

Meet with parole officers and other corrections officials to help youths released from correctional institutions. Police records show that approximately 35 per cent of juvenile offenders are repeaters. These youths need to get adjusted to law-abiding life in their communities.

Study legislation affecting law enforcement and crime prevention.

Find out whether your police department has a recruiting problem.

Begin a spruce-up campaign in one area, and enlist the help of women throughout the city to make the program city-wide.

Work with churches. Approximately 50 per cent of the youths in trouble have no church affiliation—but 50 per cent do have some affiliation.

The women of Indianapolis have the blueprint. Do the women in your city have the initiative?

SEARS-ROEBUCK FOUNDATION FUNDS AID FIGHT  
ON CRIME

As a result of Indianapolis' outstanding Anti-Crime Crusade, the nationwide Community Improvement Program, co-sponsored

Just as important, Mr. Speaker, I hope there will soon evolve in DOD an environment conducive to the study and development of new uses of seapower. As a nation it is time for us to become enlightened about the real estate of the sea. As President Kennedy said, our survival may depend upon it.

The letter mentioned above follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D.C., February 18, 1969.

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD,  
Secretary of Defense,  
Department of Defense,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: You are to be commended for your decision to conduct a review of the proposed Sentinel ABM system before proceeding with production and deployment commitments. I share with you the conviction that the Nation will be well served in taking initial steps toward deployment of a credible ABM capability—whether our profit accrues from a stronger position in arms control bargaining or from possession of an effective, although admittedly incomplete, shield from missile attack.

In either prospectus, the practical effectiveness of the system to be deployed is of obvious importance. Indeed, it is reasonable doubt of Sentinel's ability to cope with the determined M.I.R.V. attack which (a) underlies much domestic opposition to the cost of deployment, and (b) would erode Sentinel's deterrent value as well as its benefits in United States-Soviet arms control negotiations.

With respect to the above considerations, I earnestly urge your consideration of a combination Sentinel-Sabmis system.

Sabmis (sea-based anti-ballistic missile intercept system) is in large measure a marriage of the Polaris-Poseidon technology with the Sprint and Spartan systems. In effect, the deployment of a Sabmis unit would place in the seas close to an adversary's homeland and across his "launch trajectory window," a mobile screen of anti-missile forces. I commend to your attention the following outstanding features of Sabmis:

First. Early interception of an adversary's offensive missiles promises the destruction of multi-warhead missiles before such weapons split into a virtual shower of decoys, penetration aids, and thermonuclear warheads. The proposed terminal phase anti-missile defenses surrounding our priority targets within the United States will have to deal with each incoming element of the "shower" individually, unless the launch vehicle is thus intercepted before its dispersion is effected.

Second. Along with the Polaris-Poseidon forces, Sabmis would move much of the impact of any future nuclear confrontation out to sea and away from our population centers. One example of this feature is that Sabmis interception and destruction, with its inevitable nuclear collisions and fallout, would take place over the adversary's homeland or over the sea.

Third. A wisely balanced mix of Sabmis and fixed, terminal-phase, Sprint-Spartan-type defenses would give us two interception zones, thus vastly increasing any opponent's difficulties in insuring penetration, and magnifying his doubts of any reasonable prospectus of achieving a disabling first strike. The latter are deterrent factors, but should irrationality prevail and deterrence fail, the utilization of Sabmis would reduce the task of the terminal-phase defenses to manageable proportions and/or force an attacker to divert substantial forces to attempts to find and neutralize and ocean-based barrier. These attempts in themselves, it should be noted, would constitute warnings of the most valuable sort.

Fourth. Sabmis promises a substantial alleviation of that most crucial shortage in

crisis decision time before committing our land-based offensive missiles. Where first strikes by a potential enemy against our strategic retaliatory forces can be deflected by Sabmis far from our shores, that terrible counterblow need not be launched immediately to avoid destruction of the launch sites. Such a time buffer reduces the chances of overaction, accident, or error.

Fifth. A remarkable feature of Sabmis is the ability it can provide us in turning aside nuclear blackmail bargaining by adversaries who, in effect, hold our friends and allies "hostage" under the threat of missile-borne destruction. Thus, the deployment of a Sabmis unit in the Sea of Japan or the Bay of Bengal could cover the approach routes of missiles from China directed against Japan or India, respectively. No fixed-base system in the United States offers such an answer to this type of threat to our international interests.

Sixth. Needless to say, the unique shielding capability of Sabmis is of enormous significance to the whole non-proliferation thrust. Sabmis, very simply, can offer a substantial degree of security to poorer friendly nations against crude but terrifying nuclear missiles acquired by ideologically militant neighbors—without requiring such threatened states to develop their own deterrent nuclear forces.

Seventh. We are not speaking here of a defensive system requiring a chain of technological breakthroughs for practical realization. The R. & D. requirement for Sabmis is largely a recombination of state-of-the-art hardware and technology.

Mr. Secretary, I submit that the clear and readily attainable advantages of a Sabmis-Sentinel combination offer, at moderate cost, sufficient enhancement of our ABM capability (for deterrence, defense, alliance policy or negotiation) to warrant most serious consideration before a final commitment to exclusive reliance upon a terminal phase system. Your customary patient attention and thoughtful assessment will be deeply appreciated.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

WILLIAM R. ANDERSON.

### TIME FOR CONGRESS TO TAKE ACTION ON THE PROBLEM OF LUMBER

(Mr. BERRY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, Congress is faced with a very serious situation. It is a situation that is real—it is a situation that must be promptly met.

The point is, there has been more than a 100-percent rise in the cost of lumber during the past 12 months. This has resulted in the entire building industry suddenly being involved in an upward pricing spiral never before experienced. It is going to have a very deteriorating effect on the HUD 235 program.

Congress wonders why. The answer is very plain.

According to the following information which I have received from a prominent lumber dealer and building contractor in my district:

The Japanese have been getting an enormous amount of our raw material... logs... 2½ billion feet in 1968 alone, with no sign that the "Morse Amendment" limitation for export to 350 million feet a year will at all affect this year's or possibly next year's exports because of existing export contracts.

As I write you, there are 284 million feet of logs in the waters of west coast ports,

most assumingly ready for export. This vast drain of logs to Japan has kicked up timber prices drastically. It is commonplace today for timber stands to sell at two to three times their appraised value.

And the little mill operator, who does not own stands of saw timber, and who is totally dependent on buying federally-sold timber, is forced to meet these export-inflated prices to obtain a stumpage for our domestic United States use. As this trend continues, and we see no sign of its abating, then the somber forecast of serious lumber economists may well come true... i.e., with further lumber price increases of as much as 25% or more this spring. Right now we lumber dealers find it almost impossible to get firm prices quoted from lumber suppliers who fear that tomorrow's inflation will make today's quotes invalid.

The result? We in turn, leaning on lumber as we do for most construction projects, find it likewise impossible to bid our jobs with reasonable certainty that our estimates will be correct when construction commences. We do know what must be done and when. We ask most respectfully for immediate action by the Congress and the Executive Branches for:

1. An immediate and total ban on exports of timber, from the United States to any place in the world, from any port, of any commonly used building species; such ban to last until this patently apparent crisis has eased in the opinion of the President. Such ban to be imposed by the Secretaries of Interior and Agriculture, under powers now possessed by these two Cabinet officers to so act.

2. The immediate increase of allowable cut—the amount of timber which may be harvested without jeopardizing sustained yield and other sound conservation practices—from Federal Lands of at least 10% by the United States Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management.

3. Passage by Congress of immediate additional appropriations by the United States Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management which will allow placement of immediate sale of blowdown (storm toppled) timber and/or bug infested timber which is lying on the ground rotting at present.

Taking these three steps will give our suppliers the raw materials they must have, will at least hold the current line on prices, and will restrict primary use of a United States commodity to the United States, rather than exporting it and the jobs it creates to a foreign nation.

We tell you finally that Japan, for one, does not need United States logs at present. Its economic journals have said repeatedly since last November that Japanese ports are glutted with United States logs which they overbought last year as a last minute Japanese attempt to anticipate implementation of the "Morse Amendment" export limitation.

Mr. Speaker, when we were in Japan last fall we saw bay after bay filled with logs. There was no question but that they had come from the Pacific Northwest, Canada, and Alaska. The building industry needs immediate attention before this great industry grinds to a complete halt for want of our basic building component; namely, wood. It is time for Congress to take action on this very serious situation.

### THE EXPLOSIVE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

(Mr. DENNIS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and to include extraneous matter.)

March 11, 1969

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

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Mr. Meyer has shown a sensitivity and understanding for the problems of economic development in Latin America, and an ability to use local talent and initiative in solving them.

I may add that Mr. Meyer comes from a civic-minded and well-known family. Mr. Meyer's paternal grandfather, George von Lengerke Meyer, was a prominent political figure at the turn of the century. He was speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, Ambassador to Italy and to Russia, as well as Postmaster General and Secretary of the Navy.

I want to congratulate the administration on this timely and very suitable nomination. As chairman of the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, I look forward to working with Mr. Meyer on tasks relating to the formulation and execution of our policy toward Latin America.

THE SERIOUS DANGER FROM AN INCREASED OFFENSIVE IN SOUTH VIETNAM

(Mr. ICHORD asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, I commend the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. STRATTON) for bringing to the attention of the House the grave danger now confronting our troops in Vietnam by the current Communist offensive which has been made much easier to mount by the bombing cessation.

The decision authorizing the bombing cessation was one which I personally considered very ill-advised from the military standpoint at the time it was made because I had observed throughout my years as a member of the House Committee on Armed Services just what the North Vietnamese did every time there was a bombing cessation. The intelligence reports and films which were shown to me revealed that a major supply buildup was begun immediately by the North Vietnamese after each bombing pause was effected. Since March 31, 1968, they have repeated their past actions and today our troops face what appears to be a well-supplied major offensive action.

I would point out to the Members of the House that the purpose of the bombing cessation on March 31, 1968, was to get peace talks started and to avoid the unnecessary killing of civilians. But the bombing cessation which was put in operation extended also to the transportation of supplies, materials, equipment, and troops that have been moved down the coast of North Vietnam to a point north of the DMZ zone by sea-going ships.

Certainly there was no reason at all to have a cessation of bombing in regard to that shipment. The Members of the House should be aware of the fact that tons upon tons of supplies and equipment are moving down the coastline every day. I do not desire to be too harsh in my judgment of those responsible for making the difficult military and political decisions in Vietnam but too many of my fellow Americans have already been killed by decisions which have

resulted in America trying to fight a war with one hand tied behind our backs. I would hope that President Nixon does not repeat the mistakes of the past.

SABMIS STUDY ROADBLOCKED

(Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, it is hard to imagine a citizen or enterprise in the market for a product who would refuse to take a look at something claimed to be twice as good at one quarter the cost. Strangely, this is precisely the situation with the Department of Defense relative to Sabmis, the sea-based, anti-ballistic-missile concept. I do not know whether Sabmis would be twice as good and four times less expensive or not. It could well be. But I have learned enough about it to be convinced that this country stands to make a very serious mistake if Department of Defense does not at least thoroughly examine the feasibility and potential advantages of including it in our ABM structure.

Parenthetically, Mr. Speaker, let me add that I have very grave doubts about the ability of either the United States or the Soviet Union to deploy an ABM system with any great degree of effectiveness without incurring prohibitive costs. But let us assume for the moment that the United States is going to move toward a limited ABM capability of some sort.

I would also make it clear that neither I nor any group of which I have knowledge propose that Sentinel be scrapped and superseded by Sabmis. My suggestion merely is that Sabmis be investigated as an adjunct to the Sentinel-type system.

There is a third point, Mr. Speaker, which should be clarified. Deputy Defense Secretary Packard has apparently been advised that Sabmis can only be produced far, far downstream from the Sentinel. This is simply untrue. Sabmis is based on current technology. No scientific breakthroughs are required. The basic technical ingredients are the Poseidon missile and tracking and acquisition radars of a type already deployed at sea on a more limited basis. With proper support it can be fully operational in the same time span as Sentinel.

Sabmis has been treated as an unwanted child from the start. Department of Defense has released just enough investigation funds to be able to say that it is being looked into. Less than \$1 million have been spent up to this point and a considerable portion of that came out of the Navy's own hide through internal reprogramming action. Rather than encouraging the study of this promising concept, powerfully effective individuals in DOD have done everything within their power to roadblock it. DOD has even withheld funds officially obligated for the study of Sabmis, meanwhile spending \$4 billion on Sentinel.

One can only conclude that the whiz kids are still in charge, giving the same answers they settled upon a half decade

ago. I hope that President Nixon and Secretary Laird will hasten to fulfill their promise of decentralizing the Pentagon so that all the services can contribute freely to the development of the strategy of the future. Thus far, the new administration has failed.

Sabmis, Mr. Speaker, is nothing more than a mobile sea-based ABM system which would be deployed close to the launch sites of potential enemies. Such a system would afford early interception and destruction of an adversary's offensive missiles before such weapons split into a shower of thermonuclear warheads, decoys and penetration aids. It would function when the chances for effective interception would be highest. It would perform its function without fallout on our population centers. And it would attract thermonuclear countermeasures into the oceans rather than to American soil and air space. No bomb shelters would have to be built because of its existence.

A further remarkable feature of Sabmis is its ability to help turn aside nuclear blackmail by adversaries who might hold friends and allies "hostage" under the threat of missile borne destruction. With Sabmis, if we should choose, we could offer ABM protection to nations such as Japan, the Philippines, and Australia, for examples.

Sabmis also promises a substantial alleviation of the inherent crucial shortage in decision time before committing our own offensive missiles. An enemy might even tip his hand in advance of an attack by the pattern of his actions to circumvent Sabmis. I include, for the Record, a more substantial explanation of the advantages of Sabmis contained in my letter of February 18, 1969, to the Secretary of Defense.

It cannot be emphasized too strongly that Sabmis units are readily mobile, swiftly deployable in response to specific sources and types of threat as events require. They can operate out of the coastal waters of Germany, India, Norway, Japan, Israel, and the United States, as well as anywhere on the high seas.

I have been advised that as few as four Sabmis ships could afford the same protective coverage as provided by the entire Sentinel system as currently visualized. These ships would be men of war, the size of large cruisers, and would have to be especially designed and built. The likely cost would be around \$500,000,000 each. The number of ships that might be utilized is flexible, of course, but the maximum would probably be eight, unless we decide to spend ourselves bankrupt by trying to provide an effective shield against any and all types of full scale attacks from the Soviet Union.

Sabmis affords President Nixon and Secretary Laird with a unique opportunity to inject a much needed fresh breeze into the entire ABM picture. I hope that they will cause an immediate serious investigation of Sabmis and will not merely come forward with cosmetic changes to Sentinel such as cutting out a few bases and moving the rest a few miles away from our cities. I hope they will do this before any final decision for ABM deployment.

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Mr. DENNIS. Mr. Speaker, my hometown, Richmond, Ind., is the seat of Earlham College, a small liberal arts college of about 1,100 students, which is affiliated with the religious Society of Friends.

The president of Earlham College is Dr. Landrum Bolling, who, before became a college president, had a distinguished career as a war correspondent, newsman, world traveler, and student and professor of political science.

One of the areas to which Dr. Bolling has devoted much time and study is the Middle East, and the explosive situation which exists there today between the State of Israel and the Arab States.

Recently, Dr. Bolling gave an interview on this subject to a weekly newspaper, the Richmond, Ind., Graphic, which is one of the most informative and dispassionate discussions of the Israel-Arab problem that I have seen.

Dr. Bolling's discussion is neither pro-Israel nor pro-Arab; he takes a clear look at a most difficult situation and assesses it from the point of view of our own national interest, and as one deeply concerned with the maintenance of world peace.

Dr. Bolling comes to the conclusion that, given the present situation in the Near East, peace in the area can be brought about today only by and through action by the great powers—that the time to act is now—and that failure to act may well lead to renewed warfare in the area; a situation which might hold grave possibilities of another Vietnam or even of a serious confrontation between Soviet Russia and the United States.

The subject is of such vital importance, and Dr. Bolling's discussion seems to me so sane and intelligent, that I am offering a copy of this interview for insertion in the RECORD, and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues in the House and to that of persons in the national administration who are charged with responsibility in this area:

PEACE OF WORLD ENDANGERED UNLESS MIDDLE EAST AGREEMENT COMES SOON

(Interview with Dr. Landrum Bolling)

Question. I know that as a historian you never like to start with the present, so perhaps we can back up just a little bit and cite a few facts which led up to our present situation. Maybe starting with 1948? Would that be far enough back, or do we have to go back to Old Testament times?

Dr. BOLLING. I don't think we have to go back to the Old Testament, but I think we have to go farther back than 1948. I think that the fundamental issue that you have to look at is the whole basic concept of the Zionist movement. You see, Zionism was the creation of a Jewish journalist in Vienna named Theodore Herzl, who in the 1880's and 90's began to develop a movement, an ideology for the gathering together of the Jewish population.

He, of course, like many other Jews in central Europe was well aware of the incredible persecutions of the Jewish people over many generations and centuries, particularly in Poland and Hungary. And he had the idea that Jews would never be secure, they would never have any sense of hope in the world until they had their own homeland.

And so he began to try to sell this idea to Jewish communities in various parts of Europe and to preach the idea that Jews should be gathered together. The dispersed Jews, or as they call it, the Jews in Diaspora, should be brought back together.

Now, in the beginning there was not clear agreement that this would be in Palestine. As a matter of fact, the early Zionists negotiated for some time with the British about the possibility of setting up a Jewish homeland in the highlands of Central Africa and they actually negotiated about setting up a Jewish state in what is now Uganda. This idea was talked about seriously for a long while, but eventually was dropped and they came back to the idea of re-establishing a Jewish settlement in Palestine.

#### SOME HAD BEEN THERE

Of course, there had been some Jews who all through the years had remained in Palestine, though the Jewish population in Palestine at the turn of the century was very small indeed. Those who had lived there in Palestine and in other parts of the Middle East among the Arabs had, on the whole, probably as little difficulties with their neighbors as in any part of the world.

The Arabs are, after all, Semitic people themselves. One of the things, incidentally, that infuriates the Arabs is to be called anti-Semitic. It is a contradiction in terms. "We are semites ourselves," they say. "We are obviously very closely related to Jews in blood, in culture, in language even, and so on."

So the Jews and the Arabs lived quite harmoniously together over the centuries, though, of course, very few Jews actually did remain in Palestine over a period of 1800 years or so.

The Zionist movement began to focus on Palestine about the time of World War I and the Zionist leaders began to negotiate with the Turkish government which, as an imperial power, controlled most of the Arab lands and controlled Palestine.

#### MADE DEAL WITH TURKS

This is one of the things, in a sense, that got the Jews off to a bad start with the Arabs, because the Jews made their deal with the hated colonial Turks in the first place to get into Palestine. A lot of the Arabs who thought about these matters were quite bitter that their hated Turkish imperial overlords should bring another people into their midst.

But on the other hand, there were many Arabs who went along in a very friendly way with the idea of bringing Jews into the Middle East. King Hussein's (of Jordan) grandfather, for example, sold considerable tracts of land to Jewish settlers back around 1920, and many of the early Jewish migrants came into Palestine with the full blessing of the Arabs from whom they bought land and with whom they traded, and they settled down to live there."

Question. Did they only come individually?

Dr. BOLLING. They came individually or they came sometimes in small groups or small communities out of some part of Poland or Russia. And they began to develop their cooperative communities, their Kibbutzim.

As they became more noticeable on the landscape, as they became more numerous, tensions began to develop and the first of the Jewish-Arab conflicts developed in the 20's and continued on in the 30's with occasional outbursts of violence by one side toward the other and particularly, of course, on the part of the Arabs.

#### BAD FEELING GROWS

Certain Arab nationalists were beginning to explode at the thought that the Jews were coming into their midst and were going to be taking over more and more territory.

One of the tragic aspects about the whole business was that Arab nationalism was beginning to come to the fore just as, in a sense, Jewish nationalism was coming to the fore. These two nationalisms came into conflict at a moment in history and in a place where conflict was inevitable. I think that is the heart of the whole thing.

One of the most fascinating books that has been written about the current problems out

there is a book by a Jewish member of the Israeli parliament, a member of the Knesset. He is also an editor of a magazine. His name is Yuri Avneri who has written this book called "Israel Without Zionists."

He himself says that he owes his life to the Zionist movement. His father was a German Jew who brought him to Palestine in 1933. He says if it hadn't been for the Zionist movement, he would probably be dead today. He fought first of all as a teenage underground fighter in the secret terrorist organization, the Irgun, against the British before they got out. He fought in the war of '48. He fought in the war of '56. He fought in the war of '67.

In spite of all that, he says a purely Jewish state is a bad idea. And he goes beyond that to say that the one single, simple mistake Herzl and the early Zionists made was that they overlooked the fact that the territory was already occupied by the Arabs.

#### CONSIDER JEWS INVADERS

Now this is a very central point of the whole argument—that here you have an area in which the Arabs, as they see it, had had undisputed control of this area, except for the colonial powers that were over them at various times, for 1,500 years, and all of a sudden they are confronted with this, as they see it, an invasion of foreigners coming in and pushing them out. So this kind of feeling that you get among the Arabs is something that is very much at the bottom of the whole conflict.

Now during the 20's and the 30's, immigration to various parts of Israel increased. Of course, after Hitler came to power in '33, the tide of immigration increased very rapidly until it was shut off by Hitler's control of most of Europe, though actually there were some Jews who managed to get out. They either escaped or bought their way out; that is, they were ransomed out by Jews on the outside.

After the war was over there were, of course, several hundred thousand Jewish survivors in the concentration camps and in hiding around Europe who now came out and many of these wanted to get out of Europe as fast as they could. Many of them wanted to come to the U.S. or Australia or Canada or South Africa, but many of them felt the only hope for them was to go to Palestine.

#### ZIONISTS FIGHT BRITISH

And so between '45 when the war ended and '48 when Israel came into being, there was this constant struggle against the British forces that occupied Palestine and had the League of Nations mandate to administer Palestine. It was a struggle between the Zionists and the British over the rate of immigration into Palestine.

Question. Now, if I may ask, it was from World War I until World War II that the British had a mandate? Is that right?

Dr. BOLLING. Right. The British wound up at the end of World War I with a League of Nations mandate to administer Palestine and to prepare it for self government.

Question. And this was the time the Jews were promised a "homeland?"

Dr. BOLLING. Well, the Jews were promised the homeland in the Balfour declaration of 1916. This was a one page letter written by Lord Balfour, the foreign minister to Dr. Chaim Weizmann, who was a very brilliant Jewish scientist, a subject of Great Britain who had been very active in helping with the British war effort.

Weizmann was a leading, enthusiastic Zionist and when the British government asked him what they could do to reward him for his great services in war industry effort, he said, "There is one thing and one thing only that I could ask, and that is that you help us establish a Jewish homeland in Palestine."

And so Lord Balfour wrote a letter in which he said that his majesty's government views with favor the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Now that is

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essentially all it said and you can judge by these words that they were very vague. It didn't say what kind of homeland. It didn't promise a separate independent political state. It didn't say how many Jews. It just said the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. That letter has been argued over ever since then. The British put one interpretation on it. The Jews put another. The Arabs put another. And yet, of course, the Balfour declaration was, in a sense, the basis of the public commitment to aid this immigration from World War I on.

#### TEMPO OF DISCORD RISES

Now, between '45 and '48, the tide of migration into Palestine was moving pretty rapidly in spite of difficulties, in spite of the fact the British at one time cut off all immigration into Palestine on the grounds they couldn't keep order because the Arabs were objecting so strenuously to it. And there were riots. There was fighting.

The Jews meantime formed their own para-military organizations to support their cause. One of these was called the Stern gang. One was called the Irgun. These two bodies were, as the British called them, terrorist organizations. They had no official standing, but they were armed bands of men and boys who felt that the survival of the Jews was at stake and that they were out to fight to get freedom and independence for a Jewish community.

There was actually some fighting among themselves, because these people were very passionate about their ideas. There was a good deal of hostility and competition for leadership.

Well, the British finally decided, you recall, in 1947, that they could not continue to exercise this mandate. They said it was no longer possible to govern this country, that it is really ungovernable as it now stands, and therefore the British said to the United Nations, we transfer this back to the United Nations as the successor to the League of Nations and ask that you decide what's to be done with it.

#### PARTITION FINALLY VOTED

So inside the United Nations was long, long debate that lasted for many months about what should be done about it. A partition plan was finally put forward and the U.N. voted somewhat cautiously and reluctantly to divide Palestine into a Jewish and Arab state, with Jerusalem to be an international city, open to both sides.

Well, the Arabs refused to accept the partition idea. They said this is impossible—we will not allow our territory to be taken away from us this way. And the Israelis said, well this isn't exactly what we wanted—this isn't as much territory as we would like, but all right we will accept it.

So the U.N. decision in 1947 called for the creation on May 15, 1948, of a new state to be called Israel, with the previously predominantly Arab section of what remained of Palestine to be set up on another basis.

As I say, the Arabs would not accept this decision. And on the day that Israel was born officially, May 15, 1948, the Arab neighbors attacked Israel, intending to destroy this state before it really could get born. The Arabs defended their actions then and they defend them still on the grounds that the creation of the state of Israel was an act of aggression against them. Every time the Israelis denounce the Arabs for attacking Israel, the Arabs reply: the very nature, the very existence of Israel is an offense to us and is an aggression against our people and against our territory. And they will always go back to this particular argument.

#### CHANGES FOLLOW STATEHOOD

Now I think it has to be said that in the period since '48, a lot of things have happened that obviously alter the situation and determine the course of events today and in

the months ahead. In the first place, you have to bear in mind that the Israelis proved to be enormously effective fighters and the Arabs proved to be very poor fighters. The Israelis were, in a sense, fighting for survival. Their backs were to the sea. They had to win. If they didn't they felt they would be exterminated. And so they fought heroically and with great effectiveness in '48 and again in '56 and again in '67.

Furthermore, the Israelis were for the most part western trained and western oriented in their skill, their outlook. They are people of the modern world. The Arab populations, in very large measure, are simple and backward and primitive people with limited education and without a sense of passion for their cause.

So the Arabs did not do terribly well in any of these wars. And the Israelis won. In the war of '48, which was connected with their independence, they won convincingly. And in the end they wound up with more territory—something like 80% more territory—than they would have had if the Arabs had accepted the original U.N. partition plan.

#### TAKE HALF OF JERUSALEM

They also wound up holding half or more than half of the city of Jerusalem. And they refused to accept the idea of an international city—just as the Arabs as a matter of fact, refused to accept the fact of an international Jerusalem.

From '48 to '56, there was a cease-fire, but no peace. In all these 21 years since Israel was created, there has been no real peace in the Middle East. There has been only a truce. And that truce has been broken again and again, particularly by the Arab guerillas who commit acts of sabotage against the Israelis. And they have been doing this on and on for many years.

The Israelis, meantime, have built up a powerfully efficient military organization. I suppose they have the most comprehensive military training program in the world.

Israel is an armed camp. Israel is a nation in which everyone is expected to do his military duty, male and female. They have conscription, required military service that lasts from, say age 18 to something like 50 years of age. And on the roads and streets of Israel you see women in uniform right alongside the men in great numbers. They are draftees. The women are drafted just the same as the men.

#### A NATION OF "SQUARES"

As a people, they are intelligent. They are hard working. They are technically skilled. They are passionately devoted to the defense of their country. And one interesting thing, they are the most "square" people that you will find. No beards, no long hair. Everybody is ship-shape and trim, you know. They give this appearance of a sort of army camp.

Question. As a nation, they are devoted to God and country?

Dr. BOLLING. They are devoted to God and country. At least, they are devoted to country. God is not terribly important in Israel, in the sense that the overwhelming majority of Jewish people in Israel have no interest in their own religion as such. It is largely an agnostic and atheistic population. The religious Jews are a tiny minority of the total. But of course, the religious Jews do have a very powerful voice in the total policy of the country.

Well, back to the events since Israel came into being as a state. Israel was never able to get the Arabs to accept her existence. The Arabs have maintained a boycott against Israel. They refuse to trade with her. They refuse to recognize her and refuse to have diplomatic relations with her. They refuse even to allow people to cross from one side of the border to the other, except under very rare circumstances.

Religious pilgrims might at Easter time or Christmas go through the gate, but normally there was a complete shut-off of communication and transportation between Israel and the Arab countries that completely surround her. Of course, Israel has not liked this. She has wanted to be accepted. She wants to have peace with her neighbors. This is perfectly clear.

#### ISRAELIS OVERWHELM EGYPT

In 1956, after Nasser had nationalized the Suez canal and after he had begun to make an army deal with the Russians, the British and the French backed the Israelis in an attack on Egypt. The Israelis swept across the Sinai peninsula to the Suez canal and Egypt was overwhelmed almost immediately, but the United Nations went into action almost immediately. And in this case the United States and the Soviet Union stood on the same side.

They denounced the Israelis, the British and the French and they compelled them to withdraw, promptly. The Israelis got only one thing out of that war of '56. They got a promise of free passage of their ships through the Gulf of Aqaba, through the straits of Tiran, which Egypt, of course, could control, provided the United Nations would make Israel withdraw from the Sinai peninsula. This kind of a deal was made and the Israelis did withdraw and the Egyptians did allow the shipping to proceed to Elath.

Nasser precipitated a crisis in the spring of 1967 by saying he was going to close that strait. He was going to shut off the Israeli shipping to Elath. And the Israelis said, of course, we can't tolerate this; this is vital to us and we will fight.

Nasser meantime, trying to re-establish his leadership in the Arab world, trying to rattle the sword and see what it could get by way of concessions, was pushing his country and the Arab world to the brink of war. Many people will argue with you as to whether he intended to go to war or not. The Jews, of course, say that he was making every gesture as if he were going to war and they were not going to sit there like sitting ducks until the Egyptians and Jordanians and the Syrians attacked them and overwhelmed them.

#### THE 6-DAY WAR, JUNE 1967

So the Israelis admit they fired the first shot. They made a pre-dawn attack on the Egyptian air force in the early hours of June 5, 1967, and within a very short period of time—a matter of a few hours—they had destroyed them. They caught them on the ground by surprise, and they completely decimated the Egyptian air force which the Soviets had built up by providing MIG planes and training their pilots. But here in a flash, the Israelis had completely destroyed this.

Having destroyed the Egyptian air force, the Egyptians were not able to use their ground forces, their tanks and their troops to good effect, and again the air force. The air power of the Israelis, plus their skill and hard fighting ability, made it possible for them to overwhelm the Egyptians, to overwhelm the Jordanians, and to overwhelm the Syrians in what we now call the Six Day War.

Since that defeat, there has been, I think a greater hope that a peace could be made than at any time in the last 20 years. The reason I say this is for the first time, I think the responsible leadership in Egypt and in Jordan, particularly, have come to see that they have got to accept the existence of the State of Israel. I think this is the big shift that has taken place. They do not believe it possible to drive Israel into the sea, and they have been very careful about what kind of claims or promises they would make about what they could do.

#### NASSER COOLS SPEECHMAKING

Nasser used to make speeches, day after day condemning the Israelis—that is before

1967, saying, we are going to get revenge—we are going to drive the Israelis into the sea. They don't talk of that any more. They don't believe that any more. They know that they can't do this. At least they couldn't do it unless they got the Russians' help to do it and this would very likely precipitate a nuclear war.

So I think, the big difference since '67 has been the growing realism of the Arab leadership, in Egypt and Jordan particularly, that some time or other they have got to come to terms with Israel.

Now, after a long drawn-out debate in the United Nations, after Mr. Kosygin and Mr. Johnson had the summer summit conference at Glassboro, New Jersey, and so on, you remember, the U.N. went into session that fall and argued and argued and finally came up on the 22 of November, 1967, with a resolution that called for the acceptance of various principles on which a peace would be based.

The U.N. formula contained in that resolution has four main points and, I think is very important to try to keep in mind. The U.N. resolution of the 22nd of November said that peace should be based upon these principles:

#### THE UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTION OF NOVEMBER 22, 1967

One—acceptance of the rights of all the states in the area to exist behind secure boundaries. This means, of course, accepting the right of Israel to exist.

Secondly—the right of the shipping of all nations to use freely the international waters of the area. This again would guarantee to Israel the right to use the Suez canal, the Gulf of Aqaba and so on.

Third, the resolution said that there should be undertaken immediate steps to find a comprehensive solution to the problems of the Arab refugees. You see, ever since 1948, there have been hundreds of thousands of Arab refugees driven from their homes in what is now Israel, living many of them on U.N. relief allotments and others scattered all across the world. The Arab refugees are today a very, very explosive factor in the whole problem of the Middle East conflict. And so the U.N. resolution called for a comprehensive settlement of that.

And the final point—actually it was point number one in the resolution—called for the Israelis to withdraw from the territory they had taken.

This resolution, as some of the people who have been most involved say, is a typical British compromise. It was an attempt to get each side to give a little in order to reach some common ground on which a peace could be based.

#### ARAB LEADERS ACCEPT RESOLUTION

After a brief delay, the representatives of both Jordan and Egypt accepted that Nov. 22 resolution. The Israelis have not to this day accepted the resolution.

When they are pressed on this point, such as the other day on "Meet the Press," the Israeli ambassador said, "Well of course, we have accepted this resolution, except that we say that the implementation of the resolution requires the two sides to sit down and negotiate."

The Israelis have not accepted that resolution. This is a kind of playing with words, because the Israelis have made very clear that they do not intend to give back a substantial part of this territory. The resolution from the very outset says Israel must give up all the territory she has taken. But the Israelis do not intend to give up all the territory. In fact, there are some in Israel who argue they shouldn't give up a square foot of the territory they have conquered. They say that this is a just retribution on the Arabs for the war, that they precipitated the war and therefore they should pay the penalty of it.

Well, this is a part of that whole argument. The Israelis keep saying, "Come to the conference table, let us negotiate." The Arabs keep saying, "Tell us first whether you accept the U.N. resolution." The Arab point of view is that until Israel has declared whether she accepts the resolution or not, they do not know on what terms they are going to negotiate.

#### ARAB LEADERS FEAR ASSASSINATION

What the Arabs say is Israel wants to get us in a closed room without any U.N. presence, sit down at the table with us and dictate terms of peace to us. We are not going into that room. We are not going to enter into negotiations on this basis.

What is more realistic in one sense is to say that the Arab leaders know that if they entered into negotiations at this point they would be assassinated.

The Arabs are passionate, violent, fanatical people, and no one of these Arab leaders could for a moment consider sitting down at the conference table with the Israelis at this point. Certainly not without some real assurance that the Israelis would live up to the U.N. resolution. They are not going to sit down and negotiate with them. The interesting thing is, of course, that the Israelis know this too. They know that the Arabs are not going to negotiate them. That is why they can keep on saying come and negotiate.

The truth of the matter is that the Israelis really do not want peace now, and I have been told almost this in so many words. They will say something like this: we don't really believe that a peace is possible now, not until the Arabs have had a drastic reform in their government, until they have got rid of these leaders, until they have got themselves better educated, till they have reformed their society, until they have a decent social order et cetera and so on.

They are waiting for the great, glorious new age of Arab reform to take place. Then, they say, it will be possible to sit down and negotiate with the Arabs.

#### CAN SIT TIGHT, DEFEND SELVES

Furthermore, they have, as they see it, defensible boundaries now. They know that they have military superiority over the Arabs. And they say to you—in fact one of the high officials in Israel said to me—we are not too badly off the way things now stand. We can defend ourselves. We have good boundaries and we have a highly and efficient and mobile military force. We can deal with any combination of Arab power thrown against us, and protect ourselves for at least the next 5 to 10 years. And who can plan his life more than 5 to 10 years ahead? This is the honest picture of what is going on in the minds of these people.

The big new factor since the June war, of course, has been, the emergence of the commandos. The Fedayeen is the general term that is used by the Arabs, which is a word that means people willing to sacrifice their lives.

The most important of these organizations is called Al Fatah. The leader of Al Fatah is today—no question about it—the most popular man in the Arab world. He is the man who symbolizes Arab resistance and Arab hope.

One of the things that has to be borne in mind about the Arab people is that they are, by and large, completely disillusioned with their governments. Even Nasser, who at one time was a great hero throughout the Arab world, is today a man who is largely discredited. There just isn't a great leader.

Hussein has a certain popularity with some, but he is not popular even with his own people. If there was an election, would Hussein win? Who knows, but a lot of people are opposed to Hussein, and some of these have guns and wouldn't be at all adverse to using them on Hussein, particularly if he should sit down to negotiate with the Israelis.

#### NO LEADERSHIP IN ARAB WORLD

So there is no real leadership among the Arabs, today. The commandos give a kind of emotional outlet to a frustrated and angry and bitter Arab who wants something to be done.

When you talk to some of the young people in the Arab world—and I have talked to Arab refugees in Cairo and I have talked to Arab refugees in Jordan and in Lebanon and in New York City, for that matter, and even in Washington, D.C., where I talked to an Arab refugee just a few days ago, a taxi driver—they all sound alike. They say exactly the same thing. They hate the State of Israel. They hate their present leadership. They want something to be done. They are prepared to use violence to change things.

In that total situation, I would say that the possibilities of peace between Arabs and Israelis are virtually nil, in so far as you depend upon the Arabs and Israelis to bring it about.

I think the only possible way in which there is any hope for peace in the Middle East is for that peace to be forced upon them by the pressure of the great powers. Now, this seems like, perhaps, a very horrible way to bring about peace, but I am convinced that the only way in which there is any possibility of peace is for the United States and the Soviet Union to agree—at least to agree sufficiently on a basis for peace, to compel both sides to accept peace.

Unless we are able to do this, then I would say you might just as well forget it and prepare for another round of warfare between the Arabs and the Israelis.

Question. You say that the war—the Six Day war—finally convinced the Arab leaders that they had to come to terms with the Israelis, and therefore this provided the first real hope for peace. This isn't the same thing as saying that the time since then has increased the possibility of peace, is it?

#### PEACE HOPES HAVE FADED

Dr. BOLLING. No, the reason why it has become less and less likely to bring peace is that the Israelis did not accept the U.N. resolution. They did not accept the requirement that they withdraw from this territory.

If the Israelis had been willing to withdraw and implement the resolution, and if the United States and Soviet Union had been willing to guarantee the provisions would be carried out, peace could have been brought about.

I think there was a very good chance of peace in the fall and early winter of '67, but the longer the delay continues, the more bitterness rises, the more acts of violence are committed, the stronger Arab commandos become, and the more retaliation the Israelis will inflict on the Arabs. This thing just keeps getting more and more out of hand.

Question. President Nixon has stated that the United States has three options. One is four-power talks within the United Nations, secondly, four-power talks outside the United Nations, and thirdly bilateral talks with Russia. Would you see those as the three options? Are they limited to that?

Dr. BOLLING. I am not sure that his options are limited to these. These are certainly three major options. I think the four-power talks inside the United Nations is a good place to begin. You may have to transfer these outside the framework of the U.N. to carry them on. And at some point there is not any doubt at all the United States and Soviet Union have got to sit down and talk face to face, about this thing, and probably without any outside help.

The French want to be involved in this. The British want to be involved in it, because both the British and French have long had very considerable interest in the Mid East.

#### DE GAULLE WANTS IN THE ACT

DeGaulle has taken a major hand in pushing for a four-power conference. You can't



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very well exclude him, but the real test is to be found I think in regard to the ability of the United States and Soviet Union to sit down and talk this thing through in a wholly realistic way. We have to say to the Russians: Look, we have an interest in peace in this part of the world. You have an interest in peace in this part of the world. We don't want to get involved in a nuclear confrontation here.

I personally have a feeling that of all the danger points in the world, the point where there is greatest possibility of a real nuclear confrontation is the Middle East.

I don't think that this is going to come about. I don't think either the United States or Soviet Union want such a confrontation or will take the steps that will bring a confrontation about. But if one should come, I think the Middle East is the place where it would come. I think the Russians know this. We know it and therefore we both have an interest in trying to cool this thing off.

Question. Where do you think U.S. policy has failed since the Six Day war?

Dr. BOLLING. I think it has failed by our refusal to put pressure on Israel to get the Israelis to accept the U.N. resolution as a basis for a negotiated peace. I think that if President Johnson had been willing to stick his neck out at the end of 1967 and say to the Israelis: We are going to insist on a peace here, you cannot go on in this state that you are in now, and we are not going to continue to supply you with arms and economic aid to enable you to maintain this position; you and your long-term survival depends on making peace with your Arab neighbors; the U.N. resolution gives a basis for bringing about a peace, and we will underwrite that peace.

#### ISRAELIS DISCOUNT U.N. GUARANTEES

Now the Israelis, of course, have always said that the U.N. resolutions mean nothing. The U.N. does not carry out its resolutions and therefore they are saying if they would agree to a peace, the Arabs would immediately violate it and the U.N. would do nothing.

I think, in a sense, the Israelis have a very good point here—that if there is going to be any peace, the U.S. and U.S.S.R. must underwrite that peace. But Mr. Johnson was not willing to do this. Mr. Johnson was playing politics with this issue, and there is of course an enormous American sympathy for Israel. There is an enormous Jewish black pressure in the United States in support of Israel, and any American politician is obviously, in one sense, taking his life in his hands when he tries to force Israel to do anything. This is one of the plain, blunt facts of life about this situation.

Question. You would, then, consider the U.N. resolution as the logical and acceptable basis for drawing up the peace?

Dr. BOLLING. I think it is a logical framework within which you can create a peace. It would mean nothing unless you had serious negotiations to spell it out and unless you had a real guarantee of its enforcement. The Israelis have said over and over: If we are asked to withdraw, then who is to say the Arabs will carry out their obligations the rest of the way? They say: All right, we might give up our hold on this territory, but then the Arabs would say all right, we have changed our minds; you still can't use the Suez canal, you can't use the Gulf of Aqaba; we are not going to recognize you or your existence. The Israelis say they are not going to give up this territory without knowing what is going to happen.

Inside Israel, of course, is a great division about what kind of peace would be acceptable. A very interesting thing happened just in the last couple of weeks that highlights this division in Israel. The prime minister of the country, the man who is supposed to be the head of the government Mr. Eshkol (who

died suddenly last week) gave an interview to Newsweek magazine in which he indicated the kinds of territorial changes Israel would insist on in order to have peace.

#### PRIME MINISTER STIRS UP STORM

Mr. Eshkol spelled out what the Israeli government wants. He said: We want to absorb the Gaza strip; we will insist on maintaining our control of all of Jerusalem; we will insist on maintaining our control of the Golan heights in Syria, bordering on northeastern Israel, and we will insist on a control of the point of land that juts out into the Straits of Tiran way down at the very bottom of the Sinai peninsula. He said these are absolute essentials and Israel will insist on these territorial changes.

That is, in effect, saying, we won't accept the U.N. resolution; we are not going to give back that territory; that is our basic position. Then he goes on to comment on the west bank, where something like 600,000 Arabs live: Well, we perhaps would give back most of this territory, but we would insist on certain security measures along the Jordan valley and we want to have some four or five community bases down there.

Now this was the prime minister of the government speaking, supposedly in full knowledge of what he could deliver. He created a storm of protest in his country. His government almost fell because he gave this interview. Why? Because he was promising to give away more than many Israeli politicians were willing to have the prime minister promise to give back. And this is just a very dramatic proof of the fact the Israelis themselves are not united on what they want or what they would do.

As a matter of fact, in Israel which is a democratic country which does have a free press, you have competing political parties. You have people ranging all the way from one extreme, who would say not only that Israel should give back all the territory it now has but that it ought to start to negotiate and unite with Jordan in a kind of Arab-Jewish federated state. That is one extreme.

#### FANATICS OPPOSE CONCESSIONS

At the other end you have the fanatical religious orthodox Jews who insist that Israel should keep every foot of land they have and get more. They say that the destiny of Israel is to control all of the land between the Nile and the Euphrates river, because this is what in the Old Testament the great God Jehovah promised his chosen people.

So you know you have these extremes of opinion in Israel. They are not a united people. They are very sharply divided and they have a kind of open competitive political situation in which everybody can stand up and say his peace. It is very difficult for a government in Israel to really pull the country together on this issue.

Question. How about the refugees, who are generally conceded to be the most violent seedbed of hatred in this area? What is the eventual outcome of this group, if any?

Dr. BOLLING. This is the greatest unknown. I think, in the whole situation—what is to happen to the Palestinian Arabs, what is to happen to the refugees who have for various reasons and at various times left their home. One interesting thing is that something like 60% of the original Arab refugees went out and found new homes for themselves on their own.

I talked to the United Nations relief director for Arab refugees in Beirut, in Lebanon, and I raised with him the question that is often put forward by the Israelis who say these refugees are just sitting in idleness in camps being kept there by the Arab governments that want them to stay there and be a factor that creates hatred and bitterness and so on.

This U.N. director, who was an American, was very irritated and scornful of this idea. He said this was a favorite bit of Israeli propaganda, but that the truth was that more than 60% of the Arab refugees have gone out by their own initiative and found new homes and new jobs in various parts of the world, in Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, in Lebanon, in Cairo and even the United States, France, Britain and elsewhere.

#### LEARNING TO IRRIGATE

Furthermore, a number of them have been settled in areas very close by. I visited the Jordan valley on the Jordanian side and saw some of the irrigated farms which the Jordanian government, with the help of the World Bank and the U.N., have developed over the last 12 years since they began this project.

They are people who came into a new land and with the help of irrigation were able to develop very attractive and successful farms. So some of these people solved their problems, but still there are lots of them in refugee camps, maybe 350,000 to 500,000 of them.

Of course, there are lots more refugees in camps today than there were before June '67, because there has been a great flood of new refugees poured out of the so-called west bank of the Jordan and from the Gaza strip. And many of these are living in tents in the highlands between Aman and the Jordan. Many of these refugees were previously living in the Jordan valley, which is below sea level, you know. It is warm, sort of semitropical and a very comfortable place to spend the winter. But because of the Israeli raids on these towns along the river, the Jordanian government had to evacuate those people up into the hills, where it is cold and wintery. It is a miserable situation for them.

These people are terribly bitter. You can imagine if you are a refugee in the first place living in reasonable warmth down in a semitropical valley and then you are driven out of there and up into the cold, bleak and sometimes snow-covered hillside up in the hills, you can just imagine how bitter those families feel.

#### NO NEED TO STIR UP

There is no question the refugees are a source of hatred and bitterness. The Israelis keep complaining the Jordanian government stirs up hatred among them. They don't have to stir up any hatred. They don't have to give them any propaganda. These people, out of their own experience, will tell you sometimes with tears and sometimes with screams, how they feel about their experience. The hatred is there. It is unmistakably there. It is not something the Jordan government has to stir up.

Question. If the political situation can be stabilized, perhaps can these refugees be absorbed?

Dr. BOLLING. Politically they would like the right to go back. Most of them would never go back; they wouldn't think of going back into areas that are going to be permanently Israel. This is a very bitter political point—they say: Israel has to admit our right to go back to the homes we had before; then we have to have the choice as to whether we go back or not; if we don't go back—and they will all agree that 99% of them wouldn't go back and live under Israel—then Israel has got to compensate us for the houses, the land, the equipment, the bank accounts which they have taken from us and which they hold.

Of course, the Israelis do still hold these properties. They keep records very carefully. They know whose property was whose, and they say: Ultimately we will either return the property or pay for it. But up to this point—and it is 21 years now—this settlement has not been made. And here again is another reason for this bitterness among Arab refugees.

## INDEPENDENT ARAB STATE POSSIBLE?

The big question that a lot of people are speculating about is whether a settlement might provide for the creation of an independent Palestinian Arab state that would not be a part of Jordan. You see, what happened after the war of '48 was that Palestine—what remained of the Arab part of Palestine—was annexed to Jordan; became part of this Hashemite kingdom of Jordan which, incidentally, used to be called Trans-Jordan, you will remember. After this union came about, it dropped the "trans" and became simply the Kingdom of Jordan.

A good many Palestinian Arabs would like to break away from Jordan, partly because they look down on the Jordanians. The people from Amman are a more primitive Bedouin. The Palestinian Arabs look upon themselves as the kind of cultural, economic elite of the Arab world, and they look upon the people on the other side of the Jordan river as being Nomadic tribesmen and, of course, a great many of them are, or recently have been.

So the Palestinian Arabs feel a kind of personal identity among themselves. They feel a certain solidarity. They feel a common bitterness and hatred of the Israelis and of the world. There is nobody who really speaks for them, you see. King Hussein doesn't really speak for these Palestinian Arabs. Nasser certainly doesn't speak for them. The Syrians and the Lebanese can't speak for them. And they are scattered all over the world today. In one sense, this is a kind of Jewish dispersion.

The Palestinian Arabs are now literally all over the world, and most of them want to come home. Most of them would like to come home and find that the homes were theirs again, and that the Jews had somehow disappeared. They know that isn't going to happen, so what do they do? Do they try to create a small state between Jerusalem and the Jordan valley or do they unite with Jordan permanently?

## ISRAEL'S FAVOR BUFFER STATE

The Israelis have had a theory about this. One of the things they have pushed very hard has been to try to get the Arabs on the west bank to create a semi-independent state with which Israel would make a treaty, in which Israel would guarantee to trade with and to deal with them in a favorable way and so on.

The Israelis have until fairly recently, kept all of the Arab mayors in office. They have kept the Arab judges in office. They went out of their way to try to say to the Arabs on the west bank area: Look, this is your land; we recognize this; these are your homes; this is your government; we want you to be independent; we want you to be self reliant; we want to deal honorably with you; now you just tell us what you want and let us live in peace together; you form a government on the west bank and we will deal with you. The Arab leaders up to this point have indignantly rejected this. They say: That is a harlotry; you are trying to treat us exactly the way Hitler treated the Czechs; you want a Quisling state here, and we are not going to be Quislings; you Jews of all people ought to understand that no people is going to accept this kind of subject status.

The Israelis reply: You misunderstand us; you are accusing us of the wrong ideas and intentions; we just want to live in peace and so on.

## PROSPECTS FOR PLAN NOT GOOD

Well, this is one of those things that is not getting anywhere. The Israelis keep saying, let the Palestinian Arabs organize their own government. We will deal with them and once we have made peace with the Palestinian Arabs, then the Jordanians and the Egyptians will have to fall in line. That approach, as far as I can see, isn't going to go anywhere, but there are a lot of Israelis who are playing around with this idea.

Question. How about Lebanon? Will its traditional friendship with the West break under the current strains?

Dr. BOLLING. The Lebanese are very resentful of the West and what we have done.

The Lebanese are very canny businessmen, and they are very determined to maintain their own economic position. I don't think they are about to get involved in a war with Israel or break relations with the West so long as it is to their advantage to go the way they are going. They are small; they have little in the way of military power. Emotionally, of course, they are committed to the Arab cause, and to the cause of the Palestinian refugees. They received a pretty heavy blow when the Israelis attacked the Beirut airport, but their involvement so far has been an emotional involvement. I think they will find ways to continue to trade with the West and to be on basically good terms with us.

Question. Out of this tangled skein of cause and effect, if you had to pick one element that you think might be most important in leading to peace, what do you think you might select?

Dr. BOLLING. I think the common fear of the Americans and the Russians of nuclear annihilation. I think that is the most constructive factor in the whole situation—both the Russians and the Americans don't want to get into a nuclear confrontation anywhere. And they certainly don't want to get into a nuclear confrontation in the Middle East.

## MUST PRESSURE "CLIENT STATES"

I think because the Americans and the Russians realistically see this danger, they are going to try very hard and seriously to force their client states—and that is what you have to call those people; Israel is a client state of the United States and the Arabs are client states of the Russians—into some sort of live-and-let-live truce. That won't be easy, but I think that our mutual apprehension about war may be the main factor that will drive us towards peace.

Question. So we know all this about the perilous Mid East situation. Why is there any reason for a resident of Richmond, Indiana, to concern himself about these matters?

Dr. BOLLING. We are all concerned about the peace of the world. We are all concerned about whether the United States is going to get itself involved in another Vietnam.

Because we are interested in our own peace, we have every reason to be interested in the peace of the Middle East.

Question. But what can we do about it?

Dr. BOLLING. I think we have to give support to the president and the state department to go forward with negotiations to try to bring about a peace and to make what we will have to do in the end—make some commitments to enforce whatever peace is agreed on.

In addition to that, we are going to have to make some pretty important financial foreign aid commitments that help both Arabs and Israelis get out of this mess.

This won't be an easy thing, and it won't be an inexpensive thing, but it is so important to the peace of the world we have got to do something.

## IS THE SURTAX NECESSARY?

(Mr. CARTER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, last year we were told that passage of the surtax was necessary to keep our dollars from being devalued, and that such a tax would curb inflation.

This tax affects every person drawing a salary—our workers and our great middle class. Inflation continues to soar,

however, and spending has not been cut back.

Few of our millionaires, billionaires, and countless foundations pay any tax at all. Some of our extremely wealthy pay a small tax because of a guilt complex or to keep up appearances.

By means of foundations, members of wealthy families have been able to continue their control of their great wealth, whereas without such foundations 77 percent of the moneys placed in foundations would have gone to the Government in the form of taxes.

Unless the loopholes through which these millionaires, billionaires, and economically and politically motivated foundations escape taxation are stopped, we should consider voting against the surtax which is a heavy weight on the backs of our working people.

## "PUEBLO" CREW TAX EXCLUSION BILL INTRODUCED

(Mrs. MAY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday, March 6, I brought to the attention of the House what I believe to be a serious injustice in the Federal tax treatment of the crew of the U.S.S. *Pueblo*.

Today I am introducing a bill which, if enacted, will correct that injustice. The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 8653

A bill to provide for an exclusion from gross income in the case of compensation for members of the crew of the United States Ship *Pueblo*

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That, in the case of any member of the Armed Forces of the United States who was aboard the United States Ship *Pueblo* at the time of her capture by military forces of North Korea, any compensation received for service performed on or after January 1, 1968, and before February 1, 1969, as a member of the Armed Forces of the United States shall be treated as compensation for active service to which subsection (a) or (b) (as the case may be) of section 112 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 applies.

If enacted, Mr. Speaker, this legislation will provide the crewmembers of the *Pueblo*, during the period of their captivity in North Korea, the same Federal income tax benefits that are accorded members of our Armed Forces who serve in officially designated combat zones.

The present inequity insofar as the *Pueblo* crew is concerned is this, Mr. Speaker:

Members of the Armed Forces serving in Vietnam and contiguous waters do not pay income tax. By Presidential directive, Executive Order No. 11216, dated April 24, 1965, Vietnam and contiguous waters are designated as a combat zone so that servicemen, in the case of enlisted personnel, are excluded from income tax liability on their military pay. This includes both regular pay and "hostile fire" pay. In the case of commissioned officers, the tax exclusion is \$500 per month.

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Last year, during the period of North Korean captivity of the crewmembers of the U.S.S. *Pueblo*, the Congress, by special action, made available to the crew the same "hostile fire" pay available to our Armed Forces serving in combat zones. However, since North Korea is not covered by the provisions of Executive Order No. 11216 and is therefore not designated as a combat zone, the *Pueblo* crewmembers presently face the prospect of having to pay to the Internal Revenue Service income tax on the pay that was held for them during their captivity.

Quite frankly, Mr. Speaker, I look on this inequity as an oversight which the Congress should move quickly to correct. Although the Bureau of Naval Personnel did not withhold Federal income tax from the pay of the crew, the Internal Revenue Service states that it has no choice but to collect the tax. It is due and payable 120 days following the crew's release.

I was happy to note, Mr. Speaker, that a number of my colleagues from both sides of the aisle have contacted me since last Thursday to express their support of my effort to correct this inequity, and have asked to be listed as cosponsors of the bill I am introducing today. I am pleased to have their support, and I wish to invite any and all of my colleagues to introduce similar legislation if they so desire. Such action should enhance the chances of obtaining favorable and timely action on this vitally needed measure.

#### INTEREST RATES ON U.S. SAVINGS BONDS

(Mr. MICHEL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, for the third straight month, more U.S. savings bonds and freedom shares were cashed in by Americans than were bought for the future. This is a clear indication that the present rates of interest being paid on these bonds are unrealistic and unfair. I have introduced legislation (H.R. 7015) which would authorize the President to raise the interest rates to at least compare with bank rates. We cannot expect the small investor to sacrifice his interest earnings in the name of patriotism when big investors in Federal securities are grabbing off interest rates above 6 percent.

When \$13 million more Series E bonds were cashed in than were purchased last month, it should be obvious that more and more Americans are realizing that under present interest rates these bonds are not good investments. I am hopeful that Congress can read the handwriting on the wall, and will take action to bring these bonds up in line with today's money market. Savings bonds have long been an important part of Federal borrowing, as well as providing financial security and a convenient way to save through payroll deductions for millions of Americans. We should not let this program wither for lack of action.

#### WILBUR MILLS HONORED IN SALT LAKE CITY CEREMONY

(Mr. LLOYD asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous material.)

Mr. LLOYD. Mr. Speaker, on February 27, our esteemed colleague, the gentleman from Arkansas (Mr. MILLS) was in Salt Lake City, Utah, where he was presented the second annual Arthur V. Watkins Distinguished Congressional Service Award at the University of Utah Founder's Day celebration. Former Utah U.S. Senator Arthur V. Watkins presented the award to Representative MILLS for "significant contributions toward the solution of vital national problems and deep dedication to the prerogatives of the House of Representatives." The award is sponsored by the Hinckley Institute of Politics at the university and friends of former Senator Watkins.

It is with great pleasure that I include here the full statement explaining the basis for the selection of Congressman MILLS for this Distinguished Service Award:

Now thirteenth in seniority in the entire House of Representatives, Wilbur D. Mills was elected to Congress in 1938, and is now serving, thirty-one years later, in his sixteenth consecutive term. In him, the people of Arkansas' second Congressional district and the citizens of the United States have a fiscal authority who combines wisdom, gentility, and courage of the highest order. Faced with the demand by a powerful President for a surtax increase, the chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee insisted that significant reductions in Executive Branch expenditures precede any increase in taxes. The bargain which he forged, against incredible pressures, produced the fiscal miracle of the 1960s—moving the government's accounts from a twenty-five billion dollar deficit to a two billion dollar surplus in twelve months. But beyond a dollars-and-cents victory, what Wilbur Mills really accomplished during the 90th Congress, second session, was the employment of that most ancient parliamentary weapons, the purse string, to reassert parity for the legislative branch in the scheme of our national government. James Madison would be proud of Wilbur Mills!

For his courage in the face of great pressures, for his significant contributions to the solution of a vital national problem, and for his deep dedication to the prerogatives of the House of Representatives, Wilbur Mills is qualified, in an outstanding way, to receive the Arthur V. Watkins Distinguished Congressional Service Award for the 90th Congress, second session.

#### HEROIC MINER RESCUED IN UTAH

(Mr. LLOYD asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous material.)

Mr. LLOYD. Mr. Speaker, a dramatic rescue operation to free a trapped Utah miner ended Sunday night when rescue crews hauled William V. "Buck" Jones, 61, of Midvale, Utah, from a 5-foot cubicle in which he had been entombed for more than 8 days.

Mr. Jones, who is the father of 11 children, was trapped March 1 in a cave-in at the lead-zinc mine in Lark, Utah, west of Salt Lake City. It took rescue

crews about 4 days of round-the-clock digging before they could establish contact with Mr. Jones and ascertain that he was still alive.

The first coworker to hear Mr. Jones' voice through the mass of rock and debris quoted him as saying:

When are you going to get me out of here? I'm thirsty.

Rescuers shortly thereafter completed cutting through a small lifeline through which food and water was lowered to the trapped miner. Then Sunday night, crews who had been chipping away at solid rock with handtools to avoid a second cave-in, reached the miner via a small passageway.

Mr. Jones was in fairly good condition despite the ordeal, and managed to wave to a crowd of relatives, miners, and newsmen before being placed in an ambulance at the mine entrance.

Coworkers have contributed at least part of the successful rescue to Mr. Jones' experience and knowledge gained in more than 30 years in the mines.

I salute this courageous man. Utahans, and indeed the entire Nation, have been inspired by his rare display of faith and toughness. I also salute the rescue teams for their valiant performance in bringing him out alive.

Mr. Speaker, I insert at this point an editorial from the Salt Lake Tribune on the rescue:

[Editorial from Salt Lake City (Utah) Tribune, Mar. 11, 1969]

#### MINER'S FAITH, FINE EXAMPLE

The saga of William V. (Buck) Jones is the story of human endurance. Not just the ability of one man to survive a punishing ordeal, but also the devotion of relatives, friends, fellow workers and mining company in carrying out the agonizingly prolonged rescue.

When falling rock sealed Buck Jones in his trunk-sized underground tomb March 1, the always ominous alert to a mine cave-in was sounded. It signaled 8½ days of hard work, prayer, and grim vigil. Though unharmed and untroubled by fire, flooding waters or lethal gases, the 61 year-old miner was nonetheless trapped, almost encased, forced to endure in isolation a crouching confinement and the constant threat of another earth collapse. The minutes of uncertain peril turned to hours, then days.

In fact, it was four days before rescue crews made voice contact and were able to send food and water through a tube. From Wednesday to Sunday evening, when a weary but smiling Buck Jones was carried from the mine entrance, Lark, Utah, exemplified man's unhesitating dedication to saving a life in jeopardy.

Company crews and officials worked around the clock, often to the point of exhaustion, exercising every device and method available that promised quick, safe entry to Buck's rock-plugged prison. The Jones family, worried but always hopeful, bravely held up under the strain.

Throughout the ordeal, the trapped miner himself, periodically expressing his heroic patience, renewed the hope and energies of those anxiously waiting or carefully digging. He knew his own strength and the commitment of his rescuers.

Heartfelt congratulations go to everyone connected with the successful rescue. Buck Jones deserves a full measure of admiration and respect. He said minutes after regaining his freedom: "I would never have gotten out alive if the good Lord hadn't had His arms around me."



A. You can't do it with a sledge hammer, and you can't do it overnight—without just tearing a community to pieces.

Q. Some parents are concerned about the question of physical security for their children in integrated schools, and others object to some of this "instant history" that is being introduced in new textbooks—

A. Let me just say we don't get into the business of picking textbooks, and we don't get into the business of trying to run these schools. We can't—and if we ever try, we'd be in real trouble.

I'm first, last and always a local-school-board man—recognizing that the school board is a derivative, really, of the State under which it operates. Education is a State function, and the local boards wrest as much autonomy as they can from the State boards.

I think one of the things that ought to be done is to go to the State superintendents and work a lot harder with their boards to try to rationalize these education programs State by State—because your problems differ State by State. And I would hope that, whatever guideline changes we make, we can simplify them so there is more flexibility—and that we don't make the job harder for State and district superintendents.

Q. How do you feel about the neighborhood school?

A. Well, the neighborhood or community school is a big part of the whole picture. I think another part is the community-college program that we hope to embark upon.

Q. What do you hope to accomplish?

A. One purpose is to put a much heavier emphasis on vocational and technical training. Now, there are 90 junior or community colleges in California, and they've tended to fall too much into what I call the "liberal-arts syndrome": They tend to ape the State colleges and universities. They grant degrees called "associate of arts." Well, that really isn't helping the youngsters who want to go into technical work.

That doesn't mean that we would not keep a certain amount of liberal arts in the curriculum, because one of the advantages of these community colleges is that they pick up the "late bloomers," who—especially if they were in a big high-school situation—never really had a chance to catch up. The community colleges can prepare them for liberal-arts disciplines, if that's the direction they want to go.

But developing community colleges is a very important factor in really helping the disadvantaged, because we've been terribly weak in our technical schools, generally, and in our vocationally oriented programs. I think the community colleges could perform a great service there.

The big problem is that in the 50 States you have 50 different ways in which they finance these two-year colleges. So what we're trying to do is to evolve legislation that will provide an incentive to get a program going—a little like the Hill-Burton Hospital Act concept.

Q. How many more community colleges would you hope to see in the next four years?

A. The lead time of four years is probably unrealistic. By maybe 1978 I would hope we might have 150 or 200 more. We have community colleges now in only about 60 per cent of the major cities in the country.

#### WHERE TAX CREDITS FIT IN

Q. Are you in favor of tax credits for parents sending children to college?

A. In principle, yes.

Q. Are you going to advocate it?

A. We're still studying that one. I haven't got a report back from the Bureau of the Budget yet, and I suspect they may greet the proposal with less than 100 per cent enthusiasm.

So for me to say that's what we're going to advocate is not true. I have to work it out with the Budget people.

Q. It's a question of federal revenue—

A. That's right.

#### THE SITUATION IN WESTERN EUROPE

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, recently, the Right Honorable Geoffrey Rippon, a Member of the House of Commons, and the Defense Minister of the Tory or Conservative Party shadow government in the House of Commons, made some rather pertinent and sage observations on Western Europe to the Council of Europe's Assembly political debate, in Strasbourg.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Rippon's remarks be printed at this point in the RECORD, so that they might be brought to the attention of Members of the Senate.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXTRACT FROM SPEECH OF THE RIGHT HONORABLE GEOFFREY RIPPON, MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

The tragedy is that in the present situation we are driven to endless discussion about—but very little action on—harmonizing policies, building bridges and co-operating on specific projects.

We in Britain certainly want to make what progress we can in any direction, but we must also make it plain that we regard all these piecemeal proposals as very much a second best arrangement.

I want to get rid of the present inconceivable Europe without Britain. This should be the purpose of this Assembly. The argument for European unity is not a British or a French one—it is a European argument and a European necessity.

We have seen in 1968 the free nations of Europe not merely exercising non influence upon the situation in the Far East, or the Middle East, but scarcely capable of reacting to events in Czechoslovakia or responding to the danger on our very doorstep.

Without a truly united Europe there can be no Atlantic partnership—only dependence. And needless dependence is always dangerous.

I say needless because we possess in Europe the greatest aggregate of economic, political and developed strength in the world.

The nations of Western European Union alone have a total population and a Gross National Product considerably larger than the Soviet Union.

I do not for one moment believe that the United States will abandon its allies or its responsibilities and commitments. I see no danger of a retreat by the new Administration into "Fortress America". But I do see, and do acknowledge that the American people are growing rightly weary of being expected to bear a disproportionate share of the common burden indefinitely.

We moan in Europe about the "technological gap" between ourselves and the United States and about growing American dominance of our key industries.

We passively accept that as disunited nations we cannot match the power and resources of either the Soviet Union or the United States.

But if we are weak and incapable of matching their achievements in science and technology it is not because we lack the resources. It is because we lack the necessary will.

It is our fault that our voice is not heard

in Washington and Moscow. Who wants to listen to cocophony? We should note the real significance of Mr. Nixon's first press conference. From the reports I have seen, Europe was not even mentioned.

We are living in a fool's paradise if we think the Americans will forever acquiesce in a situation in which they have as many men in uniform as all the nations of Western Europe combined, though we have a population half again greater than that of the United States.

It is no less dangerous to imagine that by shirking our responsibilities we can indefinitely enjoy a higher standard of living than the Soviet Union and its allies without creating what Mr. Robert McNamara described as "temptations for Soviet probes and adventures which nothing in Soviet history suggests it is prepared to withstand".

In the situation in which we stand today, it is futile to say simply that we cannot have Europe without France or Europe without Britain.

It is up to all our friends in Europe, including the French, who have the power if they possess the will, to join the present EEC with Britain and to bring in or link the other countries of EFTA.

Here I believe a special responsibility to take a new initiative rests upon our German colleagues representing as they do what is now the strongest economy in the Community, and to whom continued disunity poses the greatest immediate threat.

It would indeed be the most tragic irony in history if European unity were to be frustrated and European freedom lost, first by Britain hesitancy then by the French veto, and finally by German complacency in a newly-found economic self-confidence.

Nor can I guarantee that the British people will remain indefinitely beating upon a door that is shut in their face.

What needs to go forth from this Assembly is a warning that neither the British nor the French, nor the rest of free Europe can carry on as at present.

Either Europe goes forward with Britain or it must now renounce in Mr. Ludwig Erhard's words, any idea of holding a significant position in world affairs.

That is the situation today. As for the future, that may be bleak indeed. If Europe does not go forward it will still not be able to stand as it is today. It will go back—and collapse.

#### ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. SPONG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to proceed, as in legislative session, for a period not to exceed 10 minutes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### THE MIDDLE EAST

Mr. SPONG. Mr. President, the Arab-Israeli artillery duels across the Suez Canal over the weekend are tragic incidents in the series which has plagued the Middle East and which has gained momentum in the past few weeks.

Guerrilla and terrorist attacks, as well as air raids and shellings in civilian areas, arouse the fears and fervor of the majority of persons in the Middle East for they involve not only the military but also innocent and uninvolved persons who are often pursuing routine daily tasks. Such actions induce concern for personal safety among residents and give the situation new emotional and personal dimensions.

There is proof that an otherwise bright Negro child, given the "faster track" of being exposed to what was formerly a predominantly white situation, does respond—does move more rapidly.

And then you can argue the other side—that it tends to hold back the otherwise bright white child who could move at a faster pace.

I suppose what Congress has said is: "We're going to go back to the basic constitutional provision, and no one is going to be denied the best opportunity he can have because of race or color."

Q. Is Congress opposed to taking forcible action to bring about integration?

A. I'm not sure. I think when they enacted Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964—and this is what I operate under—they were prepared to go that way. They put in the noncompliance provision and said that moneys should be withheld. That was what the argument was all about in Congress.

#### LIMITS SET BY CONGRESS

Q. Was there a limiting provision?

A. Well, Congress said this would not extend to requiring busing or other procedures to achieve a racial balance. I agree with that.

Q. Was there a later law?

A. It was written in 1964. Then it was rewritten in different form in 1968. In 1968, Congress added the language that brings the whole country into it.

Q. President Nixon said during the campaign that the law clearly states that "desegregation" shall not mean the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance—

A. I agree with that.

Q. You administer the law. Are you at liberty to interpret for yourself the mandate of Congress?

A. No. I clearly can't ignore what the judiciary does. We have to assume that, until Congress reverses what the judiciary says Congress intended, then that's the law of the land.

Q. Can you revise regulations to satisfy the judiciary?

A. That's what we're trying to do. It isn't easy—they're a fast-moving target. You know that next week they may throw a different decision at you.

Q. What kind of reactions do you get to these compliance orders?

A. I've had all kinds of reports of what some people will do in some rural districts in the South—such as taking house trailers and moving just across the line so that their children can get what they think is a better education in a system that's already technically in compliance with HEW guidelines.

So you invite these gross kinds of reactions and dislocations when you come in and try to impose your will with a meat ax. What we're trying to do is to move in such a way that we can avoid these dislocations where people move out, or move in extraordinary ways. After all, the most important thing to any of us is that our children have the best education we can possibly get for them.

Q. Are many private schools springing up in the South?

A. I don't have figures on that, but private schools are springing up. In many cases, because these are not rich areas, the private schools are pretty sad substitutes for what had been larger plants with bigger libraries.

I see a really critical question in terms of public elementary and secondary education.

Q. Might it be destroyed in some areas?

A. It's very possible.

Q. What has been the reaction to the appointment of Dr. James Allen, of New York, as the new U.S. Commissioner of Education?

A. I think there's been an overemphasis on what the Office of Education actually does—how much it has to say. The moneys that the Office of Education administers are really not

discretionary. The Commissioner doesn't have all that much power. He's a symbol, but he doesn't really make most of those decisions. They have been laid out pretty much by statute. They're not discretionary.

The reason I picked Dr. Allen—and the response has been generally good—is that I feel our real problems now are in the field of elementary and secondary education.

Higher education has had a lot more visibility, and we know what the problems are there. The private and public higher-educational institutions are beginning to cope with the student militants—or at least beginning to understand what they have to cope with.

Our real weaknesses are in the elementary and secondary systems, which are not responsive: They do not pick up the bright kids, do not move them along, and don't really prepare them for higher education to the extent that I think they could and should.

It so happens that Dr. Allen comes out of a system that operates under the unique laws of New York State—elementary through higher education. And a lot of our higher-education people felt that the Office of Education is traditionally their slot. They've been a little unhappy.

But, by and large, the appointment has been well received.

Q. Do you consider the things Dr. Allen put into effect in New York as State commissioner of education to be in line with what President Nixon promised in his campaign?

A. Well, we had—all three of us—about an hour's discussion before the appointment was announced. Dr. Allen was the first to recognize that some of the problems in New York are different from those he would face as a national figure.

There was no disagreement in the discussion about what is important, what the criteria should be, and that the emphasis should be on elementary and secondary education. It was a general conversation, and we didn't get down to much in the way of specifics. But I think that Dr. Allen is an enormously competent administrator, and that's what I need.

Q. Will he have any powers—as he did in New York—to order affirmative action to achieve racial balance in public schools and to decree that any school with more than 50 per cent Negroes is segregated?

A. Not in my opinion, no. He wouldn't have that power.

Q. Doesn't the civil-rights section of HEW have this same standard—that any school more than 50 per cent Negro is segregated?

A. I don't believe in a 50 per cent figure, or 20 per cent or any other arbitrary figure. We have to look at each school district, with its own profile and its own "chemistry." We can't just take arbitrary percentages and still come out with quality education—however each of us may define "quality education."

Q. How would you define segregation, unless you use percentages?

A. I come back to this other test that I suggest as a possibility; how you are allocating your resources per student in terms of curricula and facilities and hardware.

But you do need some objective yardstick—

A. That's right.

#### DEFINING DISCRIMINATION

Q. Isn't it discrimination that you have to define?

A. When you find a pattern of overt acts that deliberately produce segregation, then that's discrimination.

Q. Do you find that in the North?

A. Yes. I think there are many cases of it.

Q. Where you find a district or community that, by the existing housing situation, is all white or all black, then is it permissible for them to continue with an all-white or an all-black school within that district or community?

A. Right—and one of the problems in these massive school districts is that we do have all-black schools, or all-white schools, or both. That is the usual classic pattern.

Take Los Angeles, which is an unbelievably large school district and where they're considering creating smaller components. The core area of Watts is all black, then there is an urban secondary circle where there is kind of a mix, and then there are the all-white suburbs. Taken as a whole, it is possible to justify the assignment of pupils on the basis of percentages, and probably to justify it on the basis of allocation of resources.

But if a community starts creating smaller districts and tries to use these same percentage guidelines, there are going to be some real, real problems.

Q. What about the Ocean Hill-Brownsville area in New York City? They've got a community—

A. Yes.

Q. And it's mostly Negro or Puerto Rican, isn't it?

A. Yes.

Q. Are they objecting to white teachers?

A. There is a whole series of things they are fighting about, but that's one of them.

Q. Is it permissible for them, as a local school board, to run their district the way they see it—to hire and fire, and discriminate against whites?

A. That is really what is at issue: What is a governable school district within these widespread "ghetto" areas?

If I were making a judgment as superintendent and I were convinced that the white faculty in that particular instance was capable of doing a better job of schoolteaching, well, then I—for one—would stay with the white faculty. And I don't think that, because the student body is overwhelmingly black, there has to be an arbitrary number of black faculty members.

Q. If they discriminate against whites, would you withhold funds from that district?

A. Well, that raises—I don't want to sit here and make that decision until somebody comes up with a specific factual situation. If a white person were to come in and say: "I would like to get my child into that school, or have a white teacher come in," right now, technically under the law, I would be compelled to launch an investigation.

Q. Could you cut off funds for the entire city of New York?

A. It's conceivable—but it's very, very unlikely.

Q. The whites can complain because they're being discriminated against—

A. I don't anticipate an avalanche of complaints to get into these schools—but you're right.

Q. Mr. Secretary, do these opinions represent a change from the views of your predecessors?

A. I think it would be unfair to compare the two of us, because Wilbur Cohen had other primary interests, as I said. He recommended transferring the whole compliance business over to Justice.

Q. Did Harold Howe, former U.S. Commissioner of Education, come to grips with it?

A. Yes. And Mr. Cohen let Howe make a lot of statements in areas where Howe didn't have real authority—which gave a particular cast to the problem. They took the apparatus that had been assembled from earlier Secretaries of HEW and continued to push, push on this.

I feel that I have a commitment to try to resolve it the best way I can. It's a political question, and essentially I'm a political animal. We're trying to achieve a result that will halt deliberate efforts to discriminate. At the same time, we intend to do our best to sustain the schools and keep them open.

Q. Is there the same emphasis on forced integration?

During the Lincoln Day congressional recess, I had the opportunity to make a brief trip to the Middle East. Unfortunately, I cannot report any optimism for a settlement or even a prompt end to hostilities.

With the exception of Jordan, the Arabs and the Israelis each appear to have concluded that time is on their side, that all they have to do is wait and they will prevail.

The Israelis are confident of their military power—and perhaps rightly so. They are a spirited and motivated people, determined to maintain the land for which they waited so long. As a result of the 1967 war, they occupy the Golan Heights, which provides them with defensive positions against Syria; they hold elevated positions on the west bank of the Jordan River which give them a new security against Jordan; they occupy the Gaza Strip; they have taken possession of all of Jerusalem; and they have troops along the Suez Canal, less than 100 miles from Cairo, and at Sharm el Sheikh, near the Straits of Tiran which control the entrance to the Gulf of Aqaba.

In addition, the Israelis appear assured that their survival in the area over a period of time will ultimately lead to acceptance of their presence by the Arabs.

Generally, the Arabs, too, believe that time will permit them to overcome the Israeli state. An exception to this, however, is Jordan's King Hussein. As a result of the June war, Jordan lost 6.3 percent of its territory—which contains 37 percent of its food supply, 40 percent of its national income and 25 percent of its cultivable land. In addition, about 45 percent of the population occupies a refugee status.<sup>1</sup> Thus economic and other pressures pose an imminent threat to Jordan's well-being.

Otherwise, however, the Arabs note that they have occupied the Middle East for centuries; they surround the Israeli state; and they substantially surpass the Israelis in terms of land, population and resources.

Perhaps if the two groups were sitting silently, quietly side-by-side with each waiting for the other to disappear, there would be no problems. But that is not the way things are happening.

On both sides actions designed to arouse passions and hatreds, to involve the civilian—often innocent—members of the population in the conflict, and to gear the entire societies to incidents and an atmosphere of insecurity are gaining ascendancy. As incident is piled on top of incident, the hatreds and conflicts are only compounded. And, if such a situation continues, it is only too likely that some incident—perhaps unwittingly—will evoke a massive retaliation.

This is where terrorist attacks and spot air raids have led. And, it does no good

to condemn one without the other or to seek an end to one without also seeking a termination of the other.

The tactics being employed in the Middle East are, however, representative of a growing political problem which could pose a new threat to the area: the rise of intemperate factions. Immoderate forces in the Middle East are undoubtedly achieving a new stature.

In the Arab world, it is, of course, the fedayeen, the terrorist group. From my discussions in the Middle East, I found that the Israelis believe the fedayeen pose no direct military threat to them—in my opinion, a correct assessment of the situation.

The fedayeen have, however, captured the imagination and admiration of many Arabs. They have become a political reality which must be listened to and dealt with; they have undoubtedly weakened the position of both Jordan's King Hussein and Egypt's President Gamal Abdel Nasser; and there is speculation that the recent coup may lead them to carry out bolder operations from Syria. While the commandos are, at the present in no position to overthrow the existing Arab governments, they have reached a prominence which permits them to limit the options open to Arab leaders. In other words, their new and growing stature probably assures that the Arab leaders cannot make conciliatory moves toward Israel, without arousing fedayeen opposition which can now be translated into political and popular opposition.

While the Israel situation is not as pressing for Israel leaders, the upcoming elections are likely to restrict any rapprochement with the Arab states, for no political leader would want to be charged in a campaign with compromise on basic Arab-Israeli conflicts. If one assumes Mrs. Golda Meir will not seek the premiership in October, then she may have a few months in which to pursue a relatively flexible course. Ultimately, however, the recent death of Levi Eshkol will probably have to be viewed as a further contributor to the tenuousness of the Labor Party coalition.

In view of these internal problems in the Middle Eastern nations, the rest of the world must mainly hope that any extremism will be practiced in words rather than actions and that the politics of excess will be evident in rhetoric rather than incident.

While the United States and other nations of the world should encourage the Middle Eastern nations to seek a peaceful settlement of their problems, outside nations cannot presume to dictate or regulate the internal politics of the Middle Eastern countries. That is something that the sovereign nations themselves must do.

Because the internal situations in these countries are less stable than in the months subsequent to the June 1967 war; Middle Eastern leaders are also less able to pursue any course which means compromise, even if it also means eventual peace and stability for that area of the world.

For these reasons, I have reluctantly concluded that there is little reason for optimism in regard to the Middle East.

But, we must work for peace and we probably have no better vehicle for bringing peace to this area than the United Nations Security Council resolution of November 1967. Certainly a four-power conference on the Middle East could give new impetus to the resolution. Such a conference could also be a beneficial demonstration to all nations of the world and the Middle East of four-power interest in securing an end to hostilities there. But, finally, we must return to the resolution itself. It is, first of all, a document which covers the major problems of the area. Second, it is, in some form, acceptable to almost all nations. This does not mean that all the problems can be solved by the resolution or that there would not be many difficulties in implementing the details of it. But, the resolution is a beginning point—and one from which the nations involved can emphasize what little agreement there might be among them.

I am hopeful that the conversations to be held this week by Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban and President Nixon will help rejuvenate the resolution.

Perhaps at this time it would be beneficial to review the major provisions of the 1967 resolution and the other principal peace proposals. Some of the proposals are subject to interpretation; in addition, President Nasser clarified his statements for the press in Egypt.

A review of the various proposals will, however, I believe sustain my conclusion that the 1967 resolution is the most promising means for seeking a moderation of tensions, if not an actual settlement for the Middle East. I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a comparison of the various proposals for peace in the Middle East.

There being no objection, the proposals were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### BASES FOR MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT

PRESIDENT JOHNSON—JUNE 19, 1967

1. The recognized right of national life.
2. Justice for the refugees.
3. Innocent maritime passage.
4. Limits on the wasteful and destructive arms race and
5. Political independence and territorial integrity for all.

U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION—NOVEMBER 1967

1. Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in recent conflict.
2. Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force.
3. Freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area.
4. A just settlement of the refugee problem.
5. Guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones.

#### SOVIET PROPOSALS—SEPTEMBER 1968

1. Israel's withdrawal to frontiers held before the war of June, 1967.
2. A revived and reinvigorated United Nations presence in areas evacuated by Israel.
3. A declaration by the Arab nations ending the "state of belligerency" with Israel existing since the 1949 armistice.

<sup>1</sup> If the current territory of Jordan is counted, about 45 percent of the population occupies a refugee status. If the west bank section, which was taken by the Israelis in the 1967 war is considered a part of Jordan, close to two-thirds of the population might be considered refugees.



4. A four-power guarantee of future peace by the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and France.

**ABBA EBAN'S PROPOSALS—OCTOBER 9, 1968**

1. The establishment of peace.
  2. Secure and recognized boundaries.
  3. Security agreements.
  4. Open frontiers.
  5. Freedom of navigation.
  6. Settlement of refugee problem.
  7. Settlement of status of Jerusalem.
  8. Acknowledgment and recognition of sovereignty, integrity and right to national life.
  9. Regional cooperation.
- The peace discussion should include an examination of a common approach to some of the resources and means of communication in the region in an effort to lay foundations of a Middle Eastern community of sovereign states.

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 11, 1969]

**SOVIET PLAN—JANUARY 1969**

(NOTE.—The Arab nationalist newspaper Al Anwar of Beirut, Lebanon, published yesterday what it said was the verbatim translation of the Soviet plan for settlement of the Middle East crisis.

(As made available here, the text of Al Anwar's version—which carried a December 22 date—is as follows:)

Israel and those neighboring Arab states willing to participate in the implementation of such a plan shall confirm their acceptance of the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967. They shall also express their readiness to implement all its provisions. This will signify their agreement that a timetable and method for withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the territories occupied in 1967 shall be determined through contacts with [U.N. Representative Gunnar] Jarring.

At the same time a plan agreed on by both parties to implement the other Security Council provisions shall be drawn up. In drawing up this plan, consideration shall be given to the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East enabling every state in the area to live in security.

The objective of these contacts can be the holding of negotiations on definite steps to implement the Security Council resolutions.

1. The governments of Israel and the Arab states willing to participate in implementation of the plan shall proclaim their joint willingness and readiness to end the state of war between them and to reach a peaceful settlement of the problem through withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the occupied Arab territories. In this respect, Israel shall proclaim its readiness to begin on the fixed date the withdrawal of its forces from the Arab territories which it occupied in the conflict of the summer of 1967.

2. On the date of the Israeli forces' withdrawal which shall take place in states under U.N. supervision, the aforementioned states and Israel shall deposit with the United Nations documents ending the state of war and recognizing the sovereignty of each state in the region as well as each state's territorial integrity, political independence, and right to live in peace and security within secure and recognized boundaries in accordance with the aforementioned Security Council resolution.

Under an agreement to be reached through the mediation of Dr. Jarring, the following points must be agreed on: secure and recognized boundaries accompanied by relevant maps; freedom of navigation in the region's international waterways; a just solution of the refugee problem; the territorial integrity and political independence of each state in the region. This can be achieved by various means, including the establishment of demilitarized zones. It is assumed that this agreement—as defined by the Security Council resolution—will be one unit covering all aspects of a Middle East peaceful settlement; in other words, as one integral question.

3. In the month (to be agreed on) the Israeli forces shall withdraw from the Arab territories to lines (to be agreed on) in the Sinai peninsula, the West Bank of Jordan, and the "Qunaythrah area in Syria." When the Israeli forces have withdrawn to these agreed lines in the Sinai peninsula—for instance, 30-40 kilometers from the Suez Canal—the U.A.R. government shall send its forces to the canal zone and begin clearing it for resumption of navigation.

4. In the month (to be agreed upon) the Israeli forces shall withdraw to the pre-5 June 1967 lines. Arab administration shall then be restored in the liberated areas and Arab army and police forces shall also return to the area.

During the second stage of the Israeli forces' withdrawal from the U.A.R., the U.A.R. and Israel—or the U.A.R. alone if its government agrees—shall announce acceptance of the stationing of U.N. forces near the pre-5 June lines in the Sinai peninsula, Sham el-Sheik and the Gaza sector. In other words the situation which existed in May 1967 shall be restored.

The Security Council shall adopt a resolution for the dispatch of U.N. forces under the U.N. Charter to guarantee freedom of navigation to the ships of all countries in the Tiran Straits and the Gulf of Aqaba.

5. Following the Israeli forces' withdrawal to the international boundaries to be demarcated by the Security Council or through an agreement signed by all parties, the documents which were previously deposited by the Arab states and Israel shall come into effect. Under U.N. Charter provisions, the Security Council shall adopt a resolution on special guarantees concerning the Arab-Israeli borders. Guarantees by the four permanent member states of the Security Council are not ruled out.

**FRENCH PROPOSALS—JANUARY 1969**

France announced January 17 that it had proposed to the other Big Four members of the U.N. Security Council that their U.N. Ambassadors hold discussions on how their governments could contribute to a Middle East peace settlement.

**NASSER'S PROPOSALS—FEBRUARY 10, 1969 ISSUE OF NEWSWEEK**

When asked what the United Arab Republic was willing to offer in return for an Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories, President Nasser replied:

"(1) a declaration of nonbelligerence; (2) the recognition of the right of each country to live in peace; (3) the territorial integrity of all countries in the Middle East, including Israel, in recognized and secure borders; (4) freedom of navigation on international waterways; (5) a just solution to the Palestinian refugee problem."

**THE NONPROLIFERATION TREATY**

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I am requested by the distinguished Senator from Texas (Mr. Tower) to advise the Senate that he intends tomorrow, Tuesday, to offer an amendment to the ratifying resolution in the nature of a reservation and that he expects to call it up for a vote.

I thank the Chair.

**COMMITTEE MEETING DURING SENATE SESSION**

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, as in legislative session, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution of the Committee on Public Works be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

**ORDER OF BUSINESS**

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there further morning business?

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, as in legislative session, I ask unanimous consent to speak for 45 minutes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Under the previous order, the Senate will return to consideration of the Nonproliferation Treaty at the close of morning business. Is the Senator from Wisconsin asking for unanimous consent to proceed for 45 minutes during the period for the transaction of morning business?

Mr. PROXMIRE. Yes, Mr. President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to suggest the absence of a quorum without yielding my right to the floor.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

**BLANK CHECK FOR THE MILITARY**

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I rise today to speak on a most serious matter. In my judgment the President and the Congress and, indeed, the country, have lost control over military spending.

**NO ADEQUATE CRITICAL REVIEW**

There is now no sufficiently critical review of what we spend or how we spend it. There is no adequate machinery, either in the executive or legislative branch to control the total amount spent or the way in which military funds are disbursed. This is especially the case with respect to contracting for major weapons systems. The results are vast inefficiencies in procurement, waste in supply, and less security for the country than we could get by spending smaller amounts more efficiently.

When former President Eisenhower left office, he warned against the danger of "unwarranted influences, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex."

**DANGER IS HERE**

I speak today not to warn against some future danger of this influence. I assert that, whether sought or unsought, there is today unwarranted influence by the military-industrial complex resulting in excessive costs, burgeoning military budgets, and scandalous performances. The danger has long since materialized with a ravaging effect on our Nation's spending priorities.

In the first place, we are paying far too much for the military hardware we buy.

But, in addition, and perhaps even more shocking, we often do not get the weapons and products we pay the excessive prices for.

Major components of our weapons systems, for example, routinely do not meet the contract standards and specifications established for them when they are bought.

March 3, 1969

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—Extensions of Remarks

E1551

And yet, from time to time, something is said or written that quickens the spirit of man. It buoys up his hopes. It gives direction to his strivings. It raises him as a man. Such were the great social encyclicals of Pope John XXIII, "Pacem in Terris" (Peace on Earth), and Pope Paul VI, "Populorum Progressio" (On the Development of Peoples). They have been beacons, lighting the course of the Church in its effort in our time to be of service to all mankind.

Though of different inspiration, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights is, and will continue to be, a high watermark in human advancement. It has set a standard that we must somehow strive to attain. In comparison with its goals, some of our efforts seem puny and futile. The chasm between what is and what ought to be is so wide and so fearsome. But it must be bridged. The many strong hands and sturdy hearts that unite in trying to bring to all men what will make them more truly human are carrying forward a work of God. Many persons of good will have a part in this task. We who share the blessings of our Christian faith bring to the task a special insight and motivation. Our very sharing in the life of God lays upon us a special duty to be involved. The achievement of human rights demands the fire and the warmth and the dynamic strength and the hope of Pentecost. We must set ourselves to the task with courage and with confidence "... in the power of the Holy Spirit ...". (1 Peter, 1: 12)

ME

## WHY THE ISRAELIS HIT BACK SO HARD

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 3, 1969

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, the situation in the Middle East is a matter of grave concern to us all. Miss Carol Kovner is managing editor of Kovnor Publications, Los Angeles, and I have entered several of her firsthand reports on the Middle East situation into the RECORD during past weeks.

The latest article, entitled "Why the Israelis Hit Back So Hard," discusses the reasons behind Israel's retaliatory raids against the Arab States. Special consideration is given to the significance of terrorist attacks on Israel civilian aircraft.

The article follows:

WHY THE ISRAELIS HIT BACK SO HARD  
(By Carol Kovner)

The United States is asking, why do the Israelis retaliate so hard, so "out of proportion" to Arab attacks? Why did the Israelis destroy 13 aircraft in Beirut for one dead Israeli and one damaged plane in Athens by Arab terrorists?

Let's try and answer this question. First, some background which the Arab and Communist blocs never mention in their propaganda and the Western Nations seldom take into account when Israeli military actions startle them.

A few months ago an El Al jet passenger liner was hijacked from Rome and kidnapped to Algeria. It took 40 days to get it released. One man was wounded, and the others not treated too gently according to the pilot.

Again, last week on Thursday, December 26th, another El Al passenger air liner was attacked in a foreign airport by Arab terrorists, this time with grenades and machine guns, with the obvious intention of incinerating all civilian passengers on board. The

plane was put out of commission, one passenger was killed and several wounded including two stewardesses. Leon Shirden was shot four times in the head. He was on a consultant assignment to the UN in his capacity as a port engineer expert in Haifa. (One of the terrorists on Monday told his questioners he did not intend to kill.)

Both these attacks on Israel's civil aviation were the work of a terrorist organization based in Lebanon. Abba Eban told the Israeli cabinet on Sunday, December 29, the day following the Israeli raid on Beirut airport. The Arab terrorists had come to Athens Airport bent on attacking a plane filled with passengers. It was a miracle there was no massacre. The Lebanese government had come out in support of the attack, while the organs of all Arab governments had heaped praise upon the murderers.

The United States position is that it opposes holding the Lebanese government responsible for the terrorist attack. It noted that the Lebanese government was considered moderate in the Middle East and besides, the two terrorists had been captured and would stand trial. This was conveyed by the American Ambassador Walworth Barbour.

The UN representative, James Russell Wiggins, said in the UN Security Council that Israel's attack on the Beirut Airport would be condemned by the United States, for two reasons. One, the degree of destruction involved and two, the force of soldiers which acted under government orders. He emotionally appealed to Israel to apologize to Lebanon for the attack. He did not ask Lebanon or the Palestinian terrorists to apologize to Israel, for the Athens murder of Leon Shirden.

Abba Eban countered to these charges in his Cabinet report that it was absurd to claim the terrorists operate in isolation. (Time Magazine proved that they had the support of and protection of host countries in their December 15 edition with a special cover article on Arafat, a leader of the terrorists.)

The operate under the wing of the Arab governments, the Lebanon included, which daily proclaim enthusiastic support, training them in their armed forces, financing them and giving them protection, Eban said.

After the Cabinet meeting, at which the Defense Minister and Chief of Staff also reported, Prime Minister Levi Eshkol said it was clear that the Athens terrorists had operated out of Beirut, that their headquarters for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine is in Beirut and that the announcement of the raid came from Beirut.

Why did Israel strike back so hard destroying \$100 million in civil aircraft, half of Lebanon's air freight? (No deaths.) This for one Israeli life and damaged air liner.

It is the accumulation of 21 incidents since August 6 of this year involving Lebanese border crossings by terror gangs at the cost of several Israeli civilian and army forces lives, as well as property damage.

It is the hijacking of her air liner to Algeria by terrorists that are trained in bases in Tripoli, Sidon and Tyre.

It is the raid in Athens that threatens her freedom of air navigation. It is this that breaks the patience of Israel with a so-called moderate neighbor.

There is no other country on earth that is expected to let its neighbors wage war on her while she is told by the United States and other Western nations not to respond in her own defense, and even to apologize.

In Vietnam, the US sent her own soldiers to stop terrorists from invading a country and has fought a bitter, wearisome and bloody war for years in the protection of the right of South Vietnam to live without attacks from the north.

If, for example, a neighboring country sent terrorist raiders into Alaska to sabotage farms and roads and water pipes, and blow up railroads, bus stations and market places,

would the US ignore this? If the attacks got to the point where this neighboring country attacked our airlines, trying to blow them up with passengers inside in a foreign airport, would we consider it "unwise" to take action against them, as President Johnson has called the Israeli retaliation in Beirut?

If you try the shoe on the other foot, the picture can sometimes be clearer. A free country cannot stand by and let its citizens be murdered willy-nilly. The US would not take it, why should Israel?

Israeli government circles understood well what the Beirut attack would cost them in world opinion, but they feel the terrorists' one aim is to destroy Israel. Unless the governments who harbor them stop them, Defense Minister Moshe Dayan says the commando raids in Beirut, Jordan and Egypt will remain a new dimension in Israeli policy.

## RUSSIA TESTING ADVANCED ROCKET

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 3, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, according to a story in the Baltimore Sun of March 3, the Soviet Union is going right ahead with its testing of an advanced defense rocket for its anti-ballistic-missile system while U.S. officials continue to argue the pros and cons of whether to construct such a system.

It will be remembered that controversy has accompanied the ABM issue for a number of years now, with Congress and the Joint Chiefs of Staff favoring an ABM defense system with former Defense Secretary McNamara opposing it. At one point Secretary McNamara and the Johnson administration sought to persuade the Soviets to agree not to escalate an ABM race. Later, it was judged expedient that we begin work on a "thin" ABM system for defense against Red China. Now, it seems, we are back to debating once again.

The Baltimore Sun article, by Charles W. Corddry, of the Washington bureau of the Sun, states that the Soviet weapon is reported to be able to intercept attacking missiles at distances of about 100 to 450 miles from its launch site. It is believed that the Soviet rocket is comparable with our Spartan interceptor which has been proposed for our ABM system.

I include the above-mentioned item, "Russia Testing Advanced Rocket," from the March 3 issue of the Baltimore Sun in the RECORD at this point:

RUSSIA TESTING ADVANCED ROCKET  
(By Charles W. Corddry)

Washington, March 2.—The Soviet Union has been test-firing an advanced defense rocket that appears to be comparable with the long range Spartan interceptor planned for use in America's anti-ballistic missile system.

Authorities who reported this today said the most recent test of the Soviet missile was conducted in mid-February. The weapon is reported to be able to intercept attacking missiles at distances of about 100 to 450 miles from its launch site.

At the same time, the Russians reported to be making equivalent progress on phased array radar like that in the American ABM

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system. Judged essential for swift detection and handling of several attacking missiles at once, this type of radar has beams that are steered electronically. There are no mechanically rotating antennas.

## SEVERAL PROBES GOING

These new intelligence assessments are expected to figure importantly in forthcoming congressional consideration of the anti-ballistic missile question. At least at half dozen committees are investigating this controversial issue.

Questions immediately are raised as to how far the Soviet Union will be willing to go in limiting anti-ballistic missile deployments when Washington and Moscow come to discuss arms limitation.

Regarding the Soviet Interceptor missile, it is understood that there have been tests on several occasions at least since last August. There appears to be enough data in hand on the mid-February shot to confirm the suppositions from the earlier tests.

## NEW INFORMATION

It is this new information that Melvin R. Laird, Defense Secretary, would appear to have had in mind when he testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee February 20 about a new Russian ABM system.

Proponents of the American Sentinel system have said that arms talks with Russia might result in agreement to limit anti-missile defenses to the types needed for defense against China. Some sources question whether that much agreement is attainable, however, on the speculation that Moscow might be unwilling to risk Chinese and other Communist accusations of conspiring with the "imperialists" on the missile defense issue.

## AGREES WITH CLIFFORD

In his Senate testimony, Secretary Laird said he agreed with his predecessor, Clark M. Clifford, that the Soviet Union had slowed its "Galosh" missile program around Moscow.

But he added at once that he believed the slowdown was linked with "recent information which we have had on research and development activities in testing of a new sophisticated ABM system."

Mr. Clifford said just before leaving office January 20 that the significance of the "Galosh" slowdown had not yet been determined—a statement that indicates how "recent" Mr. Laird's information is.

**DR. JOHN E. KETO: AN OUTSTANDING GOVERNMENT SCIENTIST**

**HON. CHARLES W. WHALEN, JR.**  
OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Monday, March 3, 1969

Mr. WHALEN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this opportunity to pay tribute to Dr. John E. Keto, of Dayton, Ohio, an outstanding Government scientist who retired on Friday after more than 33 years of service to the Nation.

Dr. Keto was the Chief Scientist of the Aeronautical Systems Division of the Air Force Systems Command, located at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio. He was promoted to that position in 1959 while a member of ASD's predecessor, the Wright Air Development Center.

During his career as a public servant, John Keto has earned a national and international reputation for his knowledge, ability, and imagination. His contributions have been in the important areas of research, development, management, and test.

Starting with his early efforts in radar technology, he worked to further the development and application of increased capabilities in such fields as bionics, secondary power sources, electric propulsion, surveillance, infrared, data processing, and micromolecular electronics.

In brief, Mr. Speaker, he has played a key role in the creation and maintenance of American technical superiority in the aerospace field.

There are many John Ketos at Wright Field and at other Government research installations around the country whose devotion to duty and expertise are invaluable to the United States. These men could reap higher monetary rewards outside of Government service but they have chosen not to. In lieu of financial gains, they are satisfied to be a part of maintaining the security of the Nation.

In expressing my admiration for Dr. John Keto, Mr. Speaker, I also honor his associates.

Since I will be unable to be present at this Friday's observance of Dr. Keto's retirement in Dayton, I wish at this time to extend my best wishes to him and his wife.

## VOICE OF DEMOCRACY CONTEST

**HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 3, 1969

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, each year the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and its Ladies Auxiliary conducts a Voice of Democracy Contest.

This year over 400,000 school students participated in the contest competing for five scholarships which are awarded as the top prizes. The theme chosen for this contest was "Freedom's Challenge."

The winning contestant from each State is brought to Washington, D.C., for the final judging and I am most proud of the winning contestant from our great State of New Jersey, for it happens to be a student from my own congressional district. The winning speech was delivered by Miss Barbara E. Marty, 157 Schraalenburgh Road, Haworth, N.J.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to include in the Record the text of Miss Marty's speech and commend it to the attention of my colleagues in the House.

It always is reassuring to me to read the thoughts of young Americans such as Miss Marty and realize what high regard they have for the freedom we in America enjoy.

The speech follows:

## FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE

(By Barbara E. Marty)

"To see the world in a grain of sand"; your world; my world; our world in which we are free to do as we please. We walk the streets of a great city unhampered by laws dictating our freedom. Our freedom, restrained by the Constitution of the United States, is given to us. Our priceless gift is given, without question, to us. This jewel, coveted by its worth, is beyond limitations. Yet our gift is not a wise one for many. Those who take their freedom and throw it into the muddy gutters and trample its sacred name by the actions of a few.

abuse it and those who worship it are all equal under its protecting smile.

The right to be free, although given to us, is costly. Many lives have been spent to maintain freedom. The path is difficult and unless the courage to face the obstacles is present, we fail. Victory will not be complete until we no longer have to fight for freedom. Our forefathers fought for their freedom just as we fight for ours and the freedom of others today. When will the time come when man can be assured that his freedom will never be jeopardized? How long will we have to wait to insure absolute freedom for our children and their children? When will our struggles end?

Freedom, its unadulterated, manifest beauty is veiled from those unwilling to sacrifice their worldly wants. The freedom to be free is unalienable yet so many are denied it. The gates are open. All that is necessary is faith in the way of the right, courage to withstand any challenge and prayers in the hope that the Lord will guide us in our quest.

Freedom is like the rapid streams that travel wherever they please. Freedom is a city filled with bustling enterprises. Freedom is a newborn, free to mature into an adult, knowing only to be free.

I sit here wondering what it is like not to be free; not to do as I wish; not to be able to plan my life. I think the many thousands of children who know not of what I speak but who must bear this burden of unknowing grief.

Although numerous, the symbols for the many facets of freedom can be brought to light through the use of the colors of the rainbow. White is the color of purity. Pure is our hope that freedom survives. That this most precious of all rights remains in the palms of our descendants. That they shall guard it as fiercely as we have.

Blue is the color of love and honor; love for our nation; love for the principles on which our nation establishes her beliefs. To honor our laws and revere our Flag are the basis of freedom.

Red, is the color of blood. The blood and toil and sweat that men have given to preserve this freedom is worth more than can be dreamed. Those who would challenge our freedom must face proud warriors who zealously protect what is ours.

Orange is the color of religion. Only by the Grace of our Lord, the "Warden of all men", may we attain our most sought-for desires. The way is hard but our religious codes are worthless without the challenge.

Indigo represents patriotism. We who defend the freedom of our world are patriots. We are loyal to the cause of the end result we seek.

Freedom, in its most pristine form does not exist in our world today. Freedom is only indirectly known. Freedom, our sole great need is beyond our grasp. Therefore, freedom is the most urgent condition for which we must strive. Freedom, at all costs, must be won.

"To see the world in a grain of sand." Walk along the sea one day. Gaze at the majesty of the rising blue waters. Know that freedom is a God-given gift; that we who walk this earth are given, the right, to be free.

## TRIBUTE TO MINNIE PEARL

**HON. THOMAS M. REES**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 3, 1969

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, in these times of extreme stress both at home and throughout the world, I would like to take a few moments to call attention to some of the qualities in life



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city children. We shall use the resources of the federally supported school lunch program to provide food for the several thousand children who will benefit from this service.

There are other examples. We have used funds available under the Vocational Education Act in conjunction with ESEA funds in extending vocational educational motivation and opportunities. In other instances, we have supplemented ESEA funds with private foundation grants.

Throughout all such efforts our accent and focus are on improved opportunities for children—the children most in need.

#### COMMENTS EVALUATION

Certain potential long range effects of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act are becoming apparent. Projects and services conducted under provisions of this legislation have enabled schools to examine the creativity, resourcefulness, and readiness for change of staff members who have had new opportunities for leadership functions. In Cleveland, the staff member who this year was promoted and given responsibility for the pre-first grade programs throughout the city came to our attention through her excellent work in organizing and developing our head start and child development project—one of the nation's finest.

Another significant long range benefit that Title I has brought to the schools of Cleveland is an emerging new staffing pattern through which the competencies of more people at various levels of training are being utilized. This includes teacher aides, assistant teachers, tutors, parent educators, home-school liaison aides, technicians, and other expanding classifications. In these roles, many inner-city residents including parents are entering a new relationship and involvement in education. This is good for children and good for their parents.

While our experiences in developing and implementing Title I projects have in general been encouraging, we have encountered some disappointments and frustrations.

Delays in funding have impeded proper planning and staffing. I certainly hope that Congress will provide forward funding so that intelligent planning and orderly implementation of projects can occur. Also with respect to funding, I would urge that appropriations be made at the full level of authorization. In addition, consideration should be given to normal increases in costs such as regular salary increment for staff.

The restrictive character of certain regulations has made it difficult to organize and administer Title I projects in the most educationally sound manner. For example, we are restricted pretty much to the delivery of remedial type services, rather than to a much needed emphasis on prevention.

Last summer we developed a large program in the Arts in an attempt to not only increase the artistic skills and cultivate the interests of inner-city children but also to attack the isolation of groups of children from each other. It was permissible to provide transportation out of the ghetto for inner-city children but not allowable to use Title I funds to bring other children into the center we established so that the benefits of greater association would be possible. This project is described briefly in a recent publication of the U.S. Office of Education entitled "Profiles in Quality Education," containing descriptions of 150 outstanding Title I projects.

We had to discontinue Title I funding of a very rich and exciting camping project because we were serving children in classes from the schools in high poverty areas rather than segregating and selecting only those suffering from serious retardation in academic achievement. Following such procedures is educationally unsound as it ignores the motivation and learning experiences that children gain through association with other more able classmates.

In effect, Title I guidelines lead to setting up a special track system for disadvantaged children.

With respect to the methods of distributing ESEA assistance, we have found the present method followed under Title I to be effective. It has distributed the money in relation to the needs of children rather than in response to the literary skill of proposal writers or the sophistication in grantsmanship of local administrators.

I would certainly hope that any system of distributing federal assistance would include safeguards to insure that funds are distributed in such a way that the money goes where the children are the neediest.

ESEA was enacted by Congress in an attempt "to strengthen and improve educational quality and educational opportunities in the nation's elementary and secondary schools."

The national program that has been established as a result of that act has provided the vehicle with which this nation can move its educational efforts ahead the required giant stride.

It seems to me that we are at the point where we have the experience in planning and program development and have operated a sufficient number of model projects long enough to be ready now to move forward confidently in the productive programs that the national interest demands but which no school system in a big city can alone support.

#### SPECIAL BULK MAILING RATE FOR NEIGHBORHOOD IMPROVEMENT ORGANIZATIONS

**HON. DONALD M. FRASER**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 3, 1969

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, again this year I am introducing legislation to extend to neighborhood improvement associations the use of the special third-class bulk mailing permit.

Thousands of grassroots neighborhood associations throughout the country are currently involved in efforts to maintain and strengthen residential neighborhoods. Virtually every neighborhood in my district, Minneapolis, has its own local community group that promotes public improvements, encourages property upkeep and provides a "watchdog" service for zoning changes. Activities of this type are particularly important in a central city like Minneapolis that must work diligently to maintain the family-residential character of its older neighborhoods.

With the advent of many new federally funded community development projects, the neighborhood associations have an increasingly important information function to perform. It is vitally important that neighborhood residents are informed about these programs and the neighborhood associations are in a good position to disseminate this information. But current postal regulations tend to limit the communication activities of the neighborhood groups. Under existing law, improvement associations are not permitted to use the special third-class bulk permit which would enable them to mail at the rate of 1.4 cents per piece. They often must use the regular third-class rate of 6 cents per 2

ounces, which causes a real financial burden.

Congress can encourage this worthwhile neighborhood improvement activity in a small but significant way by extending to the neighborhood associations the use of the special third-class permit now available to a variety of nonprofit educational and welfare organizations.

The text of my bill follows:

H.R. 7979

A bill to amend title 39, United States Code, to extend to neighborhood improvement organizations or associations the special third-class bulk mail rates for nonprofit organizations

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 4452(d) of title 39, United States Code, is amended by striking out "or fraternal organizations or associations" and inserting in lieu thereof "fraternal, or neighborhood improvement organizations or associations".

#### A PENETRATING ANALYSIS OF THE MIDDLE EAST

**HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 3, 1969

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, from time to time our newspaper columnists cut through the confusion and shifting sands of contemporary affairs and strike fundamental truth with a laserlike beam which places a difficult problem in proper perspective. Frank Getlein has admirably performed this service for us with his February 12, 1969, column in the Washington Evening Star, entitled "Why View Israel as a Boy Scout?" Mr. Getlein gets to the core of the Middle East problem and I commend, therefore, his discerning column to this body, the full text of which is as follows:

WHY VIEW ISRAEL AS A BOY SCOUT?

(By Frank Getlein)

The unquestionably growing pro-Arab sentiment among Americans concerned about the Middle East is actually based on a pro-Israel assumption. The way it works is this: When the Arabs behave like bandits, assassins, spoiled children and people whose heads are made out of cement, we don't react against them because, at heart, we don't expect any better. Arabs are, after all, the inventors of assassination from an etymological point of view and famed practitioners of it from an historical one. It isn't that other people don't go in for assassination, it's just that nobody else ever formed a club on that principle.

And they were on pot before this country was even discovered. And they haggle in the marketplace instead of calculating through the check-out counter. And they believe in bribery as a fringe benefit of public service. And they have been ruled, most of them, by "kings" arbitrarily chosen by European powers and who act the part like Alfred Drake in "Kismet" without the voice. And this and that and so much else.

In short, we don't really take the Arabs seriously and, except for oil and common humanity, there is no reason why we should.

With Israel, quite the other way. We expect the Israeli to live up to the law of nations, to behave unto others as they would wish others to behave unto them and, for that matter, as we faintly wish we could afford to behave ourselves.

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The trouble with the law of nations, of course, is that it is a very long time since any big nation has actually obeyed it. According to the grand old rule of decorum among the governments of the world, for instance, no Russian government would dream of invading Czechoslovakia, yet who's directing Prague traffic today? No American government would invade Cuba or the Dominican Republic, yet why isn't the popular choice for Dominican rule in office? No British government would have invaded Ireland and left behind a colony of foreigners in the north that is now causing all the trouble there. No French government would have tried to conquer the Vietnamese and so on. Yet all these things have happened.

The reason they have happened is that all those countries doing all those frightful things are major powers. The only way you stop a major power from transgressing the law of nations is by the fact or the threat of a major war. Since nobody wants a major war—except sometimes—big powers pretty well do as they wish and how many divisions does the court of world opinion have?

With Israel, the hope here is that we can impose standards of conduct we don't care to live up to ourselves but admire a good deal for others. The theory seems to be that if we can just make the Israelis obey the Boy Scout Law by force, this will be a big step toward the abolition of force in world affairs.

Fat chance. Under present and foreseeable conditions, force is the only ultimate way international affairs can be managed. The dream for the Middle East is that the United Nations can establish and maintain peace if only the Israelis will let it happen.

What needs to be recalled is that the United Nations was doing exactly that before the six-day war. When Nasser, the sheik of Arab, said scam, the U.N. scrambled. The fact that Israel was not wiped out at that moment was due solely to its own prudence.

With that record, it ought to be easy to understand why the Israelis aren't bowled over and all choked up by appeals to the law of nations and the United Nations and the hope of peace in our time.

For Israel, the only hope of peace in its time lies in somehow convincing the dramatic baritones they're surrounded by that it will cost them more to be nasty than it will be to be decent. It would be a wonderful world if this could be accomplished by sweet reasonableness, but so far there has been no faint sign that this can happen.

In child-raising generally, permissiveness is okay, and certainly a lot pleasanter to live with than discipline. The worst results won't happen now, but years later at the Pentagon or Columbia University or Berkeley, and at least the kid will be quiet.

But there are certain things, like setting the house on fire, that the wise parent just cannot allow to be included in the permissive approach. When the child starts to set fire to the house, what you do is you whale the tar out of him and eventually he gets the idea.

Unfortunately, that has to be Israel's foreign policy for now.

PREMIER LEVI ESHKOL

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 26, 1969

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, the passing of Prime Minister Levi Eshkol is a cause for sorrow for the people of Israel. As his successor, Mr. Allon said:

He was a man of the people who remained one of the people. We have lost a brother, a friend and a leader.

His death is also a loss to the world which looked to his strong and capable leadership in dealing wisely with the tense and complex problems facing Israel and in maintaining peace in the Middle East.

His life encompassed and paralleled the entire history of modern Israel, from the reclaiming of the desert wastes, through 20 years of striving for statehood, to its achievement in 1948. As a fighter, farmer, union leader, and foreign envoy he worked for the creation of the state, and then led it through its formative years as he rose to become Minister of Agriculture and Development, Minister of Finance, and, since 1963, Prime Minister.

His love for his country and his desire to live in peace was resolute. Levi Eshkol was a patriot, yet a realist; a strong and decisive statesman, yet a master at conciliation in the most difficult political issues. His total commitment to the welfare of his nation did not preclude the political and diplomatic flexibility vital to working amid high tension toward the peaceful settlement of the complex problems of the Middle East.

I am glad to note that those who are now faced with the continuing and awesome responsibility of preserving the security of Israel and peace in the Middle East have agreed to maintain his policies. We who are concerned with and dedicated to the integrity of the Israeli nation, peace in the Middle East and in the world, will continue to uphold the goal of peaceful settlement that Mr. Eshkol so deeply hoped for. As former Supreme Court Justice and U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Arthur Goldberg, recently said:

Our renewed efforts to create . . . (a) just and lasting peace in the Middle East . . . would be the finest memorial to Levi Eshkol.

"FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE"—ADDRESS BY GAYLE P. EMERY

HON. WILLIAM V. ROTH, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 3, 1969

Mr. ROTH. Mr. Speaker, it is always a pleasant experience for me to read the speeches prepared and delivered by young people as part of the annual Voice of Democracy Contest sponsored by the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and its ladies auxiliary.

The winner of the Delaware State contest this year is Miss Gayl P. Emery, the 17-year-old daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Warren Emery, of 637 Carol Street, Dover. Gayle is a senior at Dover High School and plans to continue on to college to study speech and drama.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert at this point in the RECORD Gayle's address that she will deliver during the national finals here in Washington this week:

FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE

(By Gayle P. Emery)

In the Broadway musical, *Man of La Mancha*, we discover meaningful expressions which embody Freedom's Challenge.

"TO DREAM THE IMPOSSIBLE DREAM"

Years ago a mere handful of visionary men sought to create a brighter land for their children, a land unique in the history of this world and the memory of mankind. We Americans have always dared to dream the impossible dream and make our dreams a reality. Our poets, our scholars, our religious leaders, our statesmen have pointed the way to the ideals of freedom, equality, and justice. We are the heirs of those sacred ideals. Only through our efforts, our understanding, and our compassion will those dreams become a reality. This dream, this hope is the guiding soul of our nation. For this dream of freedom and equality courageous American soldiers have challenged—and defeated—great tyrannical powers on every major battlefield of this world. In times of oppression, injustice, and discrimination, our forefathers dared to hope for equal rights and opportunities and the chance to be free-thinking men. We can, we must re-accept this challenge, for freedom must be re-born, re-created in the hearts and minds of each man and woman of our generation.

"TO FIGHT THE UNBEATABLE FOE"

America has a reputation for conquering the unbeatable foe—George III, the Kaiser, Adolf Hitler—and we must continue to be dedicated to this ideal of force for freedom. Only when we lose our capacity to fight and lose faith in our ideals will a foe become unbeatable. Faith, without dedication and the will to fight, is meaningless. Today's enemies are within as well as without our beloved nation—riots in the streets, unrest on college campuses, crime at every level of our society, citizens who refuse their glorious inheritance and wallow in soul shrinking apathy. Only through our faith, our dream of equality, our will to fight, and our compassionate understanding, can we triumph over today's challenges. This is a personal responsibility, for when we call ourselves Americans, we pledge our lives, our honor, and our personal destinies to those ideals which have shaped this nation and inspired a watching world.

"TO RIGHT THE UNRIGHTABLE WRONG"

The American national symbol is the courageous eagle, not the cowardly ostrich with his head buried in the sand. Wrongs exist in any society, and this is not a damnation of that society, but any society that ignores these inherent wrongs is truly damned. These offenses comprise America's most immediate challenge. The uneducated must be given greater opportunities for education and training to earn a decent, respectable living, not an eternal welfare check. The unrest on our college campuses must be quieted with a firm demand for a greater respect for person, property, and nation. Racial tension and rioting in our cities must be brought to a halt through expressions and examples of understanding between peoples, and between the people and their government. The bitter and disillusioned senior citizen must be given a vital, creative role and the respect he enjoyed in his prime in this society. In righting these wrongs we will be creating a brighter tomorrow for our children.

"To fight for the right, without question or pause.

To be willing to march into hell for a heavenly cause."

Americans have so often accepted the challenge to fight for the right—every man's right to freedom and opportunity. We want to share the freedom we have enjoyed. Willingly, American soldiers have worked, fought,

## Soviet Making Inroads in Arabia, Where West Was Once Strong

By HANSON W. BALDWIN

Special to The New York Times

KUWAIT—The Communists are slowly but steadily making inroads in the Arabian Peninsula.

United States, British and Arab officials in Jidda, Saudi Arabia, and in Bahrein and Kuwait agree that Moscow and, to a lesser extent, Peking are increasingly active in the peninsula.

Recently, the first sizable quantity of Soviet arms, including 10 MIG-17 jets, was delivered to the People's Republic of Southern Yemen. Soviet warships have called at Persian Gulf ports to repeat last year's visit of the first Russian men of war in the gulf for a century.

Iraqi Communists are said to

be playing leading roles in the Kuwaiti oil workers' union and the large Soviet Embassies in Southern Yemen and Kuwait use trade and aid in the effort to extend their political and psychological influence.

The Communist efforts, though as yet small, are increasing in scope, and most experts believe that Moscow has already demonstrated it is determined to stake out a position of strength in an area that was once largely under British and American influence.

The spread of Communism in the area has been aided and in fact made possible,

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most Arabs argue, by the Israeli-Arab conflict. The Soviet espousal of the Arab cause and the identification of the United States with Israel have created in many Arab countries a climate of opinion that has opened doors to the Russians and sometimes has made Communism acceptable.

This is not true in Saudi Arabia, the largest country in the region, where Communist influence is minimal. King Faisal, who is attempting to modernize his desert kingdom, actively opposes Communism, but there is said to be considerable anti-American feeling under the surface in Saudi Arabia masked by the monarch's effective security apparatus. King Faisal and his advisers are increasingly concerned with what they view as the threat of encirclement.

#### U. S. Helping Saudis

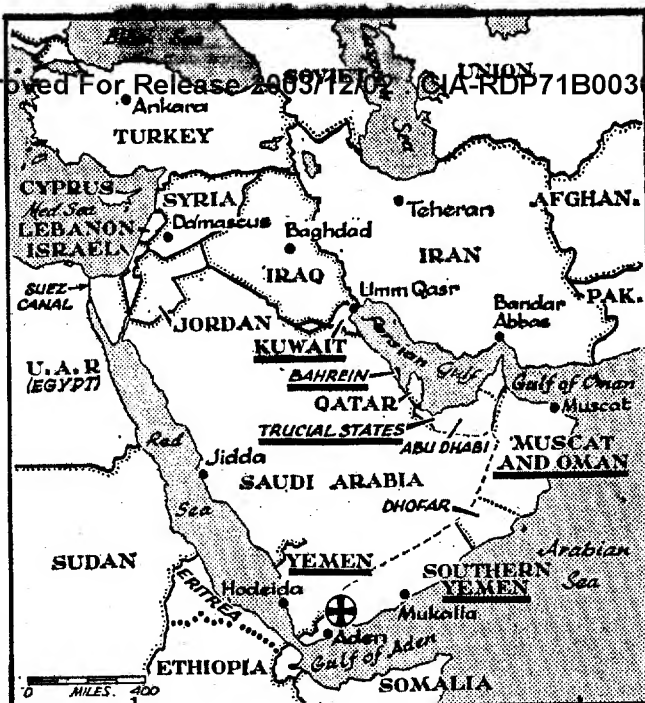
With United States, British and Pakistani help, Saudi Arabia is slowly establishing an air-defense system, with American antiaircraft guns and British Lighting fighters.

In Yemen, long torn by a civil war between the royalists, backed by King Faisal, and the republicans backed by President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic, there are signs of a possible rapprochement between the two factions.

Both sense a new menace from neighboring Southern Yemen. Since the withdrawal of Egyptian and Saudi Arabian support, following the Arab-Israeli war of June, 1967, the Yemeni civil war has come to a virtual standstill. However, the Soviet foothold in Yemen, established in 1956, is still strong, although Moscow is not as influential as it once was. The port of Hodeida is still under development, and there are 47 to 57 Soviet military aircraft, including MIG-17's and MIG-21's, and a few MIG-21's, based there and at other Yemeni fields. About 200 Soviet advisers are still in northern Yemen, there are perhaps nine trained Yemeni pilots, plus an unknown number of Soviet fliers.

The focal point of Soviet efforts in the peninsula appears to be shifting, intelligence officers say, from Yemen to Southern Yemen, where the British flag was hauled down late in 1967 over the key port of Aden.

Aden and the surrounding areas are now consolidated under the Marxist Southern Yemeni Government, which is harshly anti-American. The Russians appear to be attracted to Southern Yemen by the strategic importance of Aden, a more developed port



The New York Times

March 3, 1969

Aden (cross) is important center of Soviet influence. Underlining shows other areas where Communists are active.

than Hodeida, and by the radical complexion of the Government.

Moreover, tribal differences appear to have been a factor in the civil war in Yemen, but these same differences have sharpened the friction between that country and Southern Yemen. The Zaidi tribe, which dominates the republican Yemeni Government in Sana is apparently striving for tribal peace and appears to be seeking an accommodation with Saudi Arabia, according to Sources in Jidda.

#### Opposed by Shafei Tribe

But it is opposed by the sizable Shafei tribe and the Government of Southern Yemen is backing the Shafeis. Thus a different kind of war—Yemen versus Southern Yemen—seems to be looming, with the Russians apparently trying to ride both tigers, but with more and more of their efforts focused on Southern Yemen. The Soviet Union maintains a 50-man Embassy in Aden, and Communist propaganda is much in evidence in the press and over the radio.

Soviet men of war have visited the port and others in the Red Sea recently, and in late January Soviet aircraft delivered 10 crated MIG-17 fighter planes, air-to-surface rockets, antiaircraft guns portable radar equipment and ammunition and spare parts.

About 50 Soviet technicians and advisers accompanied the Soviet ship, the *Admiral Gorshkov*, on a 10-day mission to Southern Yemen. A Russian has been in Aden since December, and the Russians had previously supplied

Bahrain and Kuwait has made relatively little overpressure.

this. The British still maintain small military along the Persian Gulf their influence in these doms is still considerable though it is dwindling date for the British with—to be completed by the of 1971—approaches.

Many of these states enjoying oil wealth. Dhahi, for instance, with about 25,000 inhabitants just beginning to derive benefits of one of the oil fields in the Middle

Nevertheless in many of these small states, the Communists are trying hard to the anti-Westernism and nationalism of the Arab and to encourage regional border disputes and triffences.

#### Kuwait Feels Pressure

What one officer de as "a threat of sorts ported by Southern Y backed by Soviet aid—posed to Muscat and Or least a faction of this ency movement, the Dhofar Liberation Front backed by the Communist Yemenese Communists, who supplied some automatics and small arms guerilla movement thro port of Mukalla. At Dhofaris have been China for training in tionalary tactics, and at dozen have returned to and Oman and are bel...

The old con whether aliens vented from visi States because o beliefs has been refusal of immigr to admit Carl prominent Mex with leftist lean Juan, P.R.

The issue was former officials and Johnson A amid a mounting test over the Fue Mr. Fuentes s

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

ME  
PRIME MINISTER LEVI ESHKOL,  
OF ISRAEL

HON. CHET HOLIFIELD  
OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, February 26, 1969

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I was greatly saddened at the news of the untimely passing of the Premier of Israel, Levi Eshkol. His death at a time when steady hands are needed in Israel and other countries of the Middle East raises new and serious dimensions of concern for the United States. I was also surprised to learn that the official representative of the United States at Mr. Eshkol's funeral would be the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare of the new administration. I believe that this implies an inadequate level of support for an important ally in an important area of the world. President Nixon must, of course, accept the responsibility for this level of representation.

Mr. Speaker, no one wants more than I do to see the establishment of an enduring and stable peace in the Middle East at this time. The road to such peace, however, is a long and tortuous one with few shortcuts available to us or to the immediate parties of the conflict. The imposition of a two-power or four-power settlement would hardly lead to an enduring peace; the most enduring and stable arrangement will have to be found by a face-to-face meeting of the Arab nations with the leaders of Israel.

The fortunes of the United States and Israel are inextricably linked in the Middle East. At this time, although we have interests in other Middle Eastern nations, we have no firm allies there other than Israel. I do not accept this situation as a permanent one, nor should it be accepted as permanent. While the Arab nations have been rallied into a superficial alliance and goaded into a brothers-in-arms spirit by Nasser of Egypt, several of these Arab nations realize that Nasser has led them down the path to ignominy and defeat in the past and may do so again. The Soviet Union has begun to realize the heavy price of dealing with fanatics, and it is no coincidence that the Soviets have taken a cautious approach in moderating their re-arming of the dangerously provocative leader of Cairo. Ultimately the other nations of the Arab bloc will realize that there is more to be gained by stabilizing relations with Israel than there is to be gained by maintaining a continuing state of mutual terror and fear.

A further consideration which concerns me is the diminishing stature of the United Nations as a source of stability and reconciliation in the Middle East. At present, the U.N. enjoys the confidence of none of the parties in this tragic situation. This is not entirely the fault of the United Nations membership as a whole. It is the fault of the major powers which dominate the Security Council and who do not find it in their interest to

push for an effective U.N. role in the Middle East. While the negotiations which will be necessary must be between the Jews and the Arabs, there is much that the U.N. could be doing to set the stage for such talks.

Finally, I would say this word to our allies in Israel: the United States is a huge and powerful nation, not to be forced into confrontations by its smaller allies' reckless or ill-timed actions. New leadership now comes to the fore in Israel. Since we are firm allies, there must be a spirit of communication and consultation in our relations, not a spirit of fait accompli. The Beirut airport incident was a fait accompli. We will not be pulled by the tail into a dogfight in the Middle East; by the same token, we will not permit our tail to be stepped on or twisted by the fanatics in Cairo or those circles in the Soviet which are playing games in the already troubled waters of the Middle East.

SLEEPING BEAR DUNES: LEGACY  
OF THE UNSPOILED GREAT  
LAKES SCENE

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA  
OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Thursday, February 27, 1969

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to see that legislation to create the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore has again been introduced in the Senate by Senator PHILIP A. HART.

The Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore is now the top priority conservation issue before the Congress. As a member of the House Interior Committee's Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, I have been working for the establishment of this national lakeshore.

We seek to preserve, for all the people, a truly beautiful area of undoubted national significance for its scenic, recreational, and scientific values. We seek to preserve this area now in the face of accelerating threats to these precious values.

THE HERITAGE OF ALL AMERICANS

The Sleeping Bear Dunes area offers the American people a legacy—the best we still have—of the unspoiled Great Lakes scene. The purpose of our national lakeshore proposal is to assure that this national legacy is perpetuated as a part of the heritage of all Americans and for future generations.

As Senator HART said, the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore "will serve, as few other areas can, the recreation and green space needs of our heavily populated and growing midwest urban centers."

Last July, the House Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation held hearings on Sleeping Bear Dunes legislation which I introduced in the House.

The Director of the National Park

Service, Mr. George P. Hartzog, testified at those hearings, and summarized the values in the Sleeping Bear Dunes area:

The Sleeping Bear region was first identified as having possible national significance in 1957 and 1958 when the Department of the Interior studied the Great Lakes shoreline. Later, more careful studies of the Sleeping Bear region revealed it to be a remarkably diverse area possessing such outstanding and varied scenic, scientific and recreational values that it clearly merits preservation as a national lakeshore.

As it now exists, it has the quality of being both remote and accessible; remote in the sense that most of its natural features are still untrammelled and wild, and accessible in that it lies within one-day's drive of some 20 million people.

The combination of shoreline, high dunes, inland lakes and green forests make this area outstanding in terms of scenic beauty. For sightseers, campers, hikers, hardy swimmers, fishermen, nature lovers and boating enthusiasts, the shore area will provide a great recreation opportunity.

The Sleeping Bear Dunes area along the Lake Michigan shore is a magnificent landscape composed of a great diversity of elements—natural as well as lightly developed, pastoral as well as wild. It is the purpose of this legislation, by establishing a 61,000-acre national lakeshore, to protect the existing diversity of the landscape and its ecological features—for these are the elements which give the region national significance. The boundaries will include not only 64 miles of Lake Michigan shoreline and the great plateau of dunes, but also quiet, free-flowing streams, wooded slopes and hills, high bluffs, deep forests, and beautiful inland lakes. A fascinating series of geological and ecological events is evidenced in the shape and beauty of the landscape of Sleeping Bear Dunes. What we must protect—quickly and fully—is the inherent character of this landscape, in which these many elements are blended to create unusual visual beauty and scenic appeal.

A GREAT RECREATION RESOURCE

In its favorable report on an identical bill in the 89th Congress, the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs stated its expectation that "most of the land within the boundaries of the national lakeshore will remain in its present condition." There will be necessary developments to provide for public use and enjoyment, but these will be only those which serve to better display the landscape and enhance appropriate recreational opportunities—including visitor centers, beach-use areas, and nature trails. Along the high ridges inland from the main lakeshore, a 30-mile scenic parkway will afford the leisure motorist spectacular, ever-changing scenic vistas over the dunes and lakes below.

We want to provide a full opportunity for all to enjoy this great landscape and to benefit by experiencing its exquisite beauty and natural values. Here our people can learn, through park interpretive programs, the geologic history responsible for the present landforms of

February 27, 1969

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

H 1355

A. Ronnie J. Straw, 1000 Connecticut Ave. NW., Washington, D.C.  
B. National Telephone Cooperative Association, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Phillip Tocker, 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.  
B. Outdoor Advertising Association of America, Inc., 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Venable, Baetjer and Howard, 1400 Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.

B. Maryland State Fair & Agricultural Society, Inc., Timonium State Fair Grounds, Timonium, Md.

A. James H. Wadlow, Jr., 952 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.

A. National Water Company Conference, 952 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Thomas G. Walters, president, National Association of Retired Civil Employees, 1909 Q Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Retired Civil Employees, 1909 Q Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Washington Consulting Service, 1435 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Association of Schools of Allied Health Professions, 2011 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Milburn E. Wilson, Route No. 1, Fremont, Mich.

B. Gerber Products Co., 445 State Street, Fremont, Mich.

A. Nicholas H. Zumas, attorney at law, 1225 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Emergency Committee on Gun Control, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.



H1188

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

February 26, 1969

changes to the draft law 3 years ago, the Military Selective Service Act of 1967 did virtually nothing to enact their recommendations. I thus supported an amendment to limit extension of the law to just 1 year in 1967. Since then, the inequities have become even more glaringly apparent.

The current law is grossly unfair in many respects. It leaves all young men in a constant state of uncertainty, is disruptive to their pursuit of education and is, I think, a major contributor to the restlessness of young people on college campuses and elsewhere today. It is terribly damaging to our graduate schools and thus to our future supply of people with the kind of educational background needed to advance America's economic, social, and political interests in a highly complex and technological age. It is unfair to students who cannot pursue their educations for financial or other reasons.

The law is also arbitrary in many respects. A draft registrant does not have the right to be represented by counsel before a local draft board despite the fact that complex legal questions often are raised by draft action. The bill we are introducing today, provides that a registrant is entitled to counsel in any appearance before the board and an indigent registrant may request free counsel. The current laws deficiencies in treatment of conscientious objectors are also corrected.

Perhaps the greatest evil of the current draft law is its uncertain application and unjust criteria for selection. The new bill provides that all youth of appropriate age will be eligible for the draft—except in cases of disability or hardship—and that those young men to be drafted be chosen through random selection, taking the youngest—19-year-olds—first. This system was used successfully through World War I. This random selection procedure will spread draft exposure equitably among rich and poor, black and white, student and nonstudent. It will do so without unduly disrupting our educational institutions. Military experts are also virtually unanimous that taking the youngest first will improve the quality of draftees selected. The bill also extends college deferments, but only so long as war casualties don't exceed 10 percent of the numbers drafted in any month. Under these circumstances, the registrant is given a choice of going into a prime selection group upon his high school graduation or waiting until he graduates from college or graduate school. But in either case, he will be notified upon graduation from high school or upon reaching age 19 as to his liability for service so he can plan his life sensibly.

Our bill requires the adoption of national standards and criteria in the administration of the draft law and their uniform application. All too often I have had brought to me situations in which one young man is granted a deferment by a local board in one location but another young man, in exactly the same position, is called for induction by a local board in another State—or even county or city. National standards and uniform application will eliminate such injustices.

Recently we have heard much discussion of the feasibility of a volunteer army. The bill I am introducing today calls for a thorough public study of the feasibility of a volunteer army as well as a National Service Corps, in which individuals seeking nonmilitary service might fulfill their obligation of service to the country.

Mr. Speaker, considerable time, effort, and thought have been devoted to the preparation of this bill by many Members of the House and Senate who participated in its drafting. I believe we owe it to our young people to give it our fullest and most careful consideration and attention.

Hopefully, the time may soon come when no more war ravages the earth and consumes the youth of our society. The time is not yet here. Nor is our knowledge yet sufficient to eliminate conscription as a means of raising armies for our current involvements. Until these highly desirable ends become feasible, it seems clear that the draft must be made as fair and certain as possible to our youth and our society. The bill I have joined in sponsoring today seeks to accomplish these important reforms. I urge that it be given prompt and favorable consideration.

**ME**  
**TRIBUTE TO THE LATE LEVI ESHKOL, PREMIER OF ISRAEL**

(Mr. REID of New York asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I believe that all Members of this House would wish to express our sense of loss and deep concern over the passing of Prime Minister Levi Eshkol of Israel. He was a leader who over many years brought great promise and accomplishment to the state of Israel. He cared deeply about the land. He worked unceasingly as he saw it for peace. He said most recently that—

I am ready to meet with the leadership of the U.A.R. anywhere and any time and I will not quarrel about procedure, agenda or the shape of the table.

Mr. Speaker, I had the privilege of knowing the late Prime Minister and working with him, particularly during the time when he was Minister of Finance. He did more, perhaps, than any other single Israeli to imaginatively strengthen the economy in the overall sense and for all Israelis. His leadership will be deeply missed.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the distinguished gentleman from New York yield?

Mr. REID of New York. I yield to the distinguished majority leader.

(Mr. ALBERT asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I desire to join the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. REID), in what the gentleman has said about his service in Israel, because I once visited the gentleman while he was serving as the distinguished Ambassador from this country to the State of Israel.

Mr. Speaker, I join the gentleman also

in what he said about the loss of Premier Eshkol, one of the great men of the free world. That loss is not only Israel's loss. It is the loss of everyone who seeks peace and freedom in this troubled world. To Mrs. Eshkol and her family and to all of the wonderful people of Israel I extend my deepest sympathy.

Mr. REID of New York. I thank the distinguished majority leader for his remarks.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REID of New York. I yield to the distinguished minority leader.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I am grateful that the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. REID) has yielded to me on this occasion. I wish to associate myself with his most appropriate remarks concerning the tragic passing of Prime Minister Eshkol.

Although I never had the privilege or honor of meeting the Prime Minister, I have admired him greatly for his efforts in leading a staunch and steadfast nation through a period of great difficulty. I have greatly respected his efforts to seek a solution to the many problems confronting his people and his country, and to achieve a fair and lasting peace in the strife-torn Middle East.

I know that his passing will be a great loss to his country. It will be a loss to those who are at this moment seeking to achieve an honorable settlement of the longstanding grievances and difficulties in the Middle East.

Mr. Speaker, I extend, as did the gentleman from New York, my deepest condolences to his family and to his country on his passing under these most unfortunate circumstances. The world has lost a great statesman and the United States has lost a fine friend.

Mr. REID of New York. I thank the distinguished minority leader for his most thoughtful remarks.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REID of New York. I yield to the very distinguished chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, Levi Eshkol, Prime Minister of the State of Israel, is dead. This is not only Israel's loss but the world's. Consider the nature of this man who came to Palestine in the year 1913; who served in the Jewish Legion of the British Army from 1918 to 1920; who was Director General of the Ministry of Defense of the State of Israel in the years 1948 and 1949; who was Minister of Agriculture and Development in the years 1951 to 1952; who was Minister of Finance in the years 1952 to 1963; and who was Prime Minister of the State of Israel since 1963. He was the chief of the main political party of Israel. Thus, his largeness of vision, his understanding, basic and realistic, grew out of a wealth of experience in every significant aspect of the structure of statehood. At the age of 73 he had achieved world eminence because of the knowledge and foresight no ordinary mortal can reach within his lifetime. He rescued Israel from the jaws of death. This intrepid modern David sought to doom the Arab Goliath of violence and hatred. He is gone from the scene at one of the most crucial moments

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H1187

tures of the self-regulatory code to which these magazine sales companies have verbally subscribed but factually flaunted. I see no reason why these subscription sales companies, if in fact they support the provisions of their own code, should have serious objection to its enactment as Federal law with adequate provision for strict enforcement.

If the American consumer deserves protection in the marketplace—and he does—he deserves equal protection on his doorstep and in his living room.

The text of the resolution follows:

H. Res. —

Resolution authorizing and directing the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce to conduct a study and investigation of magazine sales promotion practices

*Resolved*, That the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized and directed to conduct a full and complete investigation and study of magazine sales and sales promotion practices, including telephone solicitation, with particular emphasis on installment contracts.

For the purpose of carrying out this resolution the committee or subcommittee is authorized to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places within the United States, including any Commonwealth or possession thereof, whether the House is in session, has recessed or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, and to require, by subpoena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memoranda, papers, and documents, as it deems necessary; except that neither the committee nor any subcommittee thereof may sit while the House is meeting unless special leave to sit shall have been obtained from the House. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any member of the committee designated by him, and may be served by any person designated by such chairman or member.

The committee shall report to the House as soon as practicable during the present Congress the results of its investigation and study, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable. Any such report which is made when the House is not in session shall be filed with the Clerk of the House.

#### CONGRESSMAN BINGHAM HAILED FOR URGING THAT GIRLS BE PERMITTED TO JOIN VARSITY HIGH SCHOOL SWIMMING TEAMS

(Mr. STRATTON asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, as one who swam competitively in high school and later in college, I was interested to see in the February 1969 issue of *Swimming World*, a semiofficial journal of competitive swimming in both high school and college, an editorial commenting on some remarks made by our colleague, the gentleman from New York (Mr. BINGHAM).

Mr. BINGHAM, quite properly in my opinion, had objected to a ruling by the New York State Department of Education forbidding qualified girl swimmers, in high school where no girls' swimming team existed, from joining a varsity team made up of boy swimmers.

Obviously Commissioner Helen, who made the ruling in question, has been out

of touch with what the girls have been doing in sports lately, including swimming. Little 15-year-old Debbie Meyers, for example, this year's winner of the Sullivan Award, and a triple gold medal winner in the 1968 Mexico City Olympics, has been swimming far faster, especially in the 1,500 meter swim, than the top male Olympic swimmers when I was in college back in 1935. Why should girls with abilities like Debbie's not be allowed to swim against, and even beat, boys of her own age in high school?

Under leave to extend my remarks I include the editorial in question, and I commend the gentleman from New York (Mr. BINGHAM) for the stand he has taken.

The editorial follows:

#### CONGRESSMAN DEcriES LACK OF HIGH SCHOOL SWIMMING FOR GIRLS

NEW YORK, N.Y.—Congressman Jonathan B. Bingham, Democratic Representative from New York City believes girls who have the ability to swim competitively in a high school program should be allowed to compete, even if they must compete as a member of the boys' high school swimming team.

So strongly does Representative Bingham feel on the subject that he has written a strong letter of appeal to The Honorable James Allen, New York State Commissioner of Education calling for an immediate correction to the "19th century" regulation that participation of 16-year old Peggy Loewy in interscholastic swimming as a member of New York City's George Washington High School swimming team "violates the rules and regulations" and must be prohibited.

Peggy had made the team on her ability and had been accepted by her teammates. In two meets this year in New York's Public Schools Athletic League, the 16-year old senior competed directly against boys for the first time in local history. Her performances were not spectacular, but she scored a few points for her team.

The George Washington coach, Joe Rargament, allowed Peggy to compete after she has made the team on the basis of preseason time trials. At the last meet, she just watched.

At present there is no official interscholastic competition for girls in New York City. In fact there is a local regulation prohibiting it, according to the director of the Bureau for Health and Physical Education, Erwin Tobin.

While the value of sports competition in schools, and more important, participation among women, is gaining acceptance, there is a great deal of resistance to mixed sports acceptance.

As Congressman Bingham wrote, "I could understand such a regulation if there were a program for girls. But there is none. Peggy either competes with the boys or she does not compete."

New York City isn't the only area in the United States where a bankrupt high school swimming program is thrust upon the taxpayers. In only a few areas do state health and physical education boards permit high school girls to swim in a competitive interscholastic program, though the same school districts culminate their boys' competitive interscholastic swimming programs with a state championship meet. The facilities are okay for boys competition, but not for girls, though taxes for the facilities failed to delegate which sex was to enjoy a complete aquatic program.

Beginning in 1970, the American Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation through their 60-year old Division for Girls and Women's Sports will sponsor and conduct an annual national intercollegiate swimming championship for junior college, college and university women students.

For the last few years, the American Swimming Coaches Association attempted, with varying degrees of success, to foster interscholastic swimming for girls. However, the program was never accepted by the State High School Associations, and not more than a dozen or so states submitted the names of their girls for All America consideration. However, it was a start, but until there is an interscholastic swimming program in all 50 states, the girls who wish to enjoy the physiological, psychological, social contributions of aquatic sports will have to either join a private club or wait till they enter college. For some, the latter choice is too late.

#### AMERICA CANNOT FURTHER DELAY A FORTHRIGHT RESPONSE TO THE CHALLENGE POSED BY THE CURRENT COMMUNIST OFFENSIVE IN VIETNAM

(Mr. STRATTON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, one hesitates to advise the new administration on important military and foreign policy matters at a time when the President himself is out of the country. But the new Communist offensive in Vietnam is not a routine development. It represents a most serious challenge to and test of the will and determination of this Government and of the new administration. We cannot possibly ignore it or delay unduly in making our response to it.

Last November we ended all bombing in North Vietnam on the basis of several conditions or "understandings," two of which were that there would be no attacks on the major cities in South Vietnam, and that the DMZ would be kept demilitarized.

The current offensive constitutes a very grave violation of both conditions. A major battle is underway. American casualties have escalated sharply. Yet as of this hour, 3 days after the violations began, there has still been no American response, and one of our major defensive weapons, the retaliatory striking power of the U.S. Navy and Air Force, remains sheathed and grounded.

Mr. Speaker, in my judgment, this Nation of ours, however important the current conversations in Europe, cannot safely delay our response to this new challenge. To allow these violations to continue without even a verbal protest, would very seriously erode the credibility of the United States as an effective force for world law and order and very dangerously compromise our bargaining position at the Paris talks.

#### SELECTIVE SERVICE REFORM

(Mr. OTTINGER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to join in cosponsoring legislation today which will institute a number of vitally needed and long overdue reforms in our draft laws and remove many of the current inequities.

Although two distinguished panels studied and recommended drastic

in the history of the State of Israel. We are thus called upon to extend to Israel our most sympathetic understanding in its loss of such a man and such a leader. Our condolences go forth to his beloved wife, Miriam, and his dear children.

Mr. REID of New York. I thank the distinguished chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary for his pertinent and very thoughtful remarks.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REID of New York. I yield to the gentleman from New York (Mr. BINGHAM).

(Mr. BINGHAM asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I would like to be associated with the very appropriate remarks made by my colleague, the gentleman from New York (Mr. REID) and by the distinguished chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, the gentleman from New York (Mr. CELLER).

Mr. Speaker, my wife and I had the honor and privilege of meeting with Prime Minister Levi Eshkol in his office in 1964. We were accompanied by Teddy Kollek, when in the Prime Minister's office, and now mayor of Jerusalem.

Prime Minister Levi Eshkol was a man of extraordinary strength, dignity, and wisdom. He will be sorely missed in Israel, in this country, and in many other parts of the world.

I extend to the Prime Minister's family and to the people of Israel my most profound sympathy.

Mr. REID of New York. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REID of New York. I yield to the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILBERT).

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman from New York for yielding to me. I wish to associate myself with the remarks of my distinguished colleague from New York, Congressman REID, and my colleague from New York, Congressman CELLER.

The passing of Prime Minister Levi Eshkol is a great loss to humanity, and we all feel this loss very deeply and keenly. Mr. Eshkol was of the generation and type of Jewish pioneer who brought Israel into existence and increased her strength in the face of Arab hostility and belligerence. He was a man with a common touch. He began his career in Palestine in 1913 as a farmer and laborer. He was an accomplished economist and statesman, but he never lost his down-to-earth quality. His sense of humor shone through his speeches. He had thousands of friends, his visitors found it easy to strike a common cord with him. He was unpretentious and unassuming to the point of self-effacement—perhaps the most approachable of the world's dignitaries.

Above all, Prime Minister Eshkol was a man of peace. He dedicated his life to the development of land and to the welfare of humanity. He never ceased to

hope that peace was within reach for his country and his Arab neighbors.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REID of New York. I yield to my colleague.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I too would like to associate myself with the remarks made by both gentlemen from New York in connection with the untimely passing of the head of state of Israel.

I had occasion to visit him immediately following the last 6-day war, and I truthfully can say from the conversation I had with him that all he sought was peace. He had no desire for conquest.

Mr. Speaker, the sudden and unexpected death of Israel Prime Minister Levi Eshkol has saddened the entire world. All of us are diminished by his passing.

Mr. Speaker, Levi Eshkol was no ordinary man. He was a patriot who loved his country and served it well in positions of leadership and responsibility. He fought for the right of his people to be free and it can be truly said that he laid down his life for his country and for his fellow man.

Levi Eshkol was a man of compassion. During the difficult days through which his beloved country has been passing Levi Eshkol, in spite of extreme provocation, was a voice of moderation.

Although he realized that Israel could only survive by using firmness in protecting the nation from external attack, yet his desire for peace was such that he was satisfied to take a modest approach with those who threatened the integrity of his beloved country.

Mr. Speaker, I had the pleasure to speak with Prime Minister Eshkol immediately after the 6-day war in 1967. It was at that time that I learned of his desire for peace. He told me that everything that Israel had conquered during that war was negotiable except Jerusalem and the Golan Heights. These he deemed essential to the security of Israel and therefore not negotiable. He had no desire for conquest—only for peace.

Levi Eshkol brought to his nation the qualities of leadership and devotion to duty, as he saw his duty, that few men possess. As William Hazlitt once wrote:

Death strips a man of everything but genius and virtue. It is a sort of natural canonization.

Mr. Speaker, Levi Eshkol is dead, but his memory will live on as long as men desire to be free. This is not death; it is immortality.

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that people throughout our Nation share our feelings of sympathy and concern over the untimely death of Israel's premier, Levi Eshkol.

Premier Eshkol, Israel's second Premier during her 21-year history as a nation, was truly an outstanding statesman. He guided Israel wisely and well during the past 6 stormy years. He led with an unclouded vision of Israel's destiny. He led with firmness but with the ability to conciliate. He led with vigilance against the constant threats against Israel and her people, but he led also with compassion

and understanding for the thousands of innocent victims of war.

Israel's loss is a loss to any person, any nation which values freedom and national integrity. I am sure we all hope that Levi Eshkol's successor will continue the outstanding tradition established by him and his predecessor, David Ben-Gurion.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have the remarks that I made previously follow the remarks of the gentleman from New York (Mr. FARBSTEIN) and I join in those remarks as well as the remarks made by the gentleman from New York (Mr. REID), my colleague from Westchester County and our distinguished leader in the House, the gentleman from New York (Mr. CELLER).

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REID of New York. I am happy to yield to the very distinguished Speaker of the House of Representatives, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. McCORMACK).

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, we are sorry to learn of the death of Prime Minister Eshkol. He was one of the great statesmen of the world. Levi Eshkol was born in the Ukraine, educated in Poland and died in Israel. The course of his travels took him much farther than the distance between Vello and Tel Aviv, for the journey of Levi Eshkol spanned the centuries between the Roman conquest of the Jewish kingdom to the rebirth of the State of Israel. His brave country has certainly been an example to the entire world of the will and of the desire of a free people to be free under their own law.

His leadership in behalf of the people of his country made a profound impression upon the entire world and particularly on the free world.

As Speaker of the House of Representatives, I have, for all of my colleagues, sent a telegram to the President of Israel conveying to the Government, to the President, and to the associates of the late Prime Minister, and to the people of Israel the profound sympathy of all Members of the House of Representatives in Congress.

I have also sent a telegram to the widow of the late Prime Minister, as your Speaker, conveying to her the deep sympathy of all Members of the House of Representatives in Congress, and I have also sent a telegram to the Ambassador from Israel in Washington conveying to him and through him to his Government and to the Speaker and the members of the Knesset, the parliament of Israel, the profound and deep sympathy that Members of the House of Representatives feel upon the death and the loss of their distinguished member of that body, who was Prime Minister of Israel.

The death of Prime Minister Eshkol leaves a vacuum and we, in America, and particularly in the free world will carefully watch the selection of his successor,



knowing that the type of leadership that his successor will give will be of great importance in the years that lie ahead.

Again for myself as an individual and as Speaker of the House of Representatives, and I know I am speaking the sentiments of all Members of the House, I extend to the Government of Israel and to Mrs. Eshkol and her loved ones our deep sympathy in their great loss and sorrow.

Mr. REID of New York. I thank the most distinguished Speaker of the House for his remarks.

LEVI ESHKOL: THE QUIET, RETICENT MAN WHO MADE ISRAEL GROW

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REID of New York. I yield to my colleague.

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York for yielding to me on this occasion.

I am fortunate to have this opportunity to speak following the Speaker of the House of Representatives because it was by his designation I was privileged to represent the distinguished Speaker, along with other Members of the House of Representatives, at the dedication of the Knesset in Jerusalem, Israel, in the fall of 1966.

On that occasion Mrs. Horton and I had the privilege and honor to meet Premier Eshkol and Mrs. Eshkol and other members of the Israel Knesset. I came to have a deep respect for Mr. Eshkol's leadership in Israel and a deep respect for Israel and for what it was doing for the leadership of the free world in the Middle East.

I shall never forget the lovely summer evening on one of the Jerusalem hill-sides just as the heat of the day begins to disappear when we attended the reception given by Premier and Mrs. Eshkol for those at the Knesset dedication. We presented gifts from the people of Rochester and the 36th Congressional District to the Eshkols. Mr. Eshkol in a gracious and warm manner spoke highly of many of my friends from the Rochester area and of our great country. They were a wonderful couple, friendly, and happy, who gave great depth of leadership to a sturdy and struggling people.

It is particularly sad for Mrs. Horton and me to note the passing of Premier Eshkol. I think it comes at a very crucial time in the history of this great country. But I am sure the determination and the will of the people of Israel will carry them through this very trying time, as it has in the past.

So it is with deep sadness and great sympathy that I and my wife express our sincere sympathy to Mrs. Eshkol and to the Israel Government. I just finished speaking by telephone with the Israel Ambassador here in Washington and expressed to him my personal sympathy and regrets on this occasion.

A quiet, naturally reticent man, Premier Eshkol was an expert at conciliation. His lively sense of humor eased many tense moments for his colleagues and put his visitors at ease.

Born in Russia, he witnessed the terrible pogroms that marked the czarist nation in the early part of this century.

His interest in Zionism was stimulated by the harsh reality of life for a Jew in Russia and, in 1914 he moved to Palestine.

Immediately, he became an active force in the Jewish community, first as a member of the local workers council and later as a founder of 500 farm villages in the early days of Israel's existence.

During World War I he served in the British Army Jewish Legion. During the war he also became a member of Mapai, the Jewish Labor Party and afterward played a leading role in establishing various organizations well known today in modern Israel.

As Mr. Eshkol's career expanded, so did the strength and aspirations of the Palestinian Jews.

Their dream—and his—was a Jewish homeland, the Israel promised of old to them.

The Zionist leaders recognized Mr. Eshkol's exceptional abilities and soon had him promoting the interests of the Jews of Palestine at home and abroad. Mr. Eshkol did much to make a reality of the dream of an independent Israel.

He continued his active participation in national life—delegate to the founding conference of the Histadrut, the General Federation of Labor; representative in the Palestine office of the Jewish agency in Berlin for transfer of Jewish people from Nazi Germany; director of Histadrut corporations—settlement, water development, housing; secretary-general of Tel Aviv Labor Council.

Then came nationhood for Israel in 1948; and Mr. Eshkol was appointed Director General of the Ministry of Defense. Later years saw him take Cabinet posts as Minister of Agriculture and Development, Minister of Finance and Deputy Premier.

Mr. Eshkol was largely responsible for the development and economic policy of Israel during the past decade.

For years, Mr. Eshkol worked in the shadow of the beloved and great Israel leader, David Ben-Gurion. It was Mr. Ben-Gurion who chose Mr. Eshkol to succeed him as premier in June 1963. The people of Israel voiced their confidence in Mr. Eshkol during the national elections of 1965, by giving him a sound victory.

His skills in economics, administration, and diplomacy—which had helped the Jewish nation to come into being—nurtured its growth since then.

His tenure in office was marked by a brief war and constant tension with Israel's Arab neighbors.

But the problems of the day did not prevent him from leaving his mark upon the nation—or from dreaming great things for its future.

A man of peace and vision, Levi Eshkol was a friend of the United States, a modern pioneer who helped to forge a great and flourishing nation from the ancient sands of an arid desert.

Mr. Eshkol was from that rare breed—his was the last of that generation of

people who forged a new country out of the rocky slopes of a once barren land.

His leadership will be sorely missed at this crucial time in the history of Israel.

Mr. REID of New York. I thank the gentleman from New York. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Maryland (Mr. LONG).

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I too, join in expressing my deep sympathy and regret over the passing of Prime Minister Eshkol. I was privileged to meet with the Prime Minister for about an hour in late 1965 and to discuss with him the problems that faced Israel, particularly the coming confrontation with the Arab States. I was deeply impressed with the grasp this man had of the problems of the world and of his own country. My thoughts went back to the founding of our own Nation. At the time the United States was founded, at the time we developed our great Constitution, we had a population about that of Israel now.

We have all wondered, as we read our own history, how a small country could have assembled such a group of leaders and thinkers as we did at that time.

I reflect in the same vein on Israel. I have wondered where in the world today could a small country the size of Israel, not more than a couple of million people, the size of a small U.S. State now, have developed such a brilliant constellation of leaders. And none of them in the constellation has shown more brightly than did Prime Minister Eshkol. We all mourn his passing.

(Mr. LONG of Maryland asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. REID of New York. I thank the gentleman from Maryland.

I yield to the gentleman from New York (Mr. PODELL).

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, I, too, would like to join with my colleagues, with the great Speaker and the gentleman from Massachusetts, who spoke so eloquently on behalf of a dear, departed, free-world leader, Prime Minister Levi Eshkol. The free world shall suffer an irreparable loss in the passing of this man, who was a strong force in the preservation of democracy in the Middle East. People the world over will mourn this loss. We only trust that the State of Israel will continue in its efforts as a bulwark of democracy in the Middle East and that very soon we will have a lasting peace in that troubled region.

Levi Eshkol was a man with a dream and he was fortunate during his lifetime to see most of his dream turn into reality.

As a boy, first in his native Ukraine and later in Vilna, Poland, he wanted to go to Palestine, the promised land, to work on the land of his forefathers and to build a new Israel. He was active in the Zionist movement attending the international congresses which organized the first efforts at settlement in Israel. As a young soldier he fought with the Jewish Legion of the British Army in World War I against the Turks. He later used his military knowledge in the formation and organization of the Haganah, the forerunner of the Israeli defense forces. After the war, Eshkol helped found Degania Beth Kibbutz and was able to

watch not only the growth of his home agricultural community but to see the establishment of the kibbutz system as a foundation stone of the Israeli economy.

Levi Eshkol was recognized as a world authority on collective farming and co-operative communities. His involvement in the labor movement and the Mapai political organization led to his active role in the Israel Government and to the positions of leadership for which he was so eminently qualified. In the fields of agriculture, economic planning, and financial organization, Levi Eshkol was without peer. His one unfulfilled dream was for peace.

Perhaps his greatest tribute was that he was chosen to lead his nation. Israel is a dynamic and vital state. Its people are inventive and courageous and the leader of such a nation must encompass all the qualities which contribute to its greatness.

This earth has known few great men. Levi Eshkol, pioneer, soldier, farmer, and statesman, was a great man.

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York.

I yield to the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. HALPERN).

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, we are deeply grieved at the death of Prime Minister Levi Eshkol. He was a true builder and leader of Israel. His whole life was dedicated, until his final hour, to Israel's revival as a sovereign land.

Levi Eshkol was a man of the people. He was an architect of Israel's democracy. He was a symbol of truth, justice, and human dignity. His death is a loss to Israel and to freedom-loving people everywhere.

Mr. REID of New York. I thank the gentleman from New York.

I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Florida (Mr. PEPPER).

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the able gentleman from New York for permitting me to join with him and my colleagues in an expression of profound sympathy to the families of the departed distinguished Prime Minister of Israel, Levi Eshkol, to the Government and people of Israel, and to people all over the world who believe in the cause of freedom which the people of Israel have so nobly espoused in that small but great land.

I had the privilege of being with my wife in Israel in January of last year.

I had the honor and opportunity of seeing at first hand what this great man was doing in the leadership of his country in this crucial period of his nation's history and in the cause of freedom all over the world. His death comes at a time when Israel is beset by many dangers and is confronted by many crises and has many problems to confront, but I am sure, Mr. Speaker, that the courage which was responsible for the establishment of this great new star in the constellation of states, and which has sustained this country up to this moment and made it capable of momentous achievements, and their abiding faith in the God they have so long worshiped and served will sustain these noble and gallant people of Israel in this other hour of crisis, and that they will emerge

stronger than ever before and will go forward to attaining greater victories in the cause of liberty and freedom than have yet crowned their renowned country.

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Florida.

I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. FLOOD).

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York for yielding to me.

In this hour of tragedy for the people of Israel, my mind goes back to Easter week of the year 1945. At that time I had the honor of serving upon the great Foreign Affairs Committee of the House under the beloved Sol Bloom of New York who was then its distinguished chairman. At that time I introduced in the House—at the same time as the late beloved Senator from New York, Bob Wagner, introduced it in the Senate—what was known as the Israel Resolution, the Flood-Wagner resolution. In that resolution, which was passed by the Congress, we declared this Congress in favor of the creation of a free and independent nation in Palestine to be known as Israel.

This soon came about, and after this new nation was established, I was invited by that country and by its congress—which they called the Knesset—to appear representing our country at the first session of the Knesset.

Down through the years this Nation and this House have looked with favor and with protection and with pride upon the creation, the birth, and the development of this great little country, Israel, and its people.

So today I join with my colleagues in the House in extending a deep and heartfelt sense of tragedy in this great loss of their great and well-known Premier Levi Eshkol.

(Mr. FLOOD asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

I yield to the gentleman from New York (Mr. MCCARTHY).

Mr. MCCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York for yielding.

I join with my colleagues in expressing the profound sympathy of Mrs. McCarthy and myself to the family of the great and distinguished Prime Minister of Israel, Levi Eshkol.

This is a tragic loss for Israel and it is a tragic loss for the whole world, because Mr. Eshkol was a powerful force for peace and reason in the Middle East. And he was courageous in expressing his views on peace. It is a great loss that this influential spokesman will not be with us in furthering the urgent cause of peace in the Middle East.

Israel will miss this man, the United States will miss him, and the whole world will miss him.

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York.

I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. KUYKENDALL).

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, today the whole world mourns the loss of

a great and compassionate leader in the sudden death of Israel's Premier, Levi Eshkol. His death in this critical time of history is indeed a tragedy for his own country and for all the people of the Middle East.

Levi Eshkol was truly one of the outstanding statesmen of our time. In spite of years of armed conflict between Israel and the Arab Nations, actual out-and-out war involving the whole world has been kept at a minimum due to his tact, his determination to avoid war and his genius at inspiring his people.

I join with the people of Israel, Jews throughout the world, and all people of good will in mourning the loss of this great and good man. No greater thing can be said of him than those all-powerful and all-encompassing words, "He served his fellowmen."

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Tennessee.

I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, I associate myself with the remarks of the distinguished gentleman from New York and my other colleagues who have indicated their grief at the loss of the Prime Minister of Israel, Mr. Eshkol.

Almost two centuries ago, Edmund Burke stated:

Men are much more important than measures.

A great leader gives his people real political and spiritual maturity. He lifts their eyes to great objectives, and makes them oblivious to the distance and difficulty of their attainment. He gives the ideals of democracy color, clarity and vividness, a dynamic quality, which elevates them and inspires them. Such a leader was Levi Eshkol.

A simple man possessing the great virtues, he assumed the highest office within the gift of his people to give and wrote an imperishable page in history as a noble leader. His wisdom, his commonsense, his humility, his perception endeared him to his people. He united them in their moment of greatest peril and his courage and insights brought them to a safe shore.

His loss is particularly poignant at this critical time when strife still separates Arab and Israeli. Eshkol looked to the day when in the land of the Bible swords would be beaten into plowshares and war would be made no more.

His memory will be cherished by all who love peace, freedom and humanity.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REID of New York. I am happy to yield to the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Armed Services.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I should like to associate myself with the remarks of the distinguished gentlemen who have spoken.

I visited with the distinguished gentleman as an ambassador, and I have had a firsthand view of this great country and of its people, as well as this fine leader who has now had an untimely death.

It is a serious blow to the aspirations of all peace-loving peoples. It is a world loss. He was a great friend of our country.

Mr. REID of New York. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REID of New York. I yield to the gentleman from New York (Mr. RYAN).

Mr. RYAN. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleagues in this expression of grief and sympathy on the tragic loss of Premier Levi Eshkol of Israel. The news of his unexpected death at the age of 73 comes at a time when all of us are deeply concerned about the security of the State of Israel and about the necessity for the achievement of peace in the Middle East. Certainly no one was more devoted to that end than the Premier.

Premier Eshkol brought outstanding qualities of leadership and integrity to the Government of Israel and his death is a tragic loss for the people of Israel whom he so effectively led. As the second head of State in Israel's 21 years as a nation, Premier Eshkol led his country during the 6-day Arab-Israel War of 1967, when Israel repulsed an unwarranted attack by her Arab neighbors. His leadership then was crucial, and his subsequent efforts to bring peace to the Middle East established his reputation as a strong and compassionate leader.

Premier Eshkol came to Palestine at the age of 13 and participated in the great events that led to the founding of the State of Israel. He served his nation as a member of Parliament before succeeding David Ben-Gurion as Premier in 1963. As one who has consistently supported Israel's efforts to achieve security for herself and for the Middle East, I offer my deepest sympathies to the people of Israel at this time of mourning, and pay tribute to an outstanding leader who faithfully and effectively served his country as its head of state.

(Mr. RYAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REID of New York. I yield to the gentleman from Rhode Island.

Mr. TIERNAN. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I want to join my colleagues and to be associated with the fine remarks of my distinguished colleague from New York at this time of tragedy to the State of Israel.

(Mr. TIERNAN addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

(Mr. TIERNAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, Prime Minister Eshkol was a man of great warmth, of vision, of strength. He had a unique capacity to resolve differences. His contributions in personal terms and in agriculture, in finance, in defense, and perhaps above all through statesmanship and working toward an abiding and lasting peace, are very real and will provide, I believe, significant foundations for the future.

I join with all Members in expressing my deepest sympathy to Mrs. Miriam Eshkol, to other members of the family, to the people of Israel, and to the President and the State of Israel.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, with the death today of Premier Levi Eshkol, Israel has lost one of her greatest champions in what is perhaps her time of greatest need.

Like the nation he headed, Mr. Eshkol was a study in versatility, having served at various times in top posts in the ministries of defense, agriculture and finance before becoming premier in 1963.

It is my fervent hope—and expectation—that Israel now will be able to rally around her new national leaders in the trying days that lie ahead, for she is threatened as never before in her 21-year history by her hostile neighbors.

I personally am confident that Israel, as she has so often done in the past, will come through this latest crisis with colors flying. The brilliant leadership provided by Mr. Eshkol, and his predecessor, David Ben-Gurion, will be carried on by the new government to be selected after the mourning period for Mr. Eshkol.

For there is no shortage of talented statesmen in Israel. And the dedication of her leaders and people to the preservation of this gallant nation will, in my opinion, transcend any of the political differences which her enemies doubtless hope will now divide Israel.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, I am grieved to hear the news of Mr. Eshkol's sudden death. Levi Eshkol was a man whose wisdom and judgment helped prevent another round in the Middle East war. Although tensions remained high in recent months, Mr. Eshkol was an ardent supporter of mediation efforts and a just settlement with the Arab countries.

Mr. Eshkol was a master at conciliation. He achieved political compromises where others could not. Mr. Eshkol never lost sight of his overriding goal and the overriding goal of his country: an Israel whose political sovereignty and territorial integrity remain intact and respected by her neighbors. Although less fiery than his critics may have desired, he was resolutely determined to achieve peace in the Middle East.

Both Mr. Eshkol's political flexibility and his commitment to Israel's security were evident in his interview appearing in the February 17, 1969, issue of Newsweek. He stated:

The present cease-fire lines will not be changed except for secure and agreed lines within the framework of a final and durable peace. We must discuss new borders, new arrangements.

But he also was reported as saying that Israel was flexible about every aspect of a peace settlement except that she was determined to keep the Golan heights in Syria and all of Jerusalem and to have troops stationed along the Jordan River and at Sharm el Sheik.

Eshkol was not only a patriot, he was also a realist. In the midst of a political fight, he would consistently be the man to find the one common strand of agreement.

An outstanding leader is now dead; it

is not only Israel's loss, but the world's as well.

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, the world today mourns the death of a great man.

Premier Levi Eshkol, only the second man to head Israel's Government during the Jewish State's turbulent 21-year life, was a politician's politician, a brilliant man and a friendly man.

His death at the age of 73 after a heart attack robs not only his nation and the turbulent Middle East but the world of his calm wisdom in a time of intense crisis.

A native of the Ukraine, Eshkol came to Palestine at the age of 13 and was active in the Jewish labor movement and the Haganah army which fought for the establishment of Israel. From Israel's founding in 1948, he served first as Director-General of Defense, then as Agricultural Minister and from 1952 to 1963 as Minister of Finance.

Eshkol succeeded David Ben-Gurion as Premier in 1963 and headed the Government during Israel's lightning victory over the Arabs in the June 1967 war.

I had the great honor to personally meet with Premier Eshkol. His loss, therefore, is a particular loss to me and I mourn with great sadness the death of a warm and gracious friend.

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the passing of Premier Levi Eshkol of Israel is a great blow not only to his home State of Israel but to the entire free world.

The second man to head the Government of Israel during its 21-year life, Premier Eshkol had won high respect for himself and for his people.

Several of my friends in Buffalo, N.Y., who have visited Israel, have told me of the wonderful work which he was doing for his countrymen.

He was Premier since 1963 and became known as a politician's politician. Premier Eshkol had the great ability to compromise policy disputes and to bring harmony when it was most needed.

The sudden passing of Premier Eshkol, after he had appeared to have recuperated fully from an earlier heart attack, is a great loss to the cause of Israel.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the passing of Premier Levi Eshkol.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. REID of New York. Finally, Mr. Speaker, if there are one of two sentences which might be quoted from the late Prime Minister, perhaps it would be appropriate to quote from a recent interview reported in Newsweek. I believe this is worth thinking about for the future.

Prime Minister Eshkol said:

Let me say, clearly and unequivocally, there will be no return to the situation preceding the June war. The present cease-fire lines will not be changed except for secure and agreed lines within the framework of a final and durable peace.



Let it be the hope of this House, in expressing our sympathy to the people of Israel, that indeed there will be meaningful progress toward a real and lasting peace.

# **PROPOSED MANDATORY PRISON SENTENCE TO PERSON CONVICTED OF FELONY WITH A FIREARM**

(Mr. MONAGAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation which I believe to be an important adjunct to the Gun Control Act of 1968; namely, a bill to provide an additional mandatory prison sentence to any person convicted of committing a felony with a firearm.

While I do not advocate that these stricter penalties for felons who commit crimes with firearms be a substitute for regulations which make it more difficult for potential criminals to purchase firearms, I do think that having expressed our desire to reduce the alarmingly high incidence of crimes perpetrated with guns in this country through the Gun Control Act of 1968, we should implement the force of this law by imposing an additional period of punishment for a felon's use of a firearm to commit his crime.

Although the Gun Control Act of 1968 may well cause some reduction in the incidence of gun-related felonies, we need only read the newspaper each morning to comprehend the extreme urgency to find some means of penalizing the use of firearms by persons intent on committing a crime. The amendment which I propose provides such means.

I have in the past expressed my deep concern for the alarming increase in the incidence of crime in this country. On February 5, 1969, I introduced House Resolution 220 to establish a Committee on Coordinated Crime Control as a select committee of the House to coordinate efforts on the part of the enforcement officials at the different levels of government.

At that time I warned, and I repeat that warning today, that we must place our faith in democratic enforcement of the law, and we must also strengthen our efforts in the traditional form. Keeping that warning uppermost in my mind, I offer this bill today which will further strengthen anticrime efforts within the traditional democratic process.

This amendment to the Gun Control Act of 1968 contains two provisions which I expect to act as deterrents to firearms use.

A first offender under this subsection must be sentenced to at least 1 but not more than 10 years imprisonment, in addition to the penalty provided by the court for commission of such felony. A second offender under this subsection would, in addition to the penalty provided by the court for the commission of such felony, have to be sentenced to a term of imprisonment for not less than 5 nor more than 25 years. A court finding a person guilty of a second offense under this subsection would be prevented

from suspending the sentence of such person, and the term of imprisonment imposed under the subsection would not run concurrently with the term provided for the commission of the principal felony.

While I intend this amendment to act as a deterrent to the resort of firearms by providing for additional penalties, I have intentionally refrained from making either provision inflexible in order to allow a sentencing judge to fashion the penalty, within reasonable limits in relation to the gravity of the offense, to the particular circumstances of each case. While imposing a 1-year minimum and a 10-year maximum on a first offender, I have refrained from putting any further limitations on the court of jurisdiction. A sentencing judge may, in the case of a first offender, provide anywhere from 1 to 10 years imprisonment, suspend the sentence, or give a probationary sentence. While for a second offender under the subsection the minimum sentence is 5 years imprisonment and the maximum 25 years, the sentencing judge may, in a proper case, utilize the probationary sentencing procedure.

I think my proposed amendment will do much to strengthen our anticrime efforts within the traditional democratic form, and will further protect law abiding citizens from those individuals in our society who choose to violate the public order by resorting to firearms to perpetuate their unlawful schemes.

I sincerely hope that this legislation will be given early and favorable consideration by the Congress.

# **AMBASSADOR EDWARD CLARK HONORED AT LAREDO AS "MR. SOUTH TEXAS OF 1969"**

(Mr. KAZEN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Speaker, for 72 consecutive years, the city of Laredo, Tex., has held a Washington's Birthday celebration honoring our Nation's first President. Of the many activities held during this historic occasion, one of the most outstanding events is the one honoring a citizen of south Texas and designating him as "Mr. South Texas" of the year. The person selected to receive this honor is one who has made an outstanding contribution to the progress, growth, and development of this entire area. The recipients of this great honor and distinguished award have come from many fields—education, business, government, and civic affairs. A former distinguished Member of this House, the Honorable Joe M. Kilgore, is among those who have been so honored.

At this year's celebration, the honor and award went to one of south Texas' most illustrious sons, the Honorable Edward Clark, U.S. Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank. Ambassador Clark was cited for his contribution in various fields of endeavor. The presentation of the award was made at the President's luncheon on Saturday, February 22, 1969, by the popular mayor of the city of Laredo, the Honorable J. C. "Pepe" Martin, Jr.

The remarks made by Mayor Martin very eloquently describe the many and great contributions made by Ambassador Clark, and I insert them in the RECORD so that all may become aware of and take pride in the achievement of this great American.

Following the stirring introductory remarks made by Mayor Martin, the Honorable Edward Clark then addressed the President's luncheon, and in view of the distinguished career that this outstanding citizen has had and the great public service that he has rendered this State and his country, I also take great pride and extreme pleasure in inserting Ambassador Clark's remarks in the RECORD.

The addresses referred to follow:

REMARKS OF HON. J. C. MARTIN, JR., MAYOR OF LAREDO, TEX., PRESENTING HON. EDWARD CLARK—"MR. SOUTH TEXAS OF 1969"

Ladies and gentlemen, this tribute luncheon at which we have assembled today to honor a distinguished native son of Texas is a cherished privilege for the citizens of Laredo. It is our fervent hope that the occasion strikes an equally responsive chord within the heart of the man we honor today as "Mr. South Texas" of 1969—the Honorable Edward Clark of Texas, U.S.A.!

As I've sat here this afternoon and watched people from all walks of life challenge the capacity of our auditorium, the prophetic words used by Judge J. J. Fisher, of Beaumont, to describe the public's admiration and affection for his brother-in-law have never left my mind.

"Ed," the Judge counseled, "You'll always draw a crowd!"

That personal appraisal of the magnetic qualities of Edward Clark—his character and his effervescent personality—has been substantiated once again in Laredo today as the cascading current generated by this afternoon's affair has literally engulfed us.

As attested by his legions of friends and well-wishers here today—Ed Clark has proven in one fell swoop that he's no ordinary man.

And I'm confident those closest to him will testify that this was made possible by the fact that he is not, and has never been, a disciple of sophisticated and unrealistic standards, nor of unanchored senses of values. And I know that they—like we—take pride in the fact that his successes have accumulated from an undaunted faith in his fellow man, an unrequiting loyalty to those he calls his friends, and a near-reverent love for the people and the traditions that are part and parcel of his beloved State of Texas.

You may well ask on this occasion, what was the background and what were the traditions and circumstances that forged and blended in the character and talents of this lawyer—banker—citizen statesman? He was reared in the piney woods of East Texas among a citizenry who practiced the homely virtues and drew their strength from frequent contact with the bosom of mother earth. Their work and their worth were measured by their diligence and the development of faculties capable of the severest discipline and yet they possessed the saving grace of humor and drank deeply of the pure joys of generous friendships and mutual high enthusiasms. They were not prone to appear as "cock-sure" reformers leading quixotic crusades nor jump to hasty and ill-grounded conclusions—but in common walks, with clear seeing intelligence, the courage to act and the skill to perform, they advanced themselves, helped their fellow men and aided the state along the lines of enduring progress.

Of such men the poet sang when he eloquently wrote:

"And there is neither East nor West  
Border, breed nor birth  
When two good men stood face to face  
Though they came from the ends of the  
earth."

Ed Clark was one of four children—two sons and two daughters—born to his parents, John David and Leila Downs Clark in San Augustine. The sole surviving man of his family, Ed, has always been and remains closely attached to his mother, who still resides in San Augustine, and to his two sisters, Mrs. Leola Clark Butts of San Augustine, and Mrs. Kathleen Clark Fisher of Beaumont.

We regret that circumstances prevented Ed's lovely mother from being with us on this proud occasion, but we are happy that his two sisters, with their husbands, are here and adding beauty and dignity to our program.

Ed has always been fiercely proud of the fact that his forefathers arrived in Texas in 1842, when Texas was still a republic. It is also a constant source of pride to him that he is one of 24 living members of the Order of San Jacinto, membership of which is restricted to people whose families lived in Texas between 1836 and 1848.

Early in life, Edward Clark determined to make law his vocation. Toward this end, he enrolled in Tulane University, at New Orleans, La., where he received a B.A. Degree in 1926. He later received his LL.B. from the University of Texas in 1928.

While at Tulane, Ed met a young lady destined to be the inspiration of his illustrious career. She was Anne Metcalf, who was born on a plantation owned by her grandparents in Washington County, Mississippi. Steeped in the tradition of the Old South and a beautiful Southern Belle in every sense of the term, Anne was a student at Sophie Newcomb College when she met her future husband.

A whirlwind courtship won Ed Clark his first important case: He and Anne, then just 18, were married December 27, 1927.

To this union was born one child, a daughter, Leila, who grew into a beautiful and charming young woman.

Leila re-established the family's affinity for the legal profession by wedding a then budding young attorney, Douglas C. Wynn, who successfully practices law in Greenville, Mississippi, where they make their home. Laredo is most proud to have them with us this afternoon and we know their presence makes our tribute to our honor guest complete.

Mr. and Mrs. Wynn have blessed the lives of the Ed Clarks with four grandchildren—three girls, Anne, Margaret, Martha, and finally, a boy, Billy. And there's nothing their grandfather relishes more than raring back and telling all the world—Mississippi included—that they're sixth-generation Texans!

Ed Clark will be the first to admit that things were tough the first few years of his marriage.

"I borrowed \$150 to get to Austin with my wife and baby to seek my fortune," Ed will tell you. He quickly follows up, though, with "I made it after I got there. The good things that have come to me cannot be forgotten!"

Admitted to the Bar in 1928, he began his career as County Attorney of San Augustine County and subsequently ascended to the positions of Assistant Attorney General of Texas; Administrative Assistant to Governor James Allred of Texas; Secretary of State of Texas; Special Assistant to the Attorney General of the United States, and Special Counsel to the Board of Regents of the University of Texas. The law firm he heads in Austin today—Clark, Thomas, Harris, Denius and Winters—is one of the most noted and outstanding legal firms in Texas. Throughout his varied and vast career in his chosen profession, Ed Clark pursued—the articulate

principles of the law with the ardent conviction that the law is not alone the punishment of crime or preservation of property rights but reaches its pinnacle of perfection in the expansion and protection of the interests of humanity—writing its judgments clearly—so that neither shall the mighty crush the weak, nor shall the lawless destroy the law—but humanity shall ever be her abiding and guiding star.

Throughout his life—from the hard times to the good years—Ed's great love, next to his family, has been for the stage upon which he has spent most of his life—Texas. His loyalty and love for his state and his fellow Texans have continued to ripen with the years.

Ed paid his first visit to Laredo some 35 years ago when he accompanied the late Governor, James Allred, here for—appropriately enough—Washington's Birthday Celebration. And he's proud to say that he's returned every year since for the celebration when circumstances have permitted.

We all know that Ed Clark's forte is personal—or person-to-person—relations. I cannot help but feel his exposure to the two blended cultures that he has encountered in Laredo and Nuevo Laredo impressed him with the fact that we Americans can live together, plan together and work together with other people for common goals and mutual benefits.

It is also my personal belief that Ed Clark knows—as do few non-border residents—the great potentialities and influences that Mexico's booming economy and cultural achievements hold forth to the people of Texas.

Ed has branded himself as a "tough businessman." This no doubt is true, but those close to him also describe him as an aggressive and progressive banker.

Aggressively jolly by nature and always anxious to develop new friendships, Ed has led many newcomers to laugh at his jokes and indulge in his reminiscences without being aware they were being studied by the cool, level, evaluating eyes as they peered behind the rimless glasses of a very shrewd man. Commanding those eyes is the brain that built the borrowed \$150 "stake" into a personal fortune of several million dollars.

Ed's business acumen has won him the chairmanship of the Board of the Capital National Bank of Austin and the presidency of the First National Bank of San Augustine as well as directorships in the San Benito Bank and Trust Co., the Telecom Corporation of Georgetown, Red Ball Motor Freight, Incorporated of Dallas, and places on the Board of the University of Texas Law School Foundation and Texas Southern University at Houston.

In between, Ed has found time to serve his country as U.S. Ambassador to Australia, as Federal Commissioner to HemisFair '68, and, of course, through his present duties with the Inter-American Development Bank.

Ed Clark's opportunity to apply his philosophy and talents to his country's foreign policies resulted from Australian Prime Minister Sir Robert Menzies' visit to Washington in mid-1966. Sir Robert urged President Lyndon B. Johnson to name as resigned Ambassador William C. Battles successor, "a close friend, someone you have confidence in—someone who can ring you on the telephone and get through to you." Sir Robert told the President, in answer to a question, "I think a Texan would be great—as long as he's a Texan who knows you very well."

"Mr. Prime Minister," President Johnson declared, "I've got your man!"

Edward Clark went to Canberra, as U.S. Ambassador, under a mandate from President Johnson to get to know Australia and Australians—not only in the area of officialdom, but in all walks of life.

With the help of a ready, capable and gracious workmate in his wife Anne, Ed Clark set out to fulfill his President's mandate.

Our friend in the land from Down Under had not long to wait to meet the new Ambassador. He had but shortly arrived when he initiated a new people-to-people diplomacy that broke all barriers to diplomatic contact. For the first time, he opened the American Embassy to all visitors and segments of the Australian people. He went forth through the Country to meet and talk with the people on their farms, in their fields, in their cities and their factories. He brought the advantages of the diplomatic service from behind the walls of the embassy directly to the people and within a short period had completely captured and captivated the hearts of all Australia.

During his service in Australia, Ed told a newsmen, "In these days of big government and big publicity, it is easy to think that foreign relations are solely matters of official business. In a certain sense, government servants are the junior partners in the business of international understanding, because in free societies foreign relations are strongly in the hands of the people themselves."

I cannot help but believe that our Honor Guest's previous visits to Laredo, where he saw the Good Neighbor Policy practiced daily between the people of the two Laredos, helped form this political philosophy.

Returning to the U.S., fate maneuvered Ed into positions to serve another area of the world for his country, through his responsibilities as Federal Commissioner to HemisFair '68, and when he accepted the office of Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank.

HemisFair proved an excellent introduction to the family of Latin American nations, many of whose economies are closely tied with those of South Texas.

In naming Ed Clark as Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank, following the signing of the Organization of American States Treaty Amendment on April 23, 1968, President Lyndon Johnson told the assembled representatives of the American family of Nations present:

"I want to take advantage of this occasion to introduce all of you to a distinguished American who will be playing a key role in the days ahead in our relations with Latin America.

"The man I have reference to has just completed a tour of duty as our Ambassador to Australia. In that position, I believe that he learned and understood and knew more about the geography of that country, its resources and its people and had more interest in them than most ambassadors are able to display or to accumulate in that brief period.

"He did such an outstanding job that when I gave thought to the selection of someone as United States Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank, someone who I wanted to know the geography of Latin America, someone who I wanted to know the resources of Latin America, someone who I wanted to know the people of Latin America and to bring all three of these together in the way that the Inter-American Development Bank could play its major role and the United States of America could give its major contribution, I asked Ambassador Clark to take this assignment.

"The Bank, as you know, is the financial cornerstone of our Alliance for Progress.

"It gives me a great deal of pleasure to wish Ambassador Clark well in this new assignment and to say to our friends in Latin America that I don't know of an individual in this country who could or would or can or will display more interest in your problems or do more about helping you solve them." So spoke the President of the United States.

Such was the background of influences which were melted and moulded in the crucible of Ed Clark's character and genius, and such were the faculties that have endured throughout his eminent career. Such are the

position, Ducheln recommended this five-point program:

The formulation of national maritime policy providing incentive to gain a competitive maritime position on the oceans of the world. The failure of the federal government to formulate basic policy, in Ducheln's opinion, is the most critical element in cleaning up "the mess in the Merchant Marine."

The United States must orient its national strategy to the oceans of the world—just as the Soviet Union has done in recent years.

The United States must go after the merchant-marine market by building a minimum of 100 ships a year for at least the next decade.

Oceanic education should be fostered in American school systems to provide youth a good subject grounding in the oceans as they now receive in the land environment. The Sea Grant College program should be pursued with the utmost vigor to mobilize the best minds in this nation—with the scientists, scholars and students pursuing diligently oceanic solutions to the pressing problems of state.

A Maritime Manhattan Project should be created to stimulate revolutionary maritime technological advances in sea-based systems.

The Bakersfield Californian concurs with Ducheln that Earth's oceans and seas are not being given proportionate priority in research and development programs subsidized by tax dollars.

Life on this planet in the next 100 years could well depend on development of the abundant natural resources contained in the Seven Seas. The oceans and seas contain an untapped reservoir of potential food sources. An impressive example in recent years is the processing of hake—commonly known as trash fish—into protein food which today is providing life for many impoverished peoples.

Man's knowledge of the oceanic environment indeed is limited. The Nixon Administration, this newspaper believes, should give oceanic research the same priority as the costly space projects. The new President, moreover, should take a hard look at the shoddy condition of this country's Merchant Marine which Lyndon Johnson neglected so shamefully.

#### FILM ON GREAT SWAMP GETS OHIO STATE AWARD

**Hon. PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, February 25, 1969*

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, last September former President Johnson signed into law a bill to designate the Great Swamp, of Morris County, N.J., in my congressional district, as wilderness. The affixing of the President's signature to this legislation culminated a 10-year effort on the part of thousands of persons to afford the Swamp the highest protection possible.

The North Jersey Conservation Foundation, which played a leading role in these efforts, cooperated in the production of a color television documentary as part of their program to bring the unique natural wonders of the swamp to the attention of the public.

I am pleased to report that this documentary recently won the 1969 Ohio State University award for excellence in educational, informational, and public affairs broadcasting.

I should like, at this time, Mr. Speaker, to insert in the Record a news article

which appeared in the Evening News of Newark, N.J., on February 21, 1969, concerning this award:

#### FILM ON GREAT SWAMP GETS OHIO STATE AWARD

NEW VERNON.—A half-hour color television documentary program on the Great Swamp of Morris County has won the 1969 Ohio State University award for excellence in educational, informational and public affairs broadcasting.

A segment in the weekly "New York Illustrated" series on Channel 4, WNBC-TV, New York, the program originally appeared on June 15, 1968. It will be re-run tomorrow at 7 p.m. on Channel 4.

In the program, narrator Bill Ryan recounts the history of the swamp and successful efforts by conservationists to set it aside as a national wildlife refuge and national wilderness area, protecting it against destruction through developments.

The award, sponsored by the Institute for Education by Radio and Television at Ohio State, was in the local programming category. The program was produced in cooperation with the North Jersey Conservation Foundation, Morris Township, the organization which spearheaded saving of the swamp.

Sharing in credits for the award were producer-writer Marc Brugnoli, director Roger Shope and photographer Church Austin, all of the WNBC News and Community Affairs Department.

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#### IRAQI SCAPEGOATS

**HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, February 25, 1969*

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, the following article, one of a series being written from Israel by an American correspondent, gives a stark picture of the recent tragedy in Iraq where 14 "spies" were publicly hanged. Miss Carol Kovner, managing editor and foreign correspondent for Kovner Publications, Los Angeles, is to be commended for this stirring on-the-spot report. The article follows:

#### IRAQI SCAPEGOATS: 14 BODIES SWING AS MOB SCREAMS IN BAGHDAD (By Carol Kovner)

A sad spectacle out of the Dark Ages . . . 14 bodies swinging from a public gibbet to satisfy a screaming mob summoned by the one modern reminder in the whole proceeding, the radio.

It happened in January in Baghdad and Basra, names that have always called up images of the Arabian Nights and flying carpets, glittering palaces and gentles in magic lamps.

Now Baghdad will bring to mind the insane screaming overheard on Arabic radio, of a mob in the throes of a deliberately incited blood lust.

Middle-Eastern observers say that the 6-month-old Baathist regime in Iraq is using the old Israeli spy scapegoat game because it is feeling shaky. Of the 65 remaining "Israeli spies" being held for trials coming up, one is Dr. Abdul Rahman el-Bazzaz, a former Prime Minister, and another is a former Defense Minister, Major General Abdul Aziz el-Uqueili. Sufficient grounds for the suspicion even among Arab countries that the Iraqi government is using the coming trials as a means of getting rid of political opponents. Arab political opponents.

The mad dance of thousands around the

hanged bodies, 9 of whom were Jews, shocked the world and brought protests and demonstrations against the Iraqi government in several countries, and memorial services for the victims in Israel by Iraqi Jews.

Pope Paul thought the question of racism was raised because of the 9 Jews executed from a remnant community of 3000 where all are under close supervision and curfew, if not house arrest. The United States protested the manner of the hangings; the "spectacular way" in which they were carried out seemed designed to "arouse emotion."

There is a concerted effort by Israel under way to rescue the Jews of Iraq and other Arab countries. There have been no air attacks as has been repeatedly reported by Iraqi radio. The goal is to prevent further trials of Jews and further executions and to seek their exodus from countries where they are persecuted, says a Foreign Ministry spokesman, not to endanger their lives more.

There are 8,500 Jews remaining in Egypt, Iraq and Syria. In Egypt the 1000 Jews are no better off than in Iraq; practically all heads of families are in prison without trial, leaving their families without protection and livelihood.

Originally the Jews who elected to stay in Iraq were in partnership with Arabs, or had property and businesses they did not want to leave, the last of a thousands-year-old community. They felt they were safe as they were "unpolitical," as one condemned boy shouted before he was dragged out of a closed courtroom in a recently released Arab TV newscast of the trials.

Ezra Haddad, an Iraqi immigrant living in Israel, told a Histadrut Executive meeting Feb. 2, "We loved that land in which we lived a thousand years and more before the first Arab ever set foot there. For generations we lived with the people of Iraq, sharing our destinies, working for the development of the land. And this is our reward . . ."

Like all the Arab countries, Iraq could be a great and rich one, with its oil, its agricultural potential, abundant water, and human resources. But, again like most of the Arab countries, it is in a political quagmire. Getting rid of former Prime Minister as "Israeli spies" and holding mass public hangings of Jews before crowds drummed into savagery will only offend the world opinion that the Arab world is trying to capture.

In Nazareth, Israeli Knesset Member Self ed-Din Zuabi strongly condemned the hangings and other crimes which he said had been going on in Iraq a long time. Mr. Zuabi drew a parallel with Israel, where even the lives of terrorists who come to kill and destroy are spared. (His wife, a fascinating and charming woman, has dedicated herself to improving the lot of Arab women in the Nazareth area. She is a "suffragette", although a devoted mother of six, and encourages girls to take jobs outside their villages and to take an interest in their community.)

There have been severe disturbances in Gaza in recent weeks, especially since three young women went on trial for espionage and membership in the Palestine Liberation Organization. In spite of all the stonings, blown-up vehicles and mass demonstrations of young school girls (the latest technique of the terrorist groups is to use school girls for their public demonstrations because they know the Israeli soldiers will not move against them as they would men or boys), the trial was conducted fairly. The girls went wild, however, the last day of the trial and they were hurt; 95 were injured, 20 still in hospital with fractured ribs, bruises and shock.

The three women were given short sentences which were then commuted by Tat-Aluf Mordechai Gur, Military Governor of the Gaza Strip and Northern Sinai. He acted on appeals for clemency on the grounds of economic hardship and the women were released after only 27 days in custody. They signed a



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statement before their release that they would be of good behavior and a bond of \$25,000 was put up by their parents, their headmistress and the mayor. Two of the girls were students and one was a teacher.

Or take Kantara on the Suez Canal in the occupied territory of Sinai, where the inhabitants have come under fire from Egyptian guns. They begged the Egyptians through the Red Cross to let them cross the canal into Egypt and never received an answer to their plea. They borrowed army loud-speakers from the Israel Defense Forces and shouted their request over the water. They were ignored.

Finally they were resettled at Israeli expense in "Operation Lifesaving" at El Arish where homes and jobs were provided for them. The 75-year-old mayor thanked the military governor of El Arish over and over for taking in his people, 855 of whom 200 were children. The town is empty now and quiet, but on one day last September over 10,000 shells were showered upon their own people by the Egyptians. That is why they had to move.

There is great agitation for authorizing a UN international inquiry into Israel's treatment of Arabs in occupied territories. Israel refuses unless the inquiry also goes into the treatment of Jews in Arab countries.

The 9 Iraqi Jewish citizens hanged in fabled Baghdad and Basra should serve as a reminder that Jews may still die for being Jews in Arab lands . . . but in Israel, Arabs are not condemned for being Arabs.

#### GILBERT TELLS NEW YORK CITY BOARD OF ESTIMATE THE NEEDS OF HIS DISTRICT

**HON. JACOB H. GILBERT**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 25, 1969

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, with permission, I wish to include in the RECORD my statement before the New York City Board of Estimate hearing on the capital budget for 1969-70. I urged the allocation of adequate funds for new school construction, community and health centers, park and recreational improvements, headstart, and the model cities program. And I specifically stressed the Bronx's need for better street lighting and more police protection. These are all items of great importance to me and my district.

My testimony follows:

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN JACOB H. GILBERT, 22D CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, BRONX, NEW YORK, BEFORE THE NEW YORK CITY BOARD OF ESTIMATE HEARING ON CAPITAL BUDGET FOR FISCAL 1969-70

I am Jacob H. Gilbert, Member of Congress, 22nd Congressional District, Bronx, New York. I am appearing in support of additional school construction and other needs of the residents of the Bronx. In my opinion, the Borough of the Bronx continues to be the "step-child" Borough for the allocation of Capital Budget funds. The time is more than appropriate for the Bronx to benefit from a more fair and adequate share of Capital Budget funds. We can, and must, eliminate overcrowding, short sessions, and split sessions in our schools. We must stop short-changing our school children and preschool children, and provide them with adequate classroom space, libraries, and other facilities for proper education. In addition, we must have more Community Centers, recreational facilities, better street lighting and adequate police protection.

The Community Planning Boards, civic organizations, and representatives of the various communities have met and have come forth with requests and suggestions for the needs of the Bronx. Since my Congressional District comprises about one-fourth of the area of the Borough, I want to speak specifically of those items within my District, comprising areas of the South Bronx (including Hunts Point and Longwood), portions of Morrisania, Crotona Park, Tremont, West Farms; the Soundview-Bruckner-Clason Point communities, and Pelham Parkway. There are, of course, many other needed items which overlap and affect not only my Congressional District, but those Districts adjoining mine. They are all improvements necessary to make the Bronx a better community in which to live—some urgently needed now and others we must plan for now to keep pace and meet the demands of our growing communities.

First, I want to discuss needed projects for the South Bronx, and especially for the Hunts Point and Longwood areas.

The New South Bronx High School and Community Center, for which the site has been selected should be funded immediately so that construction can begin without further delay.

The New Lincoln Hospital is of paramount importance to the residents of the South Bronx; the patient load is staggering since the closing of St. Francis Hospital. I was recently advised by Dr. Bernhard Bucove, N.Y.C. Health Services Administrator, that the New Lincoln Hospital "has top priority and is being expedited on an urgent basis." Although it is to be built by the State, monies are required from the Capital Budget to repay the State for funds advanced.

Funds for the Hunts Point Neighborhood Family Care Center (also included in projects to be constructed by the State Mental Hygiene Facilities Improvement Corporation) are requested to repay the State.

I urge that funds be provided for the Model Cities Program, which is most important if we are to rebuild ghetto areas. On the Federal level, as U.S. Congressman, I shall continue my efforts to secure additional Federal funds for this program.

An academic high school to serve the Hunts Point Community is requested. Students who wish to attend a high school from the Hunts Point area must travel either to Morris or James Monroe High School, both overcrowded. I strongly urge allocation of funds now for a new Hunts Point High School and Community Center.

And I add my voice to the request of the community for funds for site acquisition for a new Primary School in the vicinity of Hunts Point Avenue and East 163rd Street, to relieve the severe overcrowding in nearby schools.

Funds are needed and should be provided for Head Start Centers at the several selected sites in the Hunts Point-Longwood communities. This program has proved its usefulness, and we should provide for the large number of youngsters now unable to benefit because of lack of facilities.

In the Morrisania-Claremont-Crotona Park communities, funds are requested for construction of an addition to Morris High School, for which site acquisition and planning funds were approved last year. This school is seriously overcrowded. And I urge funds for site acquisition for new Intermediate School 196.

Additional family day care centers are urgently needed. I join the many other voices of the community in requesting funds for the construction of Family Day Care Centers, especially in the Morrisania Health District. Locations near where the families live are important to provide proper care for children of working mothers.

I ask funding for the rehabilitation of Crotona Park, to include new lighting, bicycle paths, a skating rink, and the other needed improvements.

A Crotona Park Community Mental Health Facility is requested, and I urge the acquisition of a site, for which funds are already available.

I now want to briefly go over needed items in the Tremont-Belmont-West Farms communities—

Monies are needed and requested for the acquisition of a site and design for Intermediate School 194 in the Tremont area, where we have the shortest school sessions and the largest number of children of the entire Borough.

I strongly urge the inclusion of funds in the Capital Budget for a new Library in the vicinity of 183rd Street and Belmont Avenue, and for the rehabilitation of the Southern Boulevard Malls to include benches, trees, and sidewalks, water fountains, and other repairs.

I recommend a Community Center at the site of Old Borough Hall, or to be located at one of the two other suggested sites.

Within the Soundview-Bruckner-Clason Point communities, I urge the following which have been requested:

Funds for furniture and equipment for Intermediate School 174, for which construction funds were made available in the 1968-69 Capital Budget.

Priority should be given to construction funds for Primary School 182, for which site acquisition funds have already been made available. Over 2,000 new housing units in the area make it obvious the school will soon be needed.

Construction funds for an addition to Primary School 93. Here, too, additional construction bringing many new residents into the area, make planning for the addition a priority.

Soundview Park must be developed and improvements provided to make it a safe and useful recreational facility. I urge design plans and other action to accomplish this, for which I understand the Capital Budget contains the funds.

The area urgently needs other recreational facilities, such as a Community Center. Funds are requested for conversion of an abandoned bowling alley into a community center and to expand facilities at James Monroe Community Center.

I ask that funds be included for a Little League Field at Metcalf and Story Avenues.

The Soundview-Bruckner area is one of tremendous growth, and one of the most urgent needs is a New Hospital. Residents must use Jacobi Hospital, requiring triple fare, and where the patient load is already severe. I urge that funds be made available in the Budget for an immediate study and prompt action in this regard.

For the Castle Hill Community, the following projects should be included in the Capital Budget for 1969-70:

Funds for books, furniture and equipment for the Clason Point Library.

Construction funds for a Neighborhood Family Care Center to be located on a lot on Watson Avenue between Beach and Taylor Avenues.

Additional recreational facilities in the area north of Bruckner Boulevard, such as vest pocket parks; a swimming pool on a city-owned piece of property near Watson and Rosedale Avenues; monies for lighting the park at Watson and Rosedale, and a Little League Field to replace the one destroyed by reconstruction at Chatterton and Bruckner Boulevard.

Construction funds are requested for the James Monroe High School addition; and construction of Northeast Bronx High School and Community Center should be expedited. Additional funds are requested for furniture, books and equipment.

And once again, the request is made for monies for Castle Hill Park development and for additional facilities, including a gymnasium and the Castle Hill Houses Community Center.

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I choose not to go there however. I attend a school of my own choice, with no one to object or restrain me. Yet all of us are challenged to do our utmost in any school, not only for the outward recognition we might receive, but because only through knowledge and understanding are we really free. This is our freedom, and its challenge.

On this same bus I pass many different Churches, of various religious denominations. I know that I could not only attend one of these freely, but that whichever way I decide, none of the other rights guaranteed to me would be denied or infringed upon. Yet as I watch throngs of my fellow Americans gather at these places of worship, I am presented with the reality of God, and I must ask myself, "Is God still alive? If so, who is He for me?" This is our freedom and its challenge.

As I continue through my education, I am choosing for myself what career to pursue. I am not compelled to become something simply because I excel in a particular area; my vocation is not predetermined simply because my father was a doctor or a lawyer or a plumber, and he must hand his profession down to me. And I am in no way restricted by the government in this regard. No matter how many people the government might need to build a bridge or develop rockets, it cannot infringe upon my rights as an individual in order to accomplish its own ends. But as I view the professional world from my own vantage point, I am encouraged to consider a vocation serving the needs of my fellow man. It need not be my entire life's work, but when I see thousands devoting themselves to other people through the Peace Corp, Civil Rights work or the Red Cross, I wonder if I should not contribute at least a token of my efforts in this direction. This is our freedom, and its challenge.

The mere fact that I can stand here and openly criticize the government under which I live manifests one of the greatest freedoms ever granted to a people under any form of government: the Freedom of Speech. And this freedom enables me to express publicly my opinions about the government, and to say that sometimes it makes mistakes—serious ones. In fact, our democracy itself could collapse. It could be the largest and most expensive waste man has devised if its people take no interest in its activities, such as voicing their opinions about current issues. Totalitarian governments can be far more efficient than a democracy in arms race or a space race. For a totalitarian government does not have to contend with the varying views of a decision making public. And this right to differ is the very essence of our democracy. For once a free decision has been reached by an unrestricted public, that decision is more stable and secure than any a totalitarian government could conceive, because it is expression of the peoples' desires. But we, the people of this free republic must openly discuss our views and encourage each other in the proper use of our freedom if we are ever to match the efficiency of a totalitarian state. This is our freedom and its challenge.

I have spoken about our democracy and its freedoms. I have already begun to see that these freedoms present challenges which must be met. But so far in my life, these freedoms have largely been a gift. I must realize that someday I may have to defend these freedoms on a battlefield, but that is of relatively minor importance. What is of real import is that I must take my place in society, and protect for others those freedoms which I have already enjoyed. But I cannot do this alone; no one can. And since there are 200 million people in the United States, there are 200 million other stories of democracy which can and must be told. Because only through understanding each others views on democracy will be able to co-

operate together in protecting our freedoms. Thus only will our cherished freedoms be secure, but the light of our example will reach the rest of the world, guiding others in that unending quest for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

ME

## TRAGEDY PERSISTS IN IRAQ

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 25, 1969

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, last week, the savagery of the turmoil in Iraq was demonstrated to the world as once again alleged spies were executed in a show demonstration and their bodies exposed to public display in Baghdad. Terror in Iraq continues at two levels, the public terror typified by show executions such as that repeated last week this time without Jewish victims and the private terror imposed upon Iraqi citizens, especially upon members of its Jewish community.

I ask unanimous consent that two items be printed in the RECORD. The first is an editorial from the February 21 New York Times, entitled "Climate of Hysteria," dealing with the public terror. The second is excerpts from a poignant address delivered on February 3 by Rouben Horeh, an escaped member of the Iraqi Jewish community, at the memorial services held in New York City for those publicly executed several weeks ago as alleged spies. Mr. Horeh's remarks reveal the terror under which Iraqi Jews live and underline the necessity for their emigration without delay from the land where they and their families have lived for so many centuries.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, February 21, 1969]

### CLIMATE OF HYSTERIA

Iraq has once again put on public display the bodies of persons executed as spies for Israel.

This time none of Iraq's harassed Jewish community was among the victims, so the international impact is less pronounced. But Baghdad's fresh display of barbarism does further discredit the Iraqi regime in the eyes of a world that has rejected such primitive travesties of justice.

Base appeals to public emotions reflect internal weakness, not strength. They aggravate the climate of hysteria that is the enemy of peace both within and among the states of the Middle East.

### EXCERPTS FROM AN ADDRESS OF ROUBEN HORESH

My Friends, this is the first time in my life that I am addressing an assembly like this. Jews in Iraq are not supposed to make speeches; they are not supposed to talk. They are supposed to stay silent and not utter a word of complaint even when they are persecuted.

If I am addressing you this evening it is because I want to talk to you about Iraq and the hanging of the innocents there. Last Monday my brother Charles Horeh, with eight other innocent Jews were publicly hanged in one of the squares of Baghdad while a mob of 500,000 rejoiced and danced; singing and clapping their hands and tapping

their feet. . . . And the bodies were kept dangling the whole day from the scaffold while the Baghdad radio and TV were calling on the mob of 500,000, to come and rejoice and join in the bestial festivities.

A sign was pinned to the victim's prison garb with the word "JEW". That was their crime. . . .

The tragedy of the thing is that my brother Charles Horeh considered himself to be an Iraqi first and a Jew second. He always liked his country. He was a family man allotting all his time to his family and his work. Never at any time in his life did he have anything to do with politics in any way, the same as with the other eight victims of last Monday. He always trusted his Arab friends and for that he paid with his life.

The plight of the Jews in Iraq was always bad. Iraq is the only country in the world since the Second World War, when Nazi Germany was destroyed that passed official laws discriminating against Jews. Even before the June 67 War, the Jews were compelled to carry the Yellow Identity Card. They were not allowed to sell their properties; most of the Jewish Synagogues, schools, and Community Hospitals were taken over by the Iraqi Government. The Jewish Cemetery, (500) years old was leveled to the ground by bulldozers.

In 1963, a new law was passed forbidding Jews to leave the Country. For me this was the writing on the wall. It became crystal clear to me that while this noose was being tightened around our necks, we were being kept as hostages for future evil purposes.

In December 1966 I made it across the border to Iraq and from there to the U.S. In vain I tried to convince my brother Charles that life for our community in Iraq was over and that we should make it out while it was possible to do so, even if we had to take the risk and do it across the border. He argued that Mother at 78 would not be able to make it. He would wait for better times. . . . better times. . . .

With the June 1967 War the situation took a sharp turn for the worse.

Immediately:

1. All telephones at Jewish homes and offices were disrupted.

2. All Jewish savings in all banks were blocked.

3. All Jewish properties were blocked. No Jew was allowed to sell any of his property.

4. All Jews were not permitted to trade anymore; their licenses had been revoked.

5. All Jews were put out of employment. Firms who employed Jews received a visit or a telephone call from the authorities saying that they must dismiss any Jews in their employ.

6. Jews were put under semi-house arrest. They were not allowed to go more than three or four miles from their homes.

7. The Jewish community was vilified and abused twenty-four hours a day on the Government controlled radio, TV and newspapers.

Worse than all that, their only way out, across the border to Iran was blocked. The Iraqi authorities made sure that none of its hostages would escape. They were badly needed for bestial holocausts, to amuse their mob of 500,000. Exactly the same as the Romans used to do 2000 years ago in their circuses.

Out of employment, their savings blocked, their properties confiscated, well over 70% of the Jews remaining in Iraq, some 3000 of them are in very difficult circumstances and are living on the charity of their co-religionists.

Since the war of June 67 the Jews in Iraq have lived in constant fear of arrest. A knock on the door and the breadwinner of the family is gone. While under arrest they were tortured beyond description. Only eight months ago the son of a rabbi, by the name of Nessim Yaeir, a twenty eight year old man, was tortured to death while under arrest.

Over one hundred and fifty Jews are now under arrest. Some of them have been detained since the war of June 67; others were rounded up on later waves of arrests.

The Jews of Iraq with their livelihood cut, under house arrest, under the constant threat of arrest and torture . . . and they tell us the Jews were spying for Israel.

Zilkha, the man supposed to be the head of the so-called Plot, who was waging Germ-warfare in Basrah, who was dynamiting bridges, who was planning the overthrow of the government in Baghdad, and who was appointing a new Regime in Baghdad in order to make peace with Israel, this Zilkha, is an illiterate man who cannot read or write, nor can he drive a car. This is the Zilkha who is supposed to wage Germ-warfare in Basrah, by himself, without laboratories and without help.

#### DAVID JAMES ENGEL WINS NORTH DAKOTA VFW SPEECH CONTEST

#### HON. THOMAS S. KLEPPE

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 25, 1969

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and its ladies auxiliary annually conduct a Voice of Democracy contest. This year, more than 400,000 school students participated in the contest, competing for the five scholarships which are offered as top prizes. First prize is a \$5,000 scholarship, second is \$3,500, third is \$2,500, fourth is \$1,500 and fifth is \$1,000.

The winning contestant from each State is brought to Washington for the final judging, as a guest of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

I am proud to announce that the North Dakota winner this year is Mr. David James Engel, 1324 North Second Street, Bismarck. Having received permission, I insert his speech on the contest theme, "Freedom's Challenge," in the RECORD, as follows:

#### FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE (By David Engel)

Voices were raised in dissent. An articulate minority was exercising that right promised them in the first amendment of the United States constitution. They were denouncing the Establishment—the military-industrial complex—that nebulous, elusive they and all that these somewhat synonymous terms meant.

People across the nation gasped. Not since the infamous McCarthy era had dissension been thrust into the public arena to such a great extent. Many felt that if it were not stopped, the foundations upon which this country were built would crumble and be destroyed.

But, after listening to these dissenters whom many called Communists and traitors, there were those who began to think and to reflect upon what was actually happening.

On the college and university campuses resistance groups were being formed to actively, intelligently and in an organized manner resist the draft and hence America's involvement in Vietnam. Young Americans everywhere were calling for a participatory democracy—a change from the old, worn machine politics. They were spearheading an anti-war crusade against a war which they felt was being based on and perpetuated by senselessness, corruption, deception and most important of all, "outdated" values.

Elsewhere throughout American society, organizations were being formed to take a stand on pressing, urgent issues confronting the United States. Laymen, businessmen, lawyers and religious leaders all formed various groups to provide for intelligent research and thought and for rational action. Various national church organizations made studies of the Vietnam situation and the draft and took stands on them.

Within the national government there were men who, feeling it was their duty to do so, were making their opinions and ideas known—opinions which were contrary to those of the administration. The senators Fulbright, Gruening, Morse, McGovern, McCarthy and others were standing up and asking for a reappraisal of the direction the United States was heading with its present foreign affairs policy, its domestic policy and more specifically, touching upon both of these, its involvement in Vietnam.

Martin Luther King was asking for justice—for the Negro's right to his own life—for a concentrated attack upon poverty and the social injustices which were the direct result of this poverty.

America was seething with people and groups of people wanting to be heard, recognized, and understood.

And so—those who had stopped to think and reflect upon what was actually happening soon realized that this is the way it has been, this is the way it is, and this is the way it should be. People taking a stand on real problems—putting their own personal welfare out on a limb and trusting that the ideals upon which the United States of America was founded would prevail—showing a display of moral courage and political fortitude as rarely witnessed before in American history—a display of true patriotism.

As the modern Russian poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko has written:

"Oh, only they were blessed  
who, like traitors to treason itself,  
not turning back at all,  
went on to the scaffold's planks,  
having understood that the essence  
of a patriot is to rise in the  
name of freedom!"

#### ESTONIAN INDEPENDENCE

#### HON. HENRY P. SMITH III

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 25, 1969

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, this week marks the 51st anniversary of Estonia's independence. In 1918, the people of Estonia, after 200 years of Russian domination, proclaimed their independence and founded the Estonian Republic.

But since 1940 Estonia and the other Baltic States, Latvia and Lithuania, have again been under the authoritarian rule of the Soviet Union. Within a few days in June 1940 the Red army moved into Estonia, established military bases and deported thousands of Estonians to Siberia. The Soviet Union has tried to suppress religion and any feeling of national loyalty in this little Baltic nation.

The people of Estonia have made Estonia one of the most industrialized of the Soviet republics, making a large percentage of the U.S.S.R.'s large electrical transformers and mining more than half of its oil shale.

Yet the Estonians still live under the shackles of Soviet domination. The people in the United States living with and enjoying freedom, should pause today to remember that many people of the world do not have the opportunity to enjoy any freedom of choice. I pray that the long-suffering people of Estonia may again soon be among the rolls of independent nations.

#### VIOLENCE ON OUR CAMPUSES

#### Hon. G. V. (SONNY) MONTGOMERY

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 25, 1969

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, the plain facts are that today no American—whether Congressman, shopkeeper, housewife, or White House assistant—is immune from a personal encounter with crime. All of us are potential crime victims, and each day, fewer and fewer of our names remain on the potential list. We become victims, and our personal misfortunes are recorded on some chart which shows a national crime rate climbing like an Apollo blastoff.

My turn as a victim came last evening. I returned to my apartment at the close of my working day to find my front door forced open; inside my color television was gone.

Mr. Speaker, becoming a crime victim does not give me any fresh insight toward a solution to end crime; in fact, it does not really make me any more aware of the deplorable, truly unbelievable prevalence of crime.

Becoming a victim does prompt me, however, to urge more forceful, aggressive action by the administration in the effort to stem the rising national crime rate.

Last year Congress approved the most extensive Federal anticrime measure in the Nation's history. More than \$100 million in Federal funds was authorized for use by State and local governments in efforts to improve techniques for combating crime, for training and recruiting law-enforcement officers, for increasing the salaries of officers, and developing better crime control equipment and methods.

The Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act also included a law authorizing grants to States for projects to prevent juvenile delinquency and to rehabilitate young offenders. Still other provisions set criminal penalties for the illegal use of "speed," LSD, and other such drugs. Congress passed a total of five measures intended to bar from Federal educational assistance students engaging in activities which disrupt their campuses.

I simply ask here today, how vigorously is the administration working to see that the anticrime measures are forcefully and effectively carried out?

The violence on our campuses, the frequency that juvenile offenders commit crime while on probation for other crimes, the unreasonable attacks on the



transition between public and private life for the former staffers.)

The recipients and the purposes for which the grants were made were listed as:

Jerry Bruno, Kennedy's chief advance man, \$19,450 for a seven-month study of methods and styles of national political campaigning in the United States.

Joseph Dolan, former administrative assistant, \$18,556 for a six-month study of teaching methods, text materials and other writings used in law school and university courses dealing with the lawyer's role in the legislative processes.

Peter Edelman, legislative assistant, \$19,901 for a five-month study of community development and social programs in various countries of Europe, the Far and Middle East and Africa, with special emphasis on the degree to which participation of individual citizens is encouraged in planning and policy making.

Dall Forsythe, staff assistant, \$6,390 for a four-month study of the changes that have occurred in participation by citizens in political processes, especially in the nominating processes of the Democratic party.

Earl Graves, staff assistant, \$19,500 for a six-month study of opportunities for black citizens to engage in small business in the United States.

Thomas Johnston, assistant, \$10,190 for a study of the feasibility of a national or international newspaper transmitted by television.

Adam Walinsky, legislative assistant, \$22,200 for a six-month study of community self-determination, self-control and self-improvement, with special attention to particular urban areas and experiments in Eastern European countries.

Frank Mankiewicz, press secretary, \$15,692 for studies of the effects of Peace Corps community development projects in Latin American and Caribbean countries.

Bell wrote in reply to questions by Patman that the qualifications of recipients had been reviewed under the foundation's normal procedures and the costs of their programs calculated in the usual way.

"The only unusual feature of these cases is that all of the individuals were associated with one man," he said.

"It seems generally recognized that Sen. Kennedy had gathered around him a staff of great ability and energy, a staff which was cast adrift through Sen. Kennedy's sudden and terrible death.

"We believed that certain of these men qualified for the foundation's travel and study awards, that their talents, through service to an important public figure, had made a significant contribution to the life of the country, and might continue to be applied to the public well-being . . . and that their collective association with Sen. Kennedy ought not to prevent recognition of their individual promise."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Feb. 20, 1969]

# BUNDY DEFENDS FORD GRANTS AS SHOW OF R. F. K. SYMPATHY (By Shirley Elder)

McGeorge Bundy said today that the Ford Foundation, which he heads, was searching for a suitable expression of sympathy over the death of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy last year when it decided to award \$131,000 in travel grants to eight of the senator's former aides.

These were men of special promise who had suffered a special blow, Bundy told the House Ways and Means Committee, which is probing tax-free foundations. And he said he felt the awards fit Ford's basic charter role.

"The number (of grants) was unusual," Bundy said. "The case was unusual. The quality of the (Kennedy) staff was unusual. And I expect the results to be good."

Rep. John Byrnes of Wisconsin, the committee's top Republican, asked "whether we haven't gone a little too far in this area."

Bundy defined the action as fully justified. He said the "fundamental protection" against abuses is the public accountability of foundation expenditures.

Explaining the Kennedy staff grants, Bundy started with the first of last spring's two tragic deaths, the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in April. Ford Foundation officials discussed what to do and decided to continue a grant to King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference and to give \$8,000 for a compilation of the King papers.

When Kennedy was killed, Bundy said, the same questions were raised. There was nothing to offer the family but sympathy and concern, he said, and, looking to Ford's long tradition of individual grants, decided on the eight awards to the Kennedy staff.

He said the men are unusually talented, dedicated, devoted and concerned citizens—"what were they going to do?"

The foundation action also won support from Rep. Hugh Cary, D-N.Y., who praised the Kennedy staff as "uncommonly intelligent and industrious." All served at salaries lower than they could have gotten elsewhere, he said, and all had received lucrative offers after Kennedy's death.

The grants were not rewards, but rather assistance so they could continue to serve their country, he said.

Bundy, a friend of the Kennedy circle, served as a high-level adviser to both Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson.

Bundy also told the committee that a number of congressmen and an aide to former President Lyndon B. Johnson had received four grants at various times. The aide, Joseph Califano, got \$12,000, he said.

Bundy said the congressmen generally received travel grants to attend international meetings or to inspect urban centers.

Rep. James Burke, D-Mass., asked whether such grants might influence votes and demanded the names of all congressmen who have accepted such money.

Bundy said he would supply them later.

Bundy said the grants are not designed to "buy votes." He said the projects are seen as "educational" and in the public interest.

Without waiting for specific questions, Bundy defended contributions to the Congress of Racial Equality and others in Cleveland. Rep. Wright Patman, D-Tex., had suggested a link between the Cleveland grants and the subsequent election of Carl B. Stokes as mayor.

Of the grants to CORE and others—totaling \$475,000 in two years—Bundy said voter registration was the smallest of the programs aided. Moreover, he said, arrangements were made to have a special consultant to make sure the activities aided did not overlap into any actual political campaign.

"We accepted our responsibility to help patrol that boundary," he said.

In prepared testimony, Bundy said proposals to restrict the stock holdings of foundations might impede several social action programs his institution is considering. He also said the proposal to limit foundation holdings to no more than 20 percent of the stock of any one company would have prevented establishment of the Ford Foundation and several others.

If the limit were imposed now, Bundy said, programs now under consideration by Ford to stimulate business in ghettos, provide jobs in the South and assist construction of integrated housing might be impeded.

However, Bundy told the committee, the Ford Foundation, which is worth \$3.5 billion, hopes as a matter of "prudent investment policy" to reduce its holdings of Ford Motor Co. stock to less than 20 percent of the firm's total stock by 1971.

When the foundation was started, 90 percent of its financing was a gift from the auto company.

"We don't own more than 20 percent," he said, but "this has nothing to do with control" of the firm since it is in nonvoting stock.

A better guarantee against foundations getting too involved in profit-making businesses would be to set up an independent board of trustees, rather than "a prohibition of equity hearings," Bundy testified.

The investigation into tax exemptions for all charitable foundations, is being conducted by the House Ways and Means Committee as part of a comprehensive study of tax reform.

At yesterday's session, Chairman Wilbur Mills of Arkansas said he wants to explore with each foundation the question of whether conditions have changed since the tax breaks first were acquired.

H. RES. 39

*Resolved*, That there is hereby created a select committee to be composed of nine Members of the House of Representatives to be appointed by the Speaker, one of whom he shall designate as chairman. Any vacancy occurring in the membership of the committee shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

The committee is authorized and directed to conduct a full and complete investigation and study of organizations which have been granted exemptions from Federal income taxes under section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, for the purpose of determining whether such organizations comply with the provisions of such section, and whether modification of such provisions would be in the public interest by restoring to taxable revenue the incomes presently declared tax free.

For the purpose of carrying out this resolution the committee, or any subcommittee thereof authorized by the committee to hold hearings, is authorized to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places within the United States, whether the House is in session, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, and to require, by subpoena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memorandums, papers, and documents, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any member of the committee designated by him, and may be served by any person designated by such chairman or member.

The committee shall report to the House as soon as practicable during the present Congress the results of its investigation and study, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable. Any such report which is made when the House is not in session shall be filed with the Clerk of the House.

ME

## ISRAEL TELLS ARABS TO BLOCK GUERRILLAS

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 20, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article from the Washington, D.C., Evening Star of February 19, 1969:

The United States moved quickly on several fronts today to head off Israeli retaliation for the Arab attack on an El Al airliner in Zurich yesterday.

In a strong statement, the State Department said that the United States will raise "this general matter" at the council meeting Monday in Montreal of the International Civil Aviation Organization, the special United Nations agency dealing with air traffic.

Department spokesman Robert J. McCloskey said the United States hopes to have a "specific proposal" ready for action. He also tied this latest shooting with another problem closer to home—the hijacking of American commercial airliners to Cuba.

On the Arab-Israeli situation, the State Department also announced that Israeli Minister Shlomo Argov met this morning with Joseph Sisco, assistant secretary of state for middle eastern affairs.

During the meeting at the State Department, Sisco is understood to have explained the American initiative, leaving the "implication" that the United States does not want Israel to blame Lebanon for the Arab attack on an Israeli jet at Athens in December. Israeli commandos subsequently struck Beirut's International Airport and destroyed 13 Lebanese planes.

Carmel said the hijack of an El Al plane to Algeria last July and the attacks in Athens and Zurich all originated, in Israel's view, from Lebanon. He said the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine took full credit for the Swiss incident in a statement published in Beirut yesterday.

"The responsibility for such acts is not only with the perpetrators but with the Arab states in which these acts are being planned and where the terrorists are being equipped," Carmel said.

He warned of "complete chaos among the airways of the Middle East unless" the attacks are halted, and added: "Safeguarding air safety is important not only to Israel but the Arabs and all the Arab airlines who want to keep their routes open. They should take immediate action."

Carmel had hinted earlier that there might be retaliation for the machine gunning of El Al's Boeing 720 at Zurich's airport. Six persons aboard the plane were wounded. Of the four raiders, one was shot dead and the others, including a woman were arrested.

The transport minister told the Tel Aviv newspaper Maariv: "The Arab governments who are concerned with preserving the international airlinks of their countries would do well to hold back the saboteurs, and thus avoid the deterioration and destruction of the airways of the Middle East."

The U.S. State Department and U.N. Secretary-General U Thant condemned the Arab attack in Zurich, and Thant expressed hope there would be no reprisal. But leading Israeli newspapers promised retaliation.

The semiofficial newspaper Lemerhav declared: "The sabotage of airways cannot be one-sided. The Israeli security authorities must reach the proper conclusions with regard to this extension of Arab terror."

Hayom, published by the rightwing Gahal party, said Israel "must react because her neighbors understand no other language."

The guerrillas opened up on the El Al Boeing 720 from behind a snowbank yesterday as it taxied down a runway at Zurich's Kloten airport to take off for Tel Aviv. Six of the 27 persons aboard, most of them Israelis, were wounded.

The most seriously injured were trainee pilot Yoran Peres, hit in the abdomen by three bullets. He was reported out of danger following an emergency operation at the Zurich Cantonal Hospital.

#### ISRAELI, THREE ARABS HELD

Zurich police said an Israeli security agent jumped from the plane through an emergency hatch after the first burst of fire and

killed one of the attackers with a shot through the head from his automatic pistol.

Swiss firemen raced to the scene and arrested the other three Arabs. They said they had to overpower the Israeli agent "otherwise he would have killed the others as well."

The Israeli and the three Arabs were in custody today and were to appear before an examining magistrate. It was assumed the Israeli agent would plead self-defense.

Sources at Bern, where the Swiss cabinet met to discuss the incident, said Israel was expected to file an early request for the extradition of the three Arabs. But legal experts there said Switzerland is virtually certain to reject this, because the Swiss legal code stipulates jurisdiction over crimes committed in the country.

Police said the attackers also hurled incendiary bombs and hand grenades at the plane, but they failed to explode. Three parcels of plastic explosives were found in the Arabs' rented car.

Soon after the attack on the Amsterdam-Tel Aviv flight, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a pro-Marxist guerrilla group based in Jordan, issued a communique assuming "full responsibility" for the attack. It said the raid was in reprisal for "brutality and torture" committed on Arab civilians by Israel authorities in occupied territory.

PFPL is the same group that claimed credit for the hijacking of an El Al plane over the Mediterranean last July 23 and the shooting up of an El Al airliner in Athens Dec. 26. The latter, in which one passenger was killed, prompted the Israeli raid on Beirut.

Foreign Minister Abba Eban said the Zurich attack "demonstrated the murderous characteristics" of Arab guerrilla organizations, encouraged by the "atmosphere of compassion demonstrated toward these organizations after the Athens attack." He said that the U.N. Security Council "issued not one word of condemnation of the Athens attack."

Eban pointedly added that "it will be surprising and astonishing if the conscience of the world is not aroused by this attack on the lives of civilians, on freedom of flight and the sovereignty of a neutral and peace-loving country," meaning Switzerland.

Swiss police said the guerrillas used Soviet Kalashnikov submachine guns. About 50 bullets hit the Boeing, mostly in the forward first-class compartment and cockpit, shattering the instrument panel, navigational and radio equipment.

The Amman communique identified the four guerrillas as Arina Dahbour, a 25-year-old woman schoolteacher from Israeli-occupied Gaza; Ibrahim Tewfik, a laborer from Haifa, Israel's chief port; Abdel Mohsen Hassan, a driver from Lydda, in central Israel, and Mohamed Abu el Haja, a laborer from Nazareth, which also is in Israel.

It was not known here which one was killed.

On the Israeli political front, informed sources said Premier Levi Eshkol had averted a crisis in his Labor party by hinting that he was considering resigning.

It began when Newsweek magazine quoted him as saying Israel does not seek "any part of the settled area of Jordan's west bank," and right-wing parties in the government coalition were angered at this implied hint of territorial concessions to the Arabs and other Labor party leaders were critical of Eshkol's handling of the situation.

But when Eshkol let it be known he was getting "fed up," the dissenters quickly persuaded him to stay on as premier, fearing Defense Minister Moshe Dayan might get a crack at the job. Most Labor party leaders strongly oppose Dayan.

## WITHDRAWING APPELLATE JURISDICTION FROM THE U.S. SUPREME COURT

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 20, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I introduced H.R. 7201, a bill to amend title 18 and title 28 of the United States Code with respect to the trial and review of criminal actions involving obscenity. It will be remembered that last year the subject of Supreme Court decisions in the area of obscenity and pornography had arisen during the Senate hearings on the confirmation of Justice Abe Fortas for the position of Chief Justice. Citizens for Decent Literature, a 10-year-old organization of citizens concerned about the enforcement of obscenity and pornography statutes, had its three lawyers review Supreme Court decisions in this area during 1966 and 1967. The results of the review proved to be a real eye-opener. In 1967, for instance, the highest court of the land reversed 23 of the 26 State and Federal obscenity determinations. The community standards of 13 States were upset. Eight findings of fact by juries were reversed. Thus, while the Court in the Roth decision in 1957 emphasized the criterion of contemporary community standards in obscenity cases, the same Court since that time has struck down decisions of juries and State courts at an alarming rate.

The purpose of H.R. 7201 is to return to the States and localities the right to make a determination of fact as to what is obscene. The appellate jurisdiction of the Federal courts is withdrawn in this area, although it must be remembered that a constitutional issue can still be decided by the Supreme Court.

There is no doubt that the citizens of our land are a prime target for the smut peddlers whether here or abroad. The veteran newsmen of the Chicago Tribune, Willard Edwards, cited the case of a Paris publisher of pornographic books who came to the United States and observed there seems to be an endless demand for the stuff. The question of how best to approach the problem was spelled out by Mr. Edwards in his column of February 18, entitled "Flow of Smut Remains Issue for Congress," which I insert in the Record at this point:

FLOW OF SMUT REMAINS ISSUE FOR CONGRESS

(By Willard Edwards)

WASHINGTON, February 17.—A Paris publisher of pornographic books, on a recent visit to the United States, said he expected to clean up 5 million dollars in six months and exulted:

"There seems to be an endless demand for the stuff."

His statement could not be disputed. Pornography is a billion dollar a year business in the United States.

Why doesn't Congress do something about it? There is no issue commanding greater indignation. But, over the years, anti-ob-

in a combined squeeze that probably cost the city's tourist trade more than \$1-million a day.

Thus far there has been no attrition the city's traditional function as the nation's "front office."

Leased office space increased by two million square feet here in the first 11 months of last year, and one out of every three of the nation's 500 biggest corporations call the New York metropolitan area home, a concentration unequalled in any other part of the country.

They do so for many reasons, not the least of which is efficient air transportation.

[From the New York Times, Feb. 16, 1969]

# EXPERTS PROPOSE WAYS TO EASE AIR CONGESTION

Development of STOL ports for short-range aircraft, additional runways for long-range flights and a system of satellite airports for private craft could help to ease air congestion here—even if a fourth jetport never materializes.

What would it cost the city if none of those steps is taken and Kennedy, La Guardia and Newark Airports reach complete saturation? About \$200-million a year by 1975, according to R. Dixon Speas Associates. The management consultants, who specialize in airline problems, base the figure on current growth rates.

They estimate that the two airports will lose about 3.8-million passengers because of inadequate facilities. The bulk of the potential loss—\$162-million—is in airline airport-employe wages; the balance in tourist spending.

## ME ZURICH ATTACK

### HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 20, 1969

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, this week's commando raid on an El Al airliner should provide us with incontrovertible evidence as to who is trying to plunge the Middle East into a new, more terrible war.

I was encouraged by the State Department's announced concern Wednesday that the attack represented "a grave threat to life and safety" and their reported interest in "prompt international efforts to safeguard air commerce against all acts of unlawful interference."

Is that enough?

Let us not forget that these marauders are so unresponsive to international sentiment that they chose to launch their attack in Zurich, Switzerland, that haven, traditionally neutral even in Europe's darkest hours.

Let us remember they attack life, not equipment. Six persons on that Boeing 707 plane from Amsterdam to Tel Aviv were wounded.

Let us note that the plane carried an American citizen, Dr. Marvin Bacher, who has said that were it not for the quick and courageous response of an Israeli security guard, some on the plane would have been killed.

We should take note that the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a Marxist organization based in Amman, Jordan, boasted of the attack and proudly took credit for it.

We should remember that the weapons used were Russian-made Kalashnikov submachineguns.

And finally we should not forget who our friends have been.

Can we still ask who is the aggressor, who attacks women and children, who interdicts international commerce, who seeks war not peace?

I include two telegrams I received this morning:

#### TELEGRAMS

We were horrified—but not surprised—by the latest expression of international gangsterism against the El Al plane in Zurich. Once again, the lives of innocent travelers were placed in jeopardy and Israel's international air links threatened. Even United Nations Secretary General U Thant has warned that civil aviation is threatened with chaos and anarchy.

The responsibility for this act clearly lies with the Arab governments. Every civilized government has the responsibility to do all in its power to stop international murderers from operating from its soil. But Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Iraq and Lebanon, to the contrary, have encouraged the terrorists, financed them and armed them.

Only this past week, President Nasser of Egypt enthusiastically praised the terrorist organizations and promised continued support. And only yesterday, King Hussein of Jordan met with the leader of El Fatah to give his encouragement. Indeed, the announcement of the murderous attack in Zurich was made from Amman, Jordan.

Rather than preventing such terrorism, the United Nations Security Council's one-sided condemnation of Israel last Dec. 31 had the effect of encouraging Arab terrorists in the belief that they are immune from international censure. This most recent attack is another consequence of that unevenhanded action.

The act of the Security Council was predictable in that six of its members have no diplomatic relations with Israel and one permanent member, the Soviet Union, has consistently exercised its veto to protect its Arab clients from condemnation for 20 years.

Nevertheless, we urge the United States Government to give leadership to secure unambiguous action from the United Nations to put responsibility for these acts of terror where they belong—upon the Arab governments nurturing the terrorist movements.

If the United Nations fails to take prompt action, then it should be incumbent upon the United States and other nations to halt acts of terrorism against all civilian air carriers through all appropriate measures, which could include the boycott of air travel to those countries which refuse to take steps to control terrorists based on their soil and operating with their consent and encouragement.

THEODORE R. MANN,

President, Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Philadelphia.

The latest act of terrorism by the Arab world is tragic both in its results and implications. Not only were the lives of innocent men and women once again threatened by such irresponsible acts, but the freedom to travel of the entire world is at stake if such terror tactics are permitted to go unchallenged and unchecked. Israel was condemned by the United Nations for responding to a similar attack in Athens and this action apparently is interpreted as protection for further such outrageous deeds as is shown in the experience in Zurich.

It is idle to debate where the responsibility and blame must lie. The Arab countries can put a stop to this threat to world security if they wish to do so. On the contrary, they

gloat publicly over these brutal experiences and proclaim their pride rather than their blame.

We join with others in urging the United States Government to take the lead in securing international condemnation for these repeated acts against innocent lives and against the rights of all people to travel freely on peaceful missions. It is our belief that all countries should join not only in deploring these tragic incidents but in banning the use of their airports by those countries which by their very acts challenge the security of all nations.

We earnestly beseech your personal efforts to place the responsibility where it belongs to condemn these acts of violence and to assure the security of civil aviation around the world.

SYLVAN M. COHEN,

President.

DONALD B. HURWITZ,

Vice President, Executive Director, Federation of Jewish Agencies of Greater Philadelphia.

## MINNESOTA WINNER: FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE

### HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 20, 1969

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, it is reassuring to know that not all of America's students advocate revolution and the destruction of the "establishment." I believe that the vast majority of our young people recognize and appreciate the values in our society, but they are not as vocal or demonstrative as their counterparts on the extreme fringes.

Miss JoAnne Sigurdson, of Albert Lea, Minn., prepared the prize-winning speech in the Minnesota Division of the Veterans of Foreign Wars contest. The theme this year is "Freedom's Challenge." Miss Sigurdson has pinpointed the challenges and the opportunities afforded today's youth. Her approach is a rational, constructive one which I commend to all of our youth who may be searching for answers to the meaning of life for themselves in today's society. I further commend the reading of this speech to my colleagues and insert at this point in the RECORD:

#### FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE

I dare you! How many times have you heard someone say that phrase? I am sure most everyone has heard it sometime or other. To dare is to challenge. It is, indeed, a great challenge to meet the responsibilities of a teenager in today's changing world. Therefore, I dare myself as a teenager to accept Freedom's challenge of becoming a good responsible citizen of this wonderful country of which I am very definitely a part. Certainly my greatest responsibility is to be a good American citizen.

The word responsible is defined as able and ready to meet obligations, and responsibilities is defined as duty or trust. We are all responsible for doing our share to keep our country great and strong, so it would be wise, first, to acquaint ourselves with the ideals upon which our nation is founded. In order to do this, there are some qualities that we should try to develop as early in life as possible, such as: good leadership, cooperation and self control, good sportsmanship, to be understanding, honest, and to learn to give



and take, also, practice persistency and determination. All of these can be accomplished if we try.

Education is essential. I am very fortunate that I live in a country that is dedicated to learning. It is my responsibility to get all the education I can. The opportunities offered in this area are unlimited. I can learn much by keeping myself informed about what is going on. In addition to our schools, a great deal could be learned by watching and listening to our teachers and leaders of today. Strive to be an informed citizen and know what is going on in our local and state governments. We cannot successfully be a part of something of which we know nothing, so participation in public affairs and local events is not only necessary, but it is a great experience. We learn by doing, and experience is a great teacher.

We are free to select our own reading material. Reading of good books should be encouraged. Those not read are more apt to succeed.

It is important that we all enjoy and make use of our religious freedom, and it is imperative that we also have some Christian education as well. The churches also have many institutions of higher learning, and it encourages its youth to attend them. It is good to get a healthy and holy attitude toward life in our early years. I firmly believe that an education with some Christian background helps us to be more unselfish and to perhaps understand ourselves better.

It is sometimes believed that most of the followers of the so called hippies and the drug users do so because of a lack of understanding and wanting to find themselves. There certainly are other ways of understanding ourselves than through the use of LSD. We are also free to select our friends. It is important to select good friends and seek clean wholesome entertainment. Fellowship together building character and personality. A group of teenagers gathered together does not have to mean trouble. The responsibility for good behavior lies squarely on our own shoulders. If we keep ourselves busy doing something constructive, we won't find ourselves doing something destructive. It is true a teenager likes to be independent, but, at the same time, it is not necessary to let our growing independence become a stumbling block. We can learn to express our opinions in such a way so as to be heard with respect, not with protests or demonstrations such as we read about in our daily newspapers.

It is generally regarded that maybe our forefathers did not have so much to protest about. I disagreed wholeheartedly. It's true, we live in a changing world, but remember, it was a changing world for them, too. When our parents were teenagers they had many of the same problems we do today, such as money, jobs, entertainment, yes and even love. It is very important that we learn to respect our parents. Get to know them and socialize with them. Believe it or not, it is possible to have fun with your mom and dad. It's a lot easier to talk things over with them and get their advice and help if you are on a friendly basis with them, and even though we sometimes think it's hard to understand parents at times, it must be just as hard for them to understand us at times, too. Freedom of speech is meant for parents as well, so we should listen to them. Even though our friends are always available for advice, we must realize that they usually just agree with our way of thinking. Boys and girls should get to know their parents before they start to break away from their dependency.

Another freedom we enjoy is the privilege of choosing our own careers. After studying our talents and interests to find what is best suited for us, we should make up our mind what we want to do and stay with it. Be persistent and determined. Set a high

standard and then try to attain it even though it may be too high to reach. We will still improve our standards by having to reach upward. Let the type of education you receive serve as your launching pad from which to move out and upward toward the goal you have selected for yourself. This will not only benefit the person working to reach his goal but will also aid in the welfare of his community. One person can do a lot. Be a good model. Prepare yourself today for your future tomorrows. We are the future generation.

With all the challenges of the freedoms of today, there are many gates left open, beckoning us to enter. We must be careful not to take the road that leads to a dead end.

#### FEDERAL EXECUTIVE, LEGISLATIVE, AND JUDICIAL SALARY REFORMS OF 1969

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 20, 1969

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, many concerned citizens have been asking why it was necessary to increase congressional salaries at this time. As chairman of the Subcommittee on Compensation and author of the plan which resulted in these salary increases, I want to make clear that this action by the Executive in effecting increases for Federal executives, judges, and Members of Congress represented a giant step forward in Federal personnel management.

For the benefit of my colleagues, who have asked for further background on this question, I have prepared an analysis which, without objection, I will insert in the Record at this point.

In addition, I want to call my colleagues' attention to two editorials which shed further light on the need for these salary reforms. I will insert them at the conclusion of my analysis.

The material referred to follows:

#### FEDERAL EXECUTIVE, LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL SALARY REFORMS OF 1969

(An analysis by Representative MORRIS K. UDALL, chairman, Subcommittee on Compensation, U.S. House of Representatives)

Why was it necessary to increase the salaries of Members of Congress in 1969, just four years after a pay increase that met with considerable public criticism? Why was it necessary to go to \$42,500, an increase of nearly 42 percent? Why were huge increases necessary for cabinet officers and Supreme Court judges? How can such increases be justified when the country is being asked to tighten its belt to hold inflation in check?

Questions like these are being asked by people who see these recent pay increases as a kind of betrayal of public trust. But those familiar with the history of Federal executive, legislative and judicial salaries know that this was not the case. In fact, the recommendations of the Quadrennial Commission, established by Congress to study these top-level salaries, gained the support, with some downward revisions, of both the outgoing Johnson Administration and the incoming Nixon Administration. They had the support of the leaders of both parties in the Congress. They were strongly endorsed by the American Bar Association, all the major Federal employee organizations, and innumerable leaders of private industry throughout the country. They were

the result of a procedure set up by act of Congress two years ago to take such management decisions out of the hands of Congress and to institute some resemblance of rationality into a salary system which heretofore has been a hodgepodge of politics, folklore and mysticism.

#### THE BASIC PROBLEM

Congress in 1962 established a regular, orderly procedure for determining the pay of the vast majority of Federal employees. This procedure attempts to make the pay of each Federal employee comparable to the pay of people doing the same type of work in private industry. With passage of the Postal Revenue and Federal Salary Act of 1967 Congress, for the first time, made this policy a reality by voting a three-stage increase for all Federal workers, closing the "comparability gap" which had existed in most classifications. That act would have been a farce, however, if provision had not been made to adjust the salaries of those officials whose level of compensation constitutes an absolute ceiling on the classified service. If the comparability system was to be rational, to work at all levels of the classified Federal service, some means had to be found to provide for the same kind of regular, orderly adjustment of this "ceiling" as changes were made in the pay structure of the classified system as a whole.

The answer to this problem took the form of a provision in that 1967 pay act creating a Commission on Executive, Legislative and Judicial Salaries, to be formed every four years for a review of these upper-echelon jobs in the Federal service. Basically, the jobs involved are those of cabinet and sub-cabinet officials appointed by the President, of all Federal judges, and of Members of Congress. Significantly, it is only the congressional salaries which have prompted any great criticism or received any attention from the Press.

Last year President Johnson appointed the first Quadrennial Commission to make a study of salaries in these areas of government. Its chairman was Frederick R. Kappel, retired Chairman of the Board of American Telephone and Telegraph Co. Other members were George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO; John J. Corson, consultant and corporate director; Stephen K. Bailey, dean of the Maxwell Graduate School at Syracuse University; Sidney J. Weinberg, senior partner of Goldman, Sachs and Co., investment bankers; Edward H. Foley, former Undersecretary of the Treasury; William Spoelhof, president of Calvin College; Arthur H. Dean, partner in the prominent law firm, Sullivan and Cromwell; and William T. Gossett, president of the American Bar Association.

After a thorough study of salaries paid executives in all levels of government and in private industry, the Kappel Commission made a report to the President drawing this conclusion concerning the rates of pay then designated for the officers holding the highest responsibility in our Federal government:

"The conclusion to us is inescapable that present salary levels are not commensurate with the importance of the positions held. They are not sufficient to support a standard of living that individuals qualified for such posts can fairly expect to enjoy and in many instances have established. We should expect the compensation of those to whom we entrust high responsibilities and authority in government to bear some reasonable relationship to that received by their peers in private life. This expectation, however, is not now met."

As a result of its study, and in keeping with its responsibility as set forth in the 1967 pay act, the Commission recommended new salary levels for each of the categories covered. It proposed that cabinet officers be paid \$60,000, Supreme Court justices \$65,000, Members of Congress \$50,000, and other of-

ure and reward bill proposed by the Commission on the Administration of Justice. This is one of a package of bills which I am introducing to strengthen our city's crime-fighting machinery.

We must assure that all judges of the bench are able to make a full commitment to their critical duty of rendering prompt justice for all.

#### ARAB TERRORIST ACTIVITIES

(Mr. HALPERN asked and given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, it was with profound shock, horror, and repugnance that the world learned of yet another Arab attack on an Israeli airliner, this time in Zurich, Switzerland.

I rise today to call upon the administration to take the initiative in the United Nations by calling for a condemnation resolution and whatever U.N. action is necessary to make the perpetrators of these crimes feel the pressure of world opinion and end these tyrannical attacks. I have urged the Secretary of State today that this action must be taken immediately, so that there will be no misake toward whom this condemnation is directed.

This sneak attack is but the latest in a series of Arab terrorist activities which have been concentrated on unarmed civilians. They are obviously designed to hit innocent civilians in marketplaces, in theaters, on buses, in airplanes.

The perpetrators seem to prefer these cowardly types of hit-run attacks, and what makes these tactics all the more reprehensible is that they are condoned and actually supported by the Arab leaders and their governments. Each day brings us further news of an outright support of these activities, the latest being the embracing of the leader of the notorious El Fatah by King Hussein, of Jordan.

Mr. Speaker, the United States must act now. We must speak out in vigorous protest and we must enlist the world community to support a proposal at the International Civil Aviation Organization council meeting urging immediate action against all interference with international aviation.

Decent people everywhere must do more than deplore these acts. The United Nations, which lost no time in condemning Israel for retaliating to a similar attack, should be equally as swift in condemning this latest episode of uncivilized Arab action. Or, must we wait to see if Israel strikes back and then expect a one-sided censure of Israel? This seems to be the tragic routine of U.N. action, and what makes it all the more deplorable is our State Department's acquiescence via its U.N. votes. This is the sorry record of our previous positions at the U.N.

Well, Mr. Speaker, we have a new administration now. Let its spokesman speak out loudly in response to this dastardly act. Let the world community be heard so the Arabs realize the impact of world opinion and world repudiation.

#### ENDORSEMENT OF PRESIDENT'S DECISION TO DEVELOP ALL VOLUNTEER MILITARY FORCE

(Mr. WHALEN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. WHALEN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert at this point in the Record the resolution and the list of those Members who have joined Messrs. HORTON, SHRIVER, STAFFORD, and me in introducing the resolution endorsing President Nixon's decision to develop an all-volunteer military force. We are indeed grateful for the support we have received in this effort and trust that many more of our colleagues will assist us in the coming weeks as the present draft system is again reviewed by the Armed Services Committee. We would hope that a revision of the draft toward the ultimate goal of establishing an all-volunteer Army will be accomplished by this Congress.

Mr. Speaker, following the list of cosponsors, I also am inserting an article from the February 24, 1969 issue of U.S. News & World Report entitled "Volunteer Army—When?"

The material follows:

H. Res. 232

Whereas the need for improving our system of military manpower procurement has grown more and more urgent with each passing year; and

Whereas the present Selective Service System for compulsory military service has forced uncertainty, inequity, and in many cases dissent and doubt on large segments of American youth; and

Whereas many voices in the Congress have sought to encourage steps toward greater reliance on volunteers and recruitment in filling our defense manpower needs; and

Whereas among the uniformed services of the United States (United States Army, United States Marines, United States Navy, United States Air Force, United States Coast Guard, United States Merchant Marine) only the United States Army has relied to a major extent on compulsory service to fill its manpower requirements; and

Whereas the Army and the other services have demonstrated even under present personnel and pay policies that they can attract large numbers of qualified and dedicated volunteers; and

Whereas an all-volunteer military force is inherently compatible with the basic principles of democracy; and

Whereas an all-volunteer military force would be efficient, equitable, and effective in maintaining the national security; and

Whereas in a free society the obligations of service in the armed forces should be enforced through conscription only when necessary to ensure the security of this Nation; and

Whereas an all-volunteer armed forces may be possible within two to five years; if preliminary steps are taken now in pursuit of that objective: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives endorses the President of the United States in his efforts, through the Department of Defense, to begin preparation for an all-volunteer military force through administrative changes in the structure of the armed services, and to place new emphasis on the attraction of greater numbers of qualified volunteers to the military.

Sec. 2. That at a time considered appropriate by the President, the House of Representatives will welcome for consideration leg-

islation needed to implement the concept of an all-volunteer military force with a concurrent gradual reduction in the need for compulsory service.

#### LIST OF COSPONSORS

Mr. Anderson of Illinois, Mr. Andrews of North Dakota, Mr. Bell of California, Mr. Blester, Mr. Brock, Mr. Broomfield, Mr. Brotzman, Mr. Brown of Michigan, Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Bush, Mr. Button, Mr. Cahill, Mr. Clausen, Mr. Cleveland, Mr. Collins, Mr. Conte, Mr. Cowger, Mr. Esch, Mr. Fish, Mr. Frelinghuysen, Mr. Fulton of Pennsylvania, Mr. Gude, Mr. Halpern, Mr. Harvey, Mrs. Heckler of Massachusetts, Mr. Hosmer, Mrs. May, Mr. McCulloch, Mr. McDonald of Michigan, Mr. McKneally, Mr. Minshall, Mr. Milze, Mr. Morse, Mr. Morton, Mr. Pelly, Mr. Reid of New York, Mr. Riegle, Mr. Robison, Mr. Ruppe, Mr. Schwengel, Mr. Sebelius, Mr. Snyder, Mr. Stanton, Mr. Taft, Mr. Thomson of Wisconsin, Mr. Whitehurst, Mr. Widnall, Mr. Winn, and Mr. Zwach.

[From U.S. News & World Report, Feb. 24, 1969]

#### VOLUNTEER ARMY—WHEN?

(NOTE.—Wheels are starting to turn on Mr. Nixon's promise to phase out the draft. The draft law will stay, on a standby basis. But only a flare-up in Vietnam or elsewhere can stop an early, all-out try for a "volunteer Army.")

It is now confirmed that President Nixon is determined to push for an end of the draft and try for an all-volunteer Army.

The President, who campaigned on a "need" to end all drafting at the conclusion of the Vietnam war, is making it clear to Congress and the Pentagon that he means it—and that he wants to get started right away.

As a first step, Mr. Nixon ordered Pentagon officials to draw up a workable plan for creating a volunteer Army. This statement was released by the White House on January 30:

"The Secretary of Defense was advised of the President's conviction that an all-volunteer armed force be established after the expenditures for Vietnam are substantially reduced, and was requested to plan a special commission to develop a detailed plan of action for ending the draft."

What the President has in mind was explained to "U.S. News & World Report" by a top-level Nixon aide. This is the plan:

Keep the draft on the books, continue to register and classify all youths of military age for call in emergency, but gradually cut back on the size of monthly draft calls until they can be suspended altogether.

Reduce the size of U.S. armed forces from 3.4 million men to possibly the 2.6-million level of early 1965, just before the big Vietnam build-up began. This would lessen manpower needs. The cutback will start as soon as possible—by mid-1969, it is hoped.

Raise military pay substantially. Increase other benefits, privileges and prestige factors of military life. Promote recruiting on a major scale.

These steps, the President is said to believe, could bring an end to actual drafting in a relatively short time, at a cost of a few billion dollars a year. No timetable for the shift to an all-volunteer armed force is included in the President's plan. But if the war in Vietnam does de-escalate as hoped, a trial of the all-volunteer approach could start late this year, or early 1970.

Mr. Nixon is aware that manpower officials in the Pentagon have studied this problem for years and have concluded that a total end to the draft would cost untold billions and require a much deeper cut than planned.

The President's theory, however, is said to be that an all-out effort to raise a wholly volunteer Army has never been made since

plete but the job was done cleanly. What a consolation!

"When universities all over the country are collapsing before the campus radicals, North-western had the opportunity to show that the values of common sense and probity are eternal in its life. It has grievously damaged its hope of public confidence for the future.

"All its alumni and friends must feel sick today. The university has made needless difficulties for itself in commanding continuing loyalty and support. It will learn the validity of the eternal question: 'What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?'"

"[From the Washington (D.C.) Star, May 6, 1968]

"ARE WE SLIPPING INTO A DARK AGE?"

"(By William F. Buckley, Jr.)

"You have, I hope, mediated the meaning of the charges that have been leveled against the New York policemen who liberated Columbia University. Brutality. It apparently has not occurred to a living soul, to judge from published reports, that the caterwauling students who are charging brutality because the police interrupted their week-long, whisky-fed stercoraceous occupation of other people's property could very easily have avoided brutality by simply obeying the policemen when they were finally dispatched to uphold the law.

"In the flat words of the newspaper account, 'The policemen had first read a statement urging the students to leave voluntarily, and the protesters had refused.' In other words, the police had even been instructed to permit the students to leave with impunity—to get off without arraignment on the charge of criminal trespass. But the students refused. So, under the vigilant eyes of radio, television, faculty, press, the Commissioner of Police, and the head of the local Mau Mau, they were dragged away.

"Oh, yes, there were also representatives there of Mayor Lindsay, whose comment the next morning will never perish from this earth. 'Mayor Scores Columbia Sit-Ins—But Backs the Right to Dissent.' That is as if, stumbling into Buchenwald with the liberating army, General Eisenhower had said, waving in the general direction of the corpses, 'I do deplore all of this, but I stoutly defend German dissent from the Versailles Treaty.'

"What is going on? One is increasingly reminded of the observation of Albert Jay Nock, that it would be fascinating to write an essay on how one can tell one is slipping into a dark age. His point is that if we knew collectively that that is what we were doing, we would simply arrest the process.

"One is tempted to observe that it is incredible that so many members of the faculty at Columbia sided with the demonstrators, and now are criticizing President Kirk for having called in the police after six days. But it is not incredible any longer; incredible though that may be.

"Everybody's doing it. Not quite everybody, but, for instance among the students all the leaders of the various student body groups appear to be unanimous in their condemnation of Mr. Kirk. The president of New York University, though declining to promise that under no circumstances would he ever call the police, professed himself as 'revolted' at the use of the police at Columbia, and stuffed a dollar bill into a jar being passed about to collect money to defend the students.

"A young rabbi recently appointed as chaplain to the Jewish students of Columbia was heard declaiming—get this: 'No amnesty for Kirk and the Board of Trustees!' They are not to be forgiven for restoring order to the campus by invoking those whose job it is to restore order when there is disorder. And then the rabbi attempted to assert his im-

partiality: 'I want to show you I'm going to be consistent,' he said, reminding his audience that he had sided with all of the demands of the rioters except their call for amnesty for themselves.

"In other words, the rabbi is being consistent by insisting that lawbreakers and law enforcers be dealt with exactly alike. Such anfractuosity is best left for advanced schools of sophistry to defend.

"A few days before the police moved in, Prof. Seymour Melman, who will be remembered as the prophet of overkill, suddenly found himself concluding that the opposite situation exists in Columbia. Columbia, he announced jubilantly, simply hasn't the power to discipline the refractory students: 'How can you dismiss several hundred students?'"

"There—there is the revolutionary key. 'We won't be going around and around forever,' said the student head of the SDS, who organized the strike. He meant by that that additional forces are accumulating, and that in due course they will crowd in on Columbia and, in effect, dominate it.

"Mr. Kirk, poor Mr. Kirk whose office was smashed, the walls covered with graffiti, broken whisky bottles strewn about, poor Mr. Kirk says that calling in the police was the hardest thing he ever had to do. If that is the case, poor Mr. Kirk should be relieved of his misery, and sent cut to pasture. Because Columbia needs someone who will do something a great deal harder. Suspend several hundred students for a year or more, and fire one hundred or so of the instigators. If Columbia can't do that and survive as a university, then it ought not to survive as a university, because the society it seeks to serve is mortally ill."

#### AWARD TO OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY

(Mr. CAMP asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. CAMP. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure and honor for me to bring to the attention of my colleagues the presentation of an award to Oklahoma State University of Stillwater, Okla.

Last night, February 19, 1969, Dr. Robert B. Kamm, president of Oklahoma State University, was presented with the IIE-Reader's Digest Foundation Award for Distinguished Service.

Oklahoma State University was designated as the only educational institution in the United States to receive the 1969 award for distinguished service in the field of international and cultural relations.

Oklahoma State University has led the academic world in providing enlightened leadership, flexible instruction, valuable research techniques, and technical assistance over a 16-year period, in the field of international education, to a gradually widening circle of world neighbors.

Since 1952 in Ethiopia, 183 university staff members have invested 550 man-years, initiating under a U.S. Agency for International Development contract the establishing, staffing, and operating of a regional technical high school at Jimma—1952; designing, building, staffing, and operating a college of agriculture at Alemaya—1956; planning and staffing an agricultural research station at Bishoftu—Debre Zeit, 1953.

In a 16-year period the Jimma school graduated 600 students; the college of

agriculture graduated 365 from Ethiopia, Malawi, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, and other African nations.

The university has sent 22 advisers and 11 short-term consultants to three colleges with a combined enrollment of over 1,400 students; 43 Pakistani students have studied on the Oklahoma State campus. In Latin America since 1967, the university has provided consultants and advisers to Mexico, Guatemala, Colombia, Brazil, and Argentina under cooperative programs with MASAU consortium and other agencies.

Oklahoma State University embarked last year upon a program of technical advise and assistance to the Ministry of Education in Thailand for the expansion and development of trade and industrial education, with annual exchanges of students and faculty projected.

Oklahoma State University's international activities have been directed toward creating independent and self-reliant world neighbors. Instead of leaving behind empty buildings and a superimposed educational curriculum in Ethiopia, this university in 16 short years helped Ethiopians to build an educational system that is staffed with native teaching personnel, whose early training in the Jimma school and the college of agriculture has been augmented with master's degrees and doctorates from the finest institutions in America.

Oklahoma State University has set an example for all of us to follow: international students have had a lasting impact upon all university personnel, enriching them with their cultural heritage and deepening the university personnel's understanding of all men's basic humanity.

#### ABSENTEEISM AND THE BACKLOG OF CIVIL CASES IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COURT OF GENERAL SESSIONS

(Mr. GUDE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, an article in yesterday's Washington Daily News dramatized the dilemma of a backlog faced by more than 5,000 persons involved in civil jurisdiction cases in the District of Columbia court of general sessions.

The article indicated that some of this backlog could well be due to prolonged absenteeism on the part of at least one judge. Without passing judgment on the particular instance in question, it should be deemed unacceptable that there be such absenteeism during a time when such a heavy backlog plagues our court system.

President Nixon in his message to Congress on crime in the District of Columbia recommended an increase in the number of judges on the court of general sessions. There is no doubt that this expansion of the bench is gravely needed.

The administration also proposes legislation to increase the effectiveness by revamping the court system. To this end I am sure it will give support to the ten-



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heavy tax burden is not the means. Such proposals as the "temporary" surtax have a way of becoming permanent, and the tax dilemma, especially for the middle- and low-income brackets, becomes a particularly critical burden.

It is the low- and middle-income salaried individual who cannot deduct "business expenses" who suffers under our tax system. It is time that the wealthy and the well-heeled businessman pays his fair share.

Mr. Speaker, the answer lies in sharing the burden so that those who can afford it will pay an equitable share of taxes. These particularly well-heeled elements of our society have found nontaxable but certain profitmaking means of deploying their wealth under the existing provisions of our tax structure.

The proposal I offer today would establish a graduated scale of tax rates on the entire gross income of every individual. The tax table would be as follows:

If the defined income is:	The minimum tax is:
Not over \$10,000	0
Over \$10,000 but not over \$20,000	5% of the excess over \$10,000
Over \$20,000 but not over \$30,000	\$500 plus 10% of the excess over \$20,000
Over \$30,000 but not over \$40,000	\$1,500 plus 15% of the excess over \$30,000
Over \$40,000	\$3,000 plus 20% of the excess over \$40,000

In my view this kind of a graduated system would be the most fair. It would help shift the presently unbalanced payment schedule and provide some relief for the overtaxation of the low- and middle-income tax bracket.

An editorial in the Washington Post of February 12, "Time Has Come for Tax Reform," in stressing tax assistance for the low and middle income, cites the importance of tapping the elusive big incomes which now go untaxed:

The Treasury experts found that "many persons with incomes of \$1 million or more actually pay the same effective rate of tax as do persons with incomes only one-fiftieth as large."

The Treasury Department in its exhaustive study on tax reform, has proposed a minimum tax to correct this deficiency in the law.

Tax reform is something we have all talked long and hard about, and the hour has long passed that action should be taken. Perhaps now we will do something about it.

#### FEDERALLY CHARTERED BANKS IMMUNE FROM STATE AND LOCAL TAXES

(Mr. PODELL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, the U.S. Supreme Court decision last June held that federally chartered banks were found to be immune from State and local taxes.

Yesterday the highest court in the State of New York, the court of appeals, also held that all federally chartered banks in the State of New York were

immune from sales taxes, and nondiscriminatory use taxes.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure you are well aware that this has cost some \$30 million to \$40 million in States revenue from the national banks throughout the United States.

I have introduced legislation which will remove the immunity of federally chartered institutions from State sales taxes.

I shall shortly furnish the Members of the House with a report setting forth the results of the survey I have taken together with my findings as a result of the informal public hearings. I think it is important that I alert my colleagues to the urgency of this problem particularly at a time when there has been a sharp acceleration of State expenditures and we find that our States have already reached tax capacity.

This discriminatory practice of affording immunity to national banks must be stopped. I hope I can have the support of my colleagues.

#### THE TFX—AN ATROCITY PERPETRATED UPON AMERICA'S TAXPAYERS

(Mr. PODELL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Post of February 14 informs us that another TFX has crashed somewhere in Nevada. This was a scheduled 3-hour flight of about 750 miles. The \$6 million aircraft carried two decorated flyers, both veterans of Vietnam.

Eleven of these so-called bombers have crashed in this country and Asia since the dual-service craft was put into operation in 1967.

I have long wished to express myself in regard to this flying deathtrap that an embarrassed Pentagon and a criminally liable corporation have foisted upon an unsuspecting taxpaying public. This plane is such a complete disaster as to now reach the exalted status of a national scandal.

Years have gone by. Billions have been spent. The Soviets have already put two generations of better aircraft into the air from their drawing boards. We are still making excuses for this airborne coffin, loaded down with gadgets designed to "revolutionize" warfare.

Incredible that the Congress and public have remained quiet for so long. Here we see more vividly with each passing day or crash that it is an utter disaster. Yet each time the Pentagon, the five-sided fairy-tale factory across the Potomac, coos sweetly into our ear that every day in every way the F-111A is getting better and better. It will cure cancer next, I suppose. It will do everything except perform its claimed and assigned combat duties and missions.

According to the Pentagon the TFX is about to replace any and all weapons systems devised for air combat since the days of the Renaissance geniuses. It will perhaps walk on water next. But it will not do what it was designed to do.

Mr. Speaker, the TFX is a fraud, a disaster and a grisly monument to all

that is evil in the military-industrial complex. Brave men have died flying it, struck down because an American manufacturer cannot turn out an effective piece of hardware. Struck down after the foe in Vietnam failed, because the Pentagon refuses to admit that this plane is a shocking failure and that its own judgment was faulty.

Whenever anyone dares to criticize this gargantuan cropper, reams of press releases pour forth from the criminally liable corporation and the Pentagon. I have but one response to them. After years and billions of dollars and dozens of lives, this plane is a piece of trash, unworthy of being deployed for combat missions in Vietnam; unworthy of being used in any overseas area of American military responsibility and even incapable of making 750-mile, 3-hour training flights with America's top pilots aboard.

If the criminally liable corporation and the Pentagon can prove me wrong as of this writing, I will retract this statement on the floor of the House. I expect that this will happen when someone unties the Belt of Orion. Or when corporations such as the criminally liable one can produce a working piece of hardware in return for the money almost stolen from the public. Or when elephants roost on rosebushes or the Pentagon admits mistakes. Or when the M-16 is as good as the Russian assault rifle being used in Vietnam. Or when cows give beer.

The TFX, Mr. Speaker, is a disaster. A colossal abuse of taxpayer dollars and Government effort. A blood-tinged stain upon our country.

#### ME ARAB TERRORISTS ATTACK UNARMED ISRAELI AIRLINER

(Mr. PODELL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, again Arab terrorists have attacked an unarmed Israel airliner at an international airport in a neutral country. El Al was simply utilizing its right to pursue a mission of peaceful international trade and travel, utilizing airways. It is that free right to use any international mode of movement that has been challenged through use of terror. All international carriers of any kind are in potential jeopardy through the setting of such precedents. Peaceful pursuit of any goal via international land, sea, and air travel could be compromised.

What if tomorrow Biafra decided to attack Nigerian aircraft at London Airport? Suppose Pakistan sends raiders to shoot up an Indian passenger plane in Istanbul? Or perhaps it will be native guerrillas from Portugal's colonies attacking a Portuguese airliner in Rome? Will the Catholic Irish of the south move against a plane flying out of Ulster? Perhaps next it will be emigres from the Soviet Union using machineguns on an Aeroflot craft. Nothing is too farfetched once precedents have been set.

Yet the world watches calmly while the rights of one small nation to use in-

ternational air routes are abrogated with impunity by assassins and religious bigots who seek to persecute the Jewish people to death and extinction. The Arabs are inheritors of Hitler's goals.

Already U Thant, has made a few perfunctory blubbering protestations of indignation. They were uttered in one breath, while with the other he swiftly stated his hope that the Israelis would refrain from retaliation.

Mr. Speaker, my contempt for those who will press for Israeli forbearance far exceeds my disdain of the fedayeen. All over the world there will appear statement after statement deploring, condemning, and bewailing. Reams of newspaper will be expended bemoaning the Swiss incident. Airways will pulsate with breast beatings about the horror of it all. The perfunctory shredding of garments in Foggy Bottom will be as futile and hypocritical as U Thant's bleatings. It is all useless.

Mr. Speaker, the entire principle of free utilization of the world's airways and sealanes is at stake here. What is being done to Israel will be done to others in the future, utilizing these barbaric acts of senseless bloodshed against peaceful civilian travelers as precedents.

A few weeks ago, Iraq barbarically murdered 14 of her citizens. Nine were Jews. They were executed because of their faith in a manner the Inquisition would have found admirable. The world raged. Israel withheld its hand. What does the world propose that Israel do now? Hand a laurel garland to the terrorists?

Mr. Speaker, the U.N. is an international joke. No one will defend Israel but her own strong hand. She has the right to act in accordance with her international interests. When she strikes to prevent further acts of this kind, I for one do not intend to condemn her, beat my breast in moral outrage or call for improbable solutions to matter-of-fact situations.

#### SELECTION OF PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEES

(Mr. ECKHARDT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ECKHARDT. Mr. Speaker, I shall introduce next week a bill on the democratic selection of presidential nominees. The bill is addressed to the same proposition as that dealt with in the Hughes Commission report which was placed in the Record on October 15, 1968, page E9172, by the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. FRASER). I invite comment from my colleagues, and after considering such, I should like to prepare a bill which some of them might wish to join. The bill will be introduced on Thursday of next week. Please notify me if you feel you may be interested in cosponsoring it. The tentative draft is as follows:

A bill to suspend the equal time requirements of section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934 for certain candidates for nomination to the office of President, to provide for television debates for such candidates, and to afford the States a uniform means of selecting and instructing delegates to the presidential conventions of the major political parties to the end that the people will be more directly and equitably represented in the selection of party candidates, that the political processes of the Nation will be more orderly, meaningful, and informative, and that the inordinately high cost of seeking presidential nomination will be reduced.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Television Debate and Presidential Nominee Selection Act of 1969."*

#### TITLE I—SUSPENSION OF SECTION 315 OF COMMUNICATIONS ACT OF 1934

SEC. 101. That part of section 315(a) of the Communications Act of 1934 which requires any licensee of a broadcast station who permits any person who is a legally qualified candidate for any public office to use a broadcasting station to afford equal opportunities to all other such candidates for that office in the use of such broadcasting station, is suspended with respect to the use of a broadcasting station by a candidate for a political party's nomination for President or by a candidate for the office of President in a television program conducted under the provisions of this Act. Nothing in this section shall be construed as relieving broadcasters from the obligation imposed upon them under the Communications Act of 1934 to operate in the public interest.

#### TITLE II—TELEVISION COVERAGE ASSISTANCE

SEC. 201. FINDINGS AND PURPOSE.—(a) Congress finds that there is presently too little effective political communication between presidential candidates and voters in the nature of debate and presentation of issues. Therefore, to promote the public welfare and to improve the democratic processes of nomination and election to the Presidency, it is essential to recognize the airwaves as part of the public domain, and to reserve television time for dialog on public issues between presidential candidates.

(b) In the construction and implementation of this title, Congress directs that regard be had to its overall objectives, the fair and equitable administration of the programs provided for, without favor to any candidate, and with the sole purpose of informing the public as fully as possible on the qualities and positions of each candidate.

SEC. 202. POLITICAL PARTIES ELIGIBLE TO PARTICIPATE.—In order to qualify for participation in nationwide televised debates pursuant to this title, a political party must be a qualified political party under the laws of three-fourths of the States having presidential primary or convention statutes approved by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to the provisions of this Act.

SEC. 203. COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC DEBATE.—(a) There is hereby created a Committee on Public Debate to consist of a Chairman and four other members to be appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate. Each member shall serve for a term of five years except that (1) the four members first appointed (other than the Chairman) shall serve for terms of one, two, three and four years, respectively, and (2) any member may serve after the expiration

of his term until his successor has qualified. It is the desire of Congress that the President appoint to this Committee citizens of distinction and proven expertise in judging the effectiveness and fairness of modes of public information with respect to candidates for nomination for the Presidency, as for instance, distinguished persons from the academic, scientific, or journalistic fields.

(b) It shall be the continuing duty of the Committee to—

(1) study possible modes of operating the machinery provided in this title, and possible alternatives thereto, and to report from time to time to the President and to Congress on the results of such study;

(2) cooperate with the Federal Communications Commission with respect to the duties mandated to that agency by this title; and

(3) evaluate the particular mode of implementing this title chosen and followed by the Commission, suggesting improvements to that agency while the work is in progress, and reporting to Congress finally on the efficacy and fairness of the operation of this title with respect to the presidential nominating process.

(c) The first meeting of the Committee shall be called on sufficient notice by its Chairman, promptly after the enactment of this Act, and meetings shall be held thereafter, on call by the Committee at its last meeting or by the Chairman, at such times and at such intervals as may be required in order that the Committee may perform effectively the duties given it in the preceding subsection.

SEC. 204. PERSONNEL.—The Committee is authorized to provide for a staff for the Committee, and to promulgate duties and establish salaries for the members of such staff.

SEC. 205. DEBATES AMONG CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION.—(a) The Commission shall administer this section and section 206 of this title.

(b) The duties of the Commission, with respect to the operation of this title, shall be as follows:

(1) The Commission shall determine, no later than the 31st day of May of each presidential election year, the political parties which have met the requirements of section 202 and shall commence the process of determining who are the leading presidential candidates of each such political party. Such leading candidates shall be selected as follows:

(A) The Commission shall select not more than four nor less than two reliable opinion polling agencies sampling national public opinion.

(B) The Commission shall then select or obtain polls conducted by each of the polling agencies chosen representing an accurate measure of the preference of the voters of a party for the candidate for the nomination of such party for President expressed as a percentage of all persons of the party polled, other than those who are undecided.

(c) The Commission shall then take the average of the polls in order to determine the average percentage of preference for each candidate for the nomination of each party and shall eliminate any candidate having an average percentage of preference of less than two percent within his respective party.

(D) (1) After the Commission has determined the candidates, it shall forthwith notify each such candidate to that effect by the most expeditious means of communication and shall advise such candidate that, unless he requests that his name not be used, his name will be included in the television debates under this section.

promotional antics of the few who have appointed themselves arbiters of mine safety standards.

If there is one common denominator among the pending mine safety proposals it is the fact that they all lean heavily on the regulation-enforcement-prosecution process. Pending proposals call for enforcement through penalties on the operators, but also for fines levied against the miners themselves, ranging up to \$1,000 for infraction against the new law.

With 6,500 operating mines, we find that the budget for the new fiscal year calls for funds to support less than 300 mine safety inspector positions, and unless we plan to authorize and fund work for several thousand mine inspectors, then we must look elsewhere for the energies to stimulate such a mass compliance and mass education program. In the coalfields, the United Mine Workers of America has the required experience and level of acceptance to do the job. In fact, it is unlikely that any new laws aimed at improving mine safety and health conditions can muster significant impact on present conditions without the active support and dedicated leadership of the United Mine Workers of America as part of its continuing program to improve working conditions in all respects.

The effects of coal mine disasters do not stop with the miner and his family. They are equally disastrous for the union and the operator. They are continuing reminders that conditions must be improved to exert more control over a dangerous environment, and that a careless mistake can be very expensive and totally disruptive for the operator. There is no qualified spokesman for any mining interest who is opposed to safer working conditions, if it can be established that new regulations will mitigate an identified danger without destructive cost increases.

Since there is growing agreement that new safety legislation must come about, we would do well to ask ourselves the purpose behind the recent wave of headline grabbing, and the ugly assertions that neither the operators nor the union really care about safety for the miners. What is the purpose of the effort to sow division and distrust throughout the mining industry?

The situations suggest that they do not want betterment of mine safety conditions, they want exposure for themselves. Like the rioters on our college campuses and in the streets, they are not interested in improved conditions, but only in demonstrations for their own sake.

Under the circumstances we must move to consider the mine safety proposals in committee at the earliest possible date. That is the proper forum for expression of all views. There are medical experts who have taken a stand on both sides of a health controversy. There are experts in all phases of mining who have much to offer us. There are as many unknown as there are known factors to consider. The orderly approach through committee hearings is called for, not a continuing barrage of assertions and unsupported statements.

Meanwhile, let there be a moratorium on silly charges against "the interest," and a pause in the finger pointing at UMWA President Boyle, Vice President George Titler, and their colleagues.

Let us have law, based on fact, and let us define by law what must be done. Having passed a good law, we can be confident that Mr. Boyle, Mr. Titler, and the knowledgeable leadership of the United Mine Workers of America will claim their usual position in the van of a vigorous drive for safer conditions in coal mining.

### ME THE TERRORIST ATTACK ON THE EL-AL AIRCRAFT IN ZURICH, SWITZERLAND

(Mr. FARBSTEIN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, the terrorist attack on the El-Al aircraft as it sat on the runway at Kloten International Airport in Zurich, Switzerland, yesterday can only be considered both cowardly and insane—cowardly because it was again an attack against civilians who have no part in the dispute between the Arab and Israel Governments, and insane because of its possible ramifications.

Now that it is admitted that the terrorist organization that is responsible for this murderous attack—and for the previous attack on another El-Al aircraft on the runway at Athens, Greece, on December 26, 1968—is based in Jordan and the King of Jordan has publicly stated his support for that terrorist organization, will the United Nations, through the Security Council, now act to condemn the Government of Jordan? Or will this attack be called the act of an independent liberation group about which the Jordanian Government disclaims responsibility, or even knowledge. Will the Security Council now pass a resolution looking toward the prevention of similar attacks. I submit the Security Council must fix responsibility on the Government of Jordan from which this terrorist organizations emanates and direct the Government of Jordan to take speedy steps toward liquidating not alone that organization but all such organizations based within its territory.

This is economic warfare aimed at the destruction of the Israeli international air services—it is not a war of belligerent armies. Raids such as these cannot be executed without financial and military support from within the Arab community. The Arab governments which have given support to the terrorists must be called to account for the activities of these clandestine organizations.

It is time for the world to see things as they are—and to place the blame where it belong—on the Arab governments who condone these violent acts of terrorism.

Failure on the part of the United Nations to act promptly may well trigger retaliatory action by the Israelis. How long can a nation's patience be taxed? How long will there be one-sided condemnation? If there is to be equal justice for all nations, then the United Nations

must act promptly and honestly and condemn, not only the terrorist organization's actions but the government of the country which condones—and even assists—them.

### LITHUANIA NEEDS OUR NATION'S HELP

(Mr. MADDEN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the Reverend Ignatius Urbonas, pastor of St. Casimir's Church, of Gary, Ind., on this date, February 19, 1969, was assigned the honor and distinction of officially opening this session of Congress by offering prayer as substitute Chaplain of the House of Representatives.

Reverend Urbonas is one of the leaders of the Lithuanian American Council who is carrying on the campaign to eventually restore freedom to his native land. I wish to incorporate with my remarks a letter I received today from Albert G. Vinick and Peter Indreika, president and chairman, respectively, of the Lithuanian American Council of the Calumet Region. I also include a resolution unanimously passed at their meeting at St. Casimir's Church hall in Gary, Ind., last Sunday.

LITHUANIAN AMERICAN COUNCIL,  
Lake County, Ind., February 16, 1969.

Hon. RAY J. MADDEN,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. MADDEN: The Lithuanian Americans of the Calumet Region, located in the Northwestern part of Indiana, assembled in St. Casimir's Church Hall, 1390 W. 15th Avenue, Gary, Indiana, on Sunday, February 16, 1969, upon presentation and due consideration, unanimously passed the enclosed resolution.

We sincerely thank you for any help that you may give our people, by placing this resolution where it may do the most good.

Sincerely yours,

ALBERT G. VINICK,  
President.  
PETER INDREIKA.

### RESOLUTION

Whereas, in 1940 the Kremlin rulers in conspiracy with Hitlerite Germany and in brutal violation of the international law, invaded Lithuania, and against the will of Lithuanian people, annexed her to the Soviet Union.

Whereas, the people of Lithuania have been and still are suppressed by the most cruel means of Communist dictatorship; her culture is distorted, her industry and agriculture ruined, her youth by thousands every year are shipped to indoctrination camps for further training in communism, and

Whereas, the Soviet dictatorship constantly strives to extend its rule over new territories in Europe, in Asia, and in Africa, and seeks to dominate the whole world,

Therefore, be it resolved, that this gathering of Loyal Americans of Lithuanian descent of Lake County, State of Indiana, calls upon the Government of the United States to stand firm against the expansion of communist imperialism and to do all in its power to prevent further spreading of communism in the free world; be it further

Resolved, that it is our consensus that American leadership in the fight for freedom and peace will be best exerted, by inaugurating strong and dynamic policy aimed not only at preventing further expansion of communist imperialism but also abolishing the fruits of all past Kremlin aggressions and by



February 19, 1969

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE

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**THE SST—A BIZARRE ASSAULT  
UPON GOVERNMENT SOLVENCY  
AND THE QUALITY OF AMERICAN  
LIFE**

(Mr. PODELL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, \$500 million in Government funds has already been thrown away on development of the supersonic plane, or SST. A decision shortly must be made regarding further investment of public money in this project; \$600 million is the sum in question which we shall have to make available if development of the SST is to continue. I wish to place myself vehemently on record as opposed to further investment in this gargantuan piece of nonsense. Have we not had enough of such incredible boondoggles? Are the American people not utterly disgusted with such astronomical strivings based on business greed and prestige rather than on national necessity and meeting of real needs of our people?

We have poured a fortune into a flying deathtrap called the TFX. Already there is talk that the new Lockheed transport is going to soar in price to the point where Government would find it cheaper to buy Lockheed rather than purchase their plane.

Now the SST is proposed and advocated. What is it? A sonic boom across a continent, shattering our windows, solitude, and peace of mind. And the people behind this unbelievable idiosyncrasy demand that Government and the taxpayer subsidize this awful prospect.

People are starving to death in this Nation. Our cities are cesspools of crime, drug addiction, traffic, pollution, and expense. Yet we pour billions down the throats of those who are making it worse, perpetrating such atrocities and who propose to do still more. I say we must stop it.

The SST is as unrealistic in concept and useless in goal as the ABM, foreign aid to our enemies, bigger cars, more cars, the Vietnam tragedy, and orange groves in Greenland. The American public will not subsidize this atrocity.

I pray that the SST be relegated to the junkpile reserved for projects that are nonsensical, useless, and certainly not beneficial to the American national interest.

Aircraft are already in flight which can serve the purposes of the SST, although they will not create a continent-spanning sonic boom. It is my hope that we shall make such craft do the job.

In the meantime, let us put the SST aside and let it collapse quietly as all such projects do when placed strictly upon their merits. How incredible to propose a mode of transport that will get people across a continent faster so they will be able to spend more time in the traffic jams of our cities.

A nation stands or falls on its abilities to ascertain and follow through on national priorities. Placing the SST before ending pollution, mass urban transit, and low-cost housing makes as much sense as trying to obtain light from a cucumber or making a sheep bark.

Mr. Speaker, if we do not unscramble our priorities, our Nation will slide into the abyss. We cannot afford such national stupidities. The Nation demands that we concentrate on the needs of the majority rather than the special interests of the few.

**PROPOSAL BANNING ALL CIGARETTE ADVERTISING ON RADIO AND TELEVISION BY FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION**

(Mr. ABBITT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, on February 5 the Federal Communications Commission proposed the banning of all cigarette advertising on the Nation's radio and television stations.

This is another example of a growing number of instances in which various Federal agencies have attempted to arbitrarily increase their power and extend the scope of their operations.

The announcement by the Federal Communications Commission is clearly outside the jurisdiction which Congress has delegated to that agency and is designed, in my opinion, to intimidate Congress. It is a clear usurpation of congressional authority and I, for one, propose to do everything I can to prevent the FCC or any other agency from arrogating unto itself powers never intended by the very legislative authority which established the regulatory agency.

This is a subject which has received much attention in recent years. The Cigarette Labeling Act which was passed in 1965 after extensive hearings provides information which reflects the proven facts about smoking and health. Proposals are already pending to extend the current law and it is the business of Congress to take whatever legislative action is necessary in keeping with the public interest.

It is not the prerogative of the FCC to take capricious action to prevent manufacturers of cigarettes from advertising—certainly on the basis of the contradictory medical evidence which is now available.

This is more than a health issue; it is a constitutional question. If the Federal Communications Commission can ban cigarette advertising it can also operate to curtail the advertising of other products—and if this can be done, presumably the authority would extend to outright censorship and complete control of the broadcast content of radio and television.

I do not believe that the American people want or will stand for Government control of what they see or hear on the broadcast media. This is the very thing which many of us have striven to prevent under our democratic form of government. The freedom to speak also carries with it the freedom to advertise—unless there is some proven basis that the product in question is a detriment to the health and well-being of the public. Such a basis has not been proven and many Government agencies disagree on the information which is presently available on this subject.

The proposed edict of the FCC that all cigarette advertising should be banned is nothing more than a grasp for power by a Federal agency and exceeds the regulatory functions which Congress has vested in the agency.

The notice of proposed rulemaking is only a first step in bringing about the control which FCC seeks. Either that is the case of the FCC is guilty of incredible gullibility in accepting one set of conclusions in the matter of smoking and health while utterly ignoring other conclusions of perhaps much greater validity. It is up to Congress to step in and call a halt to this before it gets out of hand. It is equally the duty and responsibility of Congress to protect legitimate industry. The latest proposal together with previous actions by the FCC and other agencies have all the earmarks of the grand strategy to destroy an industry. Those who are concerned about the rights of free speech should also be concerned lest the action sought by the FCC is merely a forerunner to complete Government censorship.

**THE COAL MINE SAFETY PROPOSALS**

(Mr. SLACK asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SLACK. Mr. Speaker, many of us who have sponsored proposals to secure stronger mine safety laws have watched events of the past few weeks with consternation.

This is a life-and-death issue for thousands of Americans.

It is not a television spectacular.

It is not a private carriage designed to draw a select few to positions of political prominence.

No miner has died or been crippled underground so that a handful of self-appointed experts can pose dramatically on the public stage as saviors of them all.

But the deadly force of recent mine disasters has directed such attention to the issue that we can say with some certainty the time for remedial legislation has arrived. The public demands it.

And we cannot begin formal consideration of the many pending proposals too soon. The sooner we begin, the quicker we will be able to work out legislation which can be passed, and which can be effective after passage.

The sooner we begin, the quicker we will be able to focus public attention on the facts and shift the emphasis away from the chatterings of the uninformed.

It is my own personal conviction that stronger Federal mine safety legislation alone will not bring completely acceptable conditions of work underground. We must look farther afield for that, and only prolonged research will assure us of suitable end results.

But in the immediate present we can reduce the human risk in mining substantially through the adoption of realistic, enforceable additions to the language of present laws.

As a cosponsor of one such proposal, I am dismayed by the trend of recent publicity—by the callous, heartless, self-

believed they would be, and I am glad to see that they have been proved to be baseless.

The first step is a reasonable one. The assurances given of the continuance of the OEO, of its assured role in the anti-poverty program, and that the war on poverty will continue and will be financed—these stand out as the most critical aspects of the message and should be very reassuring to the country.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR DOMINICK ON THE  
PRESIDENT'S POVERTY MESSAGE

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a statement by the Senator from Colorado (Mr. DOMINICK) be printed at this point in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DOMINICK. The President's message on poverty brings a measure of reassurance to both the general public and the poor.

Change in this area is long overdue, and certainly welcome.

While I have reservations about the future of the Job Corps, I congratulate President Nixon for his decisiveness in moving immediately in some areas of the poverty program, but holding other recommendations in abeyance pending further review.

His statement recognizes and breathes new life into the original congressional intent that the Office of Economic Opportunity was designed for the purpose of innovation, to develop new programs, test them, and once underway, place them with a permanent agency more equipped for their efficient administration.

Under minority sponsorship, we were successful in 1967 in adding an amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act requiring the General Accounting Office to make a full investigation of the poverty program and report to Congress. That report is due next month, and I concur in the wise judgment of the President that legislative recommendations should await the findings of that office.

Let me turn briefly to a program I strongly support—Headstart.

Senators will recall my particular interest in this program, and authorship of the amendment which passed the Senate last year by a vote of two to one transferring it to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Thirty Republican Senators and thirty Democratic Senators expressed the will of the Senate that Headstart be operated by the Office of Education in that Department. When House Democratic conferees, most of whom were absent and represented by proxies, refused to go along, the compromise language requiring the Presidential study was placed in the Vocational Education Act amendments of 1968.

In delegating Headstart to HEW, the President has made clear his intent that community action agencies can continue to be involved in the operation of this program at the local level. This coincides with the intent and express language of the Dominick amendment.

I note that the President States:

"Pending a final decision by the Secretary of HEW on where within the department responsibility for Head Start would be lodged, it will be located directly within the Office of the Secretary."

It is my understanding that guidelines for the operation of Head Start during the one year delegation period commencing July 1, 1969, will be developed by OEO and HEW, and that legislative recommendations to ac-

complish a permanent transfer will be sent to Congress later this spring.

I pledge my full cooperation to the Secretary and to the President during the development and formulation of a final decision as to where Head Start is to be placed in HEW. This is a fine program, and I certainly want to see the full range of its education, health, and welfare services preserved while aiming for greater coordination with our school systems.

I am delighted to support the President's suggestions, and feel this is a significant step in the direction of overcoming the problems with which we have been faced in the past.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I am pleased that the President's message on the Economic Opportunity Act grapples directly with this pressing problem. The President asked to extend the life of the Office of Economic Opportunity, but made it clear that he will ask for views of a wide range of those legislating or administering the poverty program or affected by it, before he makes more detailed recommendations. President Nixon has, in my judgment, made the wisest possible recommendations in this message.

As one who voted for funding OEO in 1968, I am pleased to see that the office is being retained and that it is being evaluated. As one who voted to transfer the Headstart program to the Office of Education within HEW from OEO, I can only applaud the President's move in that direction, and to acclaim his stated reasons for the preliminary steps toward transfer to HEW.

The future of Headstart will be brighter for having all of the related resources of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare at its disposal, under the monitoring eye of the Secretary, Bob Finch, of HEW. I hope that the functioning and scope of the Headstart program can be expanded and made more effective.

Headstart is of particular interest to me. We have seen in Philadelphia, where children younger than the normal Headstart age are included in a program called Get Set, how important the earliest possible involvement of children in such a program can be. Therefore, I was particularly heartened to note that the President, in discussing early childhood development said:

So crucial is the matter of early growth that we must make a national commitment to providing all American children an opportunity for healthful and stimulating development during the first five years of life.

As he pledged himself to that commitment, I am sure Congress will also.

I am personally very persuaded by the logic that Headstart—and hopefully such attendant programs as Get Set—will benefit greatly by association with other child development programs within HEW and with the many research programs through various institutes under the command of HEW.

I accept the President's invitation to make suggestions on Headstart, Get Set, and possibly other programs heretofore administered under the OEO, and I may have more to say on that subject in the near future.

NEW TERRORIST ATTACK ON ISRAELI AIRLINER FURTHER IMPERILS MIDDLE EAST PEACE

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, yesterday's attack by Arab terrorists upon a loaded, fully fueled Israeli commercial airline at Zurich's Kloten Airport—the third such attack in recent months—once again inflames the passions of the Middle East and threatens again to explode the present Arab-Israeli "whisper war" into a full-scale conflagration. Once again, the Arab-Israeli "whisper war" into a the United States and the Soviet Union a step closer to the military confrontation both sides are seeking to avoid in this tortured area.

The gravest mistake the world could now make would be to regard this latest attack on an El Al passenger plane as just another isolated incident in the chain of so-called incidents that have violated the cease-fire agreement negotiated in the Security Council to end the 1967 6-day war.

The world reacted in silence to the Arab attack 2 months ago on the Israeli airliner in Athens, only to find its voice in declarations of outrage over the Israeli retaliatory raid upon Beirut International Airport. This made a very bad impression, because it was so one-sided in adopting the Security Council resolution.

There are two lessons to be learned, in my judgment, from the first incident in Athens. The first lesson is that the Israeli Government regards an attack on its commercial airline as an attack on its major lifeline with the outside world. Surrounded on three sides by enemies and on the fourth side by the sea, Israel must regard threats to the survival of its airline as threats to its survival as a nation.

The second lesson was the December 31 U.N. Security Council resolution, for which the United States voted, which condemned Israel for its attack on empty aircraft in Beirut, but completely ignored the Arab attack in Athens aimed at destroying an Israeli commercial airliner and all its passengers. This U.N. action obviously did nothing to discourage these outrages, because here we have another, again imperiling passengers and wounding six of them, one very seriously.

What is to be done? I suggest the following. The U.N. Security Council must take a hard and realistic look at the attack in Zurich and must be prepared to act rather than react with discriminatory impotence, as it did before. U.N. Secretary General U Thant has thus far limited himself to a denunciation of the terrorist action and an expression of hope that it "will not be followed by an act of retaliation." He has said terrorist attacks should be condemned by all governments if civil aviation is to be saved "from chaos and anarchy." But he is still to reveal what role, if any, he believes the United Nations can play in bringing this about.

Are we to wait again for the Israelis, angered and frustrated by the silence and inaction of this world body, perhaps to strike out with another retaliatory blow?

Or are we ready to confront the Security Council with the full measure of the dilemma of Arab terrorism, including the direct responsibility of the Arab governments for the acts of these terrorist bands?

If we are to have any hope of the Israel Government displaying the restraint asked for by U Thant in the face of this latest attack, we must choose, in my judgment, the course of action of facing the Security Council of the United Nations—and perhaps the General Assembly, if the Security Council will not act—with the situation.

The Israelis must be encouraged to bring their grievance before the Security Council, a body which, incidentally, they now think is a kangaroo court, with six of its 15 seats occupied by nations that do not afford diplomatic recognition to Israel and with a Soviet veto looming over any of its deliberations which might censure any Arab state. If the Security Council proves to be a forum that will not work, then perhaps the General Assembly of the United Nations can do better; and it must be prepared to condemn the Arab governments which give encouragement, financial assistance, and even military training to the terrorist groups.

It must weigh the recent statements of President Nasser and King Hussein in open support of the terrorists against their declarations of seeking a peaceful settlement with Israel. Obviously, a "solution of the Palestine problem," as President Nasser calls it, by illegal terrorist acts, cannot be compatible with sincere peace efforts; and, the support by President Nasser and King Hussein for such acts should be condemned by the United Nations.

The Nixon administration should take the lead both in the U.N. and in the Four Power talks on the Middle East to make an end to terrorist activities an integral part of any move toward peace settlement suggested to Israel and the Arab States.

It is a tense moment in the Middle East and it is growing more intense. Mr. President, the point I make an effort to show today is that we cannot seek to bring about peace between the parties when there are armed attacks by terrorist bands of organized governments which say they want a peaceful solution. The two do not go together. Nobody is being fooled, because the situation is growing more intense every day.

I invite the attention of our Government and the United Nations, of which we are such an important member, to this situation in the hope that perhaps in the General Assembly, if not in the Security Council, some more constructive move can be made than has been made up to now.

#### SENTINEL ANTI-BALLISTIC-MISSILE SYSTEM

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, nearly 2 weeks ago Secretary of Defense Laird announced that all construction work on deploying the Sentinel ABM system would be halted, pending completion of a Pentagon review of our major weapons system. This was heartening news to

those of us who opposed deployment of the Sentinel, for it seemed to indicate a genuine intent to conduct a dispassionate, inclusive, and exhaustive review of the premises underlying the decision to deploy the Sentinel.

From all available indications, however, this review is not dispassionate; not exhaustive; and not inclusive. In fact, the decision to resume construction on Sentinel deployment seems to have already been made, if it was ever seriously in question within the Pentagon. Today's newspapers carry stories, based on a press conference yesterday by Secretary Laird and Deputy Secretary Packard, that deployment of Sentinel is a virtual certainty, although the form of the system may be somewhat different than that previously planned.

I would point out that as far as I am concerned, it is not the form of Sentinel which so concerns me, as much as it is the substance of it. And a review which urges changes in only the form, as an attempt to mollify those of us concerned with the substance, is really no review at all.

Because of my concern that we in the Congress have as much and as accurate information as possible on the Sentinel system, I have asked two very distinguished Americans to organize and prepare a report for me and my colleagues on all aspects of the Sentinel system. For far too many years, we have not had readily available to the public at large anything but the official administration reports on national defense projects. It is high time, I think, that a non-Pentagon report be made generally available.

The two individuals who will organize this report are Dr. Jerome B. Weisner of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Prof. Abram Chayes of Harvard University. Dr. Weisner was formerly the science adviser to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, and Professor Chayes the legal adviser to the Department of State from 1961 to 1964. I think they bring to a study of this type a unique mixture of scientific and foreign relations experience at the highest levels of our Government. Dr. Wiesner and Professor Chayes will be joined in their work by other distinguished experts in the technical and policy fields, and they will have their report prepared in 3 or 4 weeks.

I have previously here in the Senate set out my objections to deployment of the Sentinel system, as have many of my colleagues.

I believe that were we to move ahead with deployment of Sentinel, we would have spent what now appears to be in the neighborhood of \$10 billion—to provide us not with security, but with false security. I do not think that we should commit, now, these sums to the Sentinel system. We should instead continue our research and development efforts, and seek with greater intensity to begin disarmament talks. For the future of the world lies more surely not in more arms stockpiles, but in less; not in more hostility and distrust, but in greater understanding; not in another round in the arms race, but in cooperative efforts to slow down.

I firmly believe that deploying Sentinel

would be a major national error. I shall do what I can to see that it is not deployed.

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Massachusetts yield?

Mr. KENNEDY. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Arizona.

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I have followed with some interest, not on the floor, but through the press, the efforts engaged in by the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts in this whole field of antiballistic missiles.

It may come as some surprise to the Senator to find out that I am not married to either the thin or the thick system, should one be suggested, I am trying to listen to both sides, in order to make up my mind.

From what I have been able to read in the past week about the position of the Air Force on the anti-ballistic-missile system—and I have not heard this officially from the Air Force or from any friends connected with that organization—it seems that their approach might well be one of dropping the protection of our cities and protecting our hardened sites. If that is the suggestion of the Air Force, would that change the Senator's attitude toward an ABM system, whether thin or thick?

Mr. KENNEDY. I think that the principal objections stated and the reservations given in my letter of 2 weeks ago to Secretary Laird, and here today, are that the whole concept should be reviewed by the appropriate committees. The distinguished Chairman of the Armed Services Committee, the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. STENNIS) indicated just about 10 days ago that his committee would have full hearings. I believe also that we should have some judgments in regard to the implications in the field of foreign policy. As the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. STENNIS) pointed out, in the last hearing we had on the Sentinel program, only Administration witnesses were called. Certainly it seems appropriate that other witnesses should be called who can make helpful and useful comments with regard to the total deployment of this weapons system. Certainly it should be an area on which we should gather information.

At noon today, I had an informative luncheon with Mr. George Rathgens, who has recently written for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace an extensive analysis of the whole ABM system. He is generally recognized as one of our experts on this subject. He has sincere reservations about deploying Sentinel for the protection of hardened sites. He says that such protection can be provided more effectively with other defensive weapons systems, and that we really would be buying very little protection for the hardened sites. This would be precisely the kind of thing I would hope Senators could get information on, to find out whether the best and most effective way to provide for the protection of these hardened sites is through Sentinel or some other means.

There are reasonable questions about it. I think all of us would like to have the best judgments we can get, in order to respond to those questions. The Armed Services Committee, through its chair-



long, without fearing the loss of the prospective investor and the 3,000 jobs.

In so far as the State Legislature is concerned, I am pleased to acknowledge that it has done what is necessary to move this redevelopment program to reality. In 1967, and again in 1968, on Home Rule Messages from the Mayor and the City Council, the State Legislature adopted laws giving the City of New York power and authority to develop the Naval Shipyard area. The Resolution before you today simply confirms action we have taken in the past and attests to our continued concern and interest in this problem.

Governor Rockefeller, and Mayor Lindsay are in Washington today meeting with Vice President Agnew, our two United States Senators, and representatives of the Brooklyn Congressional delegation. The Resolution before us now is designed to add our voice to the massive efforts now under way to bring the redevelopment plans for the Naval Shipyard to the point where they can be put into operation. What we have in Brooklyn is a blueprint for progress. I urge adoption of this Resolution, so that the promised economic development and job opportunities may become a reality.

#### RESOLUTION No. 37

Concurrent resolution of the New York State Legislature memorializing Congress to act expeditiously on proposed legislation to transfer title to the property known as the New York Naval Shipyard, in the Borough of Brooklyn, to the city of New York for redevelopment as an industrial park

Whereas, The New York Naval Shipyard, in the Borough of Brooklyn, was closed in June, nineteen hundred sixty-six, and such closing resulted in the loss of ten thousand skilled and well-paying jobs, in the impairment of employment opportunities for others, and adversely affected the economy of the Borough of Brooklyn and of the City and State of New York; and

Whereas, The Legislature of this state has already demonstrated its approval of the redevelopment program by enacting chapters five hundred eighty-two and seven hundred fifty-seven of the laws of nineteen hundred sixty-seven and by enacting chapter ten hundred sixty-one of the laws of nineteen hundred sixty-eight, such laws authorizing and empowering the City of New York to undertake such redevelopment program; and

Whereas, The Mayor of the City of New York, the members of the Board of Estimate, the Governor and concerned departments of the State and City of New York, and the Commerce, Labor and Industry Corporation of Kings (CLICK), a non-profit corporation representing commercial, industrial, labor, community and civic leaders of the Borough of Brooklyn, have jointly developed plans for the redevelopment of the New York Naval Shipyard as an industrial park; and

Whereas, The successful completion of such redevelopment will result in the creation of twenty thousand on-site jobs and an equal number of off-site jobs among vendors supplying materials, goods, and services to industries located on the site; and

Whereas, The creation of such jobs will create employment opportunities for the unemployed, reduce the burdens of welfare costs, and promote the economy of the Borough of Brooklyn, the City and State of New York and of the Nation; and

Whereas, It is essential for the development of the industrial park that the federal government transfer the property as expeditiously as possible to the City of New York at below fair market values; now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, (If the Senate concur), That the Congress be, and hereby is, memorialized to approve as expeditiously as possible proposed legislation to permit the transfer of title to the New York Naval Shipyard to the City of

New York, without cost, for the governmental purpose of redevelopment of such property as an industrial park; and be it further

*Resolved*, (If the Senate concur), That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the Congress of the United States by forwarding one copy thereof to the Secretary of the Senate, one copy to the Clerk of the House of Representatives and one copy to each member of the Congress from the State of New York.

By order of the Assembly.

DONALD A. CAMPBELL,  
Clerk.

### ME CRISIS IN WORLD STRATEGY: PROGRAM FOR THE NEAR EAST

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 17, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the 7-day Arab-Israel war of June 1967, closed the Suez Canal, diverted European shipping around the Cape of Good Hope and disrupted world commerce. Since then, a series of incidents between the Arabs and Israelis has repeatedly emphasized the deadly struggle in that ancient crossroads—a struggle that antedates Alexander the Great.

As stated by General MacArthur in his immortal 1951 address to a joint session of Congress, this struggle is global and so interlocked that to consider the problems of one sector, oblivious to those of another, is but to court disaster for the whole.

As demonstrated by recent events other focal points in the world situation are—First. The Denmark-Alps line in Europe where Soviet forces in 1968 occupied Czechoslovakia and face the forces of NATO nations.

Second. Southeast Asia where the United States is carrying the greatest part of a major war that has already claimed over 37,000 American lives.

Third. Southern Africa, where our own Government has applied mandatory economic sanctions against Rhodesia, thus opening the backdoor to war with South Africa and other countries in that vast area, for which effort the once great Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has prepared a general staff type of war plan.

Fourth. Panama, where officials in one government have jeopardized limited ownership and control of the strategic Canal Zone territory and the Panama Canal in an area of endemic revolution and endless political instability that is acutely vulnerable to Communist revolutionary subversion.

Eminent students of world strategy have written extensively about all of these focal points and some of their commentaries are recorded in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. My statement, "Crisis in World Strategy: An Appraisal," in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 18, 1967, before the Arab-Israel war of that year, is but one example.

The latest contributions to the literature in world strategy are a four-part series of articles by Dan Smoot, an exceptionally able and careful writer, in the January 20 and 27, and February 3 and

10, 1969, issues of the Dan Smoot Report. In these, he presents the key problems of the Near East and offers a realistic plan of action for the United States.

The four indicated articles follow and are commended for study by all Members of the Congress and cognizant officials of the executive branch as well as editors and professors:

[From the Dan Smoot Report, Jan. 20, 1969]

#### ISRAEL—PART I

Palestine is a region of some 10,000 square miles (about the size of New Hampshire) at the southeastern end of the Mediterranean Sea. It is the Canaan or Promised Land to which Moses led the children of Israel who fled from bondage in Egypt. Many centuries passed, however, before the Jews built a strong, national state in Palestine.

For a brief time at the beginning of the 10th century before Christ (during the reign of King David), the Jewish nation included in one dominion all of Palestine (and a little more). But before long, the nation had split into two Hebrew kingdoms: Israel, the larger of the two, occupying most of Palestine north of Jerusalem; and Judah, a diminutive kingdom which included the city of Jerusalem and some contiguous territory. Assyrians conquered the northern kingdom of Israel in 722 B.C. One hundred and thirty-five years later (587 B.C.), Nebuchadnezzar conquered Jerusalem. The Babylonian Captivity began, and the kingdom of Judah vanished.

The Maccabees established a new Jewish nation in Palestine in the second century, B.C., but it lasted only 79 years.

For the next 2000 years, Palestine was a province or protectorate of various empires. Since the 7th century A.D., Palestine has been occupied largely by Arabs.

When the Ottoman Turks captured Egypt in 1517, Palestine became a province of the Ottoman Empire, and remained in that status for four centuries.

In the late 19th century, the Zionist movement emerged in Europe and the U.S. The purpose was to colonize Palestine with Jews from Europe and elsewhere until there would be enough Jews there—controlling the wealth and industry of the land—to create a Jewish nation.

Actual colonization (by a few European Jews, financed by the fabulously wealthy Rothschild family) began in 1883. International political Zionism, as a movement to reclaim Palestine for the establishment of a Jewish state, was formally organized four years later, in 1897. Since then, the movement has been largely financed and directed by American Jews.

Simultaneously with the emergence of Zionism, Arabs in Palestine were developing a strong sense of nationalism, yearning to throw off the Turkish yoke and to establish an independent Arab nation.

At first, there was little conflict between Zionism and Arab nationalism—primarily because an insignificant number of Jews chose to immigrate to Palestine. In 1914, for example, after 31 years of Zionist colonization, 94% of the Palestine population was still Arab.

When World War I began in 1914, Turkey became an ally of Germany. On August 30, 1915, the British promised to support Arab independence for all Arab lands (including Palestine) within the Turkish empire, if Arabs would support Great Britain's war against Turkey. Arabs revolted against Turkish rule on June 5, 1916; and Arab guerrilla forces were organized to support the British military campaign against the Turks.

But the British were also making deals with Jews—not because of any military assistance Jews could give in Palestine, but because of the enormous wealth, power, and

lute our rivers, our lakes, and our water resources.

In the larger perspective in which, at the Governor's urging, we examine the budget, let us not forget that the vast majority of babies born today will witness the dawn of the 21st Century. Our Budget for the next fiscal year is not only a fiscal plan for the year ahead. It is also a blueprint for tomorrow; it sets the framework through which we should see a picture of the kind of heritage we leave for our children and our grandchildren, when they face the brave new world of the 21st Century.

We are an affluent society. Yet there is a malaise in the land. Hunger stalks our land; fear stalks our streets; and remorse stalks our consciences over the rising tide of racial discord and violence. Too many of our youngsters resort to drugs and narcotics to ease the pain of their daily life.

As we glimpse the future, we know that we shall need more rather than less education, to cope with the growing complexities of life and with the needs of a growing technological society. Our people will refuse much longer to suffer the indignities of slum life, the enduring disabilities of inadequate education, maternal and infant mortality rates so high that they demean our society. As we glimpse the future, we know that we shall need more rather than less public services.

As a nation, we spend millions on ballistic missiles, hundreds of millions on anti-ballistic missiles, and billions on anti-anti-ballistic missiles, as if our Nation's security depended on the endless proliferation of prefixes. Certainly we must reorient our priorities, to bring rays of hope to the nation of poor, within our Nation, whose daily lives are circumscribed by an endless struggle for the basic necessities of life—food, clothing, shelter.

In his Budget Message, the Governor called for a program of Federal revenue sharing, in order to preserve the relative competitive position of the individual States, in relation to attracting and retaining industry and commerce. No one can quarrel with the Governor's recommendation.

However, it is also true, that within our State, counties, cities, towns, and villages also compete for commerce and industry. And the State aid to localities programs, at least in part, tended to equalize the relative competitive positions of our local governments. Indeed, the shift of the burden of government costs to property taxation will tend to destroy the relative competitive positions of the localities. I suggest, further, that such a shift to property taxes, will impair the competitive position of the State as a whole. Corporate executives, seeking locations for new plants, are more concerned over property taxes, than they are over most other taxes.

And let us not be blind to the revolt of the homeowner and the business man over increasing property taxes. In recent years, an increasing number of school districts in our State found their school budgets rejected by the people, because the budget required an increase in property taxes. In Youngstown, Ohio, schools were closed for a full month, because of a revolt of the property tax payer. We certainly want no Youngstown in New York.

It is within this context, and from this larger perspective, that the people of our State, through their local public officials, through spokesmen of business, industry, and labor, through civic and community leaders, will make known their views on the Governor's Executive Budget, at legislative hearings next week.

It is my fervent hope, that as a consequence of those hearings, that the Governor and I will not once again share a common disaster.

That would be tragic for both of us. The Governor and I remain of an age, that across the horizon new conquests beckon us. And

we are prepared to face those challenges, with the political skills that so recently failed us.

We all know that the Governor is now busily engaged in making whistle stops to change his image. Before too long, he will no longer be known as High Tax Rocky. We shall soon affectionately call him Skinfint Rocky.

Just the other day, the Governor spoke enviously of how more pleasant things were in Arkansas. Here in New York, the Governor said, we get back only five cents for each dollar the Federal government takes from us. Arkansas gets back three Federal dollars for each dollar in Federal taxes.

As a native, and life-long resident of Brooklyn, I never thought I would see the day when a Rockefeller would find greener grass in another man's field.

But it figured. I discovered that the greener grass in Arkansas belonged to his brother.

There is comfort in all of this for the Governor. He is the only person in the United States who, for 27 months, has his own, private, hand-picked United States Senator. Our Constitution thus makes our Governor the equivalent of half a State. Among his intimates, he is now known as Half-Nelson.

As I leave the rostrum in behalf of the Governor, I trust that this evening, in relation to me, he will be only Half-Hard.

#### TRANSFER OF TITLE OF BROOKLYN NAVY YARD TO CITY OF NEW YORK REQUESTED

**HON. JOHN J. ROONEY**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 17, 1969

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, some 2½ years ago with little regard for fact, history, or consequences of the act, the New York naval shipyard, known as the Brooklyn Navy Yard, was closed by the Department of Defense. Almost 10,000 skilled, loyal workers found themselves looking for other employment. It was, in short, a very tragic time, a bitter time, a time of anger. Bitterness and anger, yes. Despair, no. For the people of Brooklyn refused to quit and together with their elected representatives in the city and State governments and the Congress have fought continually to once again make the navy yard area a productive area.

On January 27, 1969, the distinguished minority leader of the New York State Assembly, the Honorable Stanley Steingut, addressed the State assembly on the navy yard problem. Following his remarks the State assembly and the Senate approved a resolution requesting the Congress "to approve as expeditiously as possible proposed legislation to permit the transfer of title to the New York naval shipyard to the city of New York, without cost, for the governmental purpose of redevelopment of such property as an industrial park."

Under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent, I include the remarks of the Honorable Stanley Steingut and the resolution as approved by the New York State Legislature:

REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE STANLEY STEINGUT

In June, 1966, the New York Naval Shipyard, in the Borough of Brooklyn, was closed

down and declared surplus Federal property. The consequences of the Shipyard closing were tragic for the people of our Borough.

To us it meant the loss of one of our most cherished landmarks and the loss of an institution, almost as old as our Republic, which had served as a vital link in our Nation's defense since 1801.

To ten thousand skilled and trained workers, the closing of the Naval Shipyard resulted in loss of jobs, uprooting their families, and in some cases daily commutation to Philadelphia, for jobs where their skills would be fully employed.

To the people of our City and State, the closing of the Naval Shipyard meant the loss of employment opportunities for the jobless, financial losses to vendors and suppliers of the Shipyard, and economic losses suffered by the community as a whole, when so significant an industrial operation ceases to function.

Monumental efforts were promptly taken to bring new life and vitality into the area. Mayor Lindsay, the Board of Estimate, and his Administration have devoted unstintingly of their time and energies to plan for the redevelopment of the Naval Shipyard, in a manner to best serve the interests of our people. The same is true of Governor Rockefeller and his Administration.

In our own Borough, the Borough of Brooklyn, leaders of commerce, industry, and labor, community and civic and minority group leaders, organized the Commerce, Labor and Industry Corporation of Kings, commonly known as CLICK, to plan for the development of the industrial park, to inspire the interest and investments of commerce and industry in the area, and to insure a flow of manpower into the area for decent jobs, with adequate training programs, to provide for the upward mobility of labor from unskilled and semi-skilled jobs to skilled classifications. CLICK has been officially designated by the Mayor and the Board of Estimate as the agency responsible for the project.

I am among those who initiated the organization of CLICK and I am proud of the progress we have made. Mr. Hilky, and those who have worked with him, have tackled the problem with zeal and imagination. Having worked so hard and diligently on this project for two and a half years, we now can almost see the day when the real, hard work begins—to make a reality of the challenge that has been before us.

This past Friday, Vice President Spiro Agnew and Mayor Lindsay, in a joint conference made public policies of the Nixon Administration to make available surplus Federal properties, at below market values, to permit their development for commerce, industry, and economic expansion. Such a policy is essential for the economic growth of our Nation. Such a policy will bring jobs to the unemployed, reduce mounting welfare costs, and bring a better quality of life to those subsisting at poverty levels.

The Vice-President suggested the possibility that property may be transferred to the City without cost—a prospect whose consummation is devoutly to be wished. The transfer of this property to the City at below market value, or without cost, does not involve a major change in Congressional policy. Surplus Federal properties may, at the present time, be sold at below market value, where the property will be used for park or recreation purposes. All that is necessary is for Congress to give to the war against poverty, to the need for economic growth and expansion, the same National properties which the Congress has long since given to parks and recreation.

The urgency for immediate action is clear. A developer stands ready to invest more than \$50 million dollars to install facilities that will provide 3,000 jobs. We cannot delay too

influence of world Jewry, especially in America.

In November, 1917, the Earl of Balfour, British minister of foreign affairs, issued the Balfour Declaration, giving a British pledge to world Jewry that a "National Home for the Jewish People" would be established in Palestine, with a proviso that the religious and civil rights of other sections of Palestine's population were to be safeguarded. Winston Churchill later (in 1922) asserted that the Balfour Declaration merely intended to support the idea of a Jewish home in Palestine and that the creation of a "wholly Jewish Palestine" was never contemplated. The British also later asserted that their 1915 promise to Arabs did not contemplate Arab political control of Palestine.

Whatever the intent of the British, Arabs helped the British in World War I because they thought they had the British promise to support Arab political control of all Arab lands, including Palestine; and the Zionists considered the Balfour Declaration a promise to support the establishment of a Jewish nation in Palestine.

In December, 1917, British military forces, with the help of Arab guerrillas, wrested Southern Palestine from the Turks. Arab guerrillas were subsequently organized into an Arab national army, which helped the British smash the Turks in 1918. This was the deathblow to the old Turkish empire, and it ended Turkish control of Arab lands.

Following the cessation of military action (October 30, 1918), the British placed the head of the Arab national army in charge of the military administration of Syria and much of the surrounding territory. The British army administered Palestine and adjacent areas.

In 1923, the League of Nations mandated Palestine and Iraq to the British as protectorates, and mandated Syria and Lebanon to the French. The Palestine mandate incorporated the Balfour Declaration, provided for increased Jewish immigration into the country, and stipulated that Jews should be encouraged to settle on the land.

With their technical skills, hard work, and enormous financial support from world Jewry, the Jews, in the relatively limited areas they colonized, accomplished more in a few years (irrigating land, creating industries, building cities) than Arabs had accomplished in centuries.

Arabs—knowing they could not compete with these able and industrious aliens who had almost limitless financial backing from abroad—became hostile. Arabs felt they had been betrayed by the League of Nations. They regarded the alien Jews coming into the Arab homeland as shock troops of Western imperialism, whose intent was to subjugate Arabs in their own land, as they had been subjugated by the Turks for 400 years.

Hostility between Arabs and Jews deepened in the mid-1930's, when nazism in Germany stimulated large-scale Jewish immigration to Palestine. Before 1932, the British mandatory government had never admitted more than about 5000 Jewish immigrants a year. In 1932, 9533 Jewish immigrants were admitted; 30,327 in 1933; 42,359 in 1934; 61,854 in 1935.

The influx of aliens into a small, desert country with a primitive economy created intolerable problems. Between 1936 and 1939, native Arabs staged several rebellions against the mandatory government. Arab guerrillas committed acts of terrorism against Jews, and Jewish guerrillas retaliated in kind.

Hostilities subsided in the latter part of 1939, after the British imposed restrictions on Jewish immigration—and after many of the young militants, both Jews and Arabs, had enlisted in military units under British command to fight nazis in World War II.

On November 3, 1942, the British defeated the Germans at El Alamein in North Africa, thus putting an end to German ambitions in the Middle East. Immediately afterward, a secret Jewish army was formed in Palestine;

and bands of Jewish guerrillas spread death and terror throughout the Arab population. The Jews got their arms and ammunition by thefts from British Middle Eastern forces. Jewish leaders officially expressed disapproval of the lawlessness and terrorism, but did not cooperate in bringing the lawbreakers to justice.

In 1944, both Republican and Democrat parties (bidding for the big Jewish vote in New York) promised U.S. support of the Zionist demand for unrestricted Jewish immigration into Palestine.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt publicly expressed sympathy with certain Zionist aims, but also gave Arabs assurances which they regarded as U.S. commitments not to support any Palestine program objectionable to Arabs.

On March 3, 1945 (after a trip to the Near East), Roosevelt said a Jewish state in Palestine could be established and maintained only by military force. On April 5, Roosevelt wrote a letter to the King of Saudi Arabia, confirming an earlier personal promise that the U.S. would not support the Zionist aim of establishing a Jewish state in Palestine. A week later, Roosevelt died. Within a few days after Harry Truman succeeded to the presidency, the Secretary of State (Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.) briefed him on Palestine.

The position of the U.S. State Department was the same as that of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff—namely, that the oil and strategic location of the Middle East made the area vital to U.S. interests; that Arab governments and populations (totaling more than 100 million people) were traditionally friendly toward the U.S.; that U.S. support of the Zionist program in Palestine would alienate Arabs and drive them into the Soviet orbit. Stettinius warned Truman that Zionists would put heavy pressure on him to support their aims.

The Egyptian prime minister wrote President Truman directly, saying:

"It is greatly to be regretted that persecutions of the Jews in certain European countries . . . should have been seized upon by certain political elements to advance the politico-racial theories of Zionism and to appeal to the world at large for the support of their program. Unfortunately, the brunt of their effort has concentrated on Palestine where the Arabs, who, throughout their history, have shown great tolerance and even hospitality toward the Jews, are the innocent victims. . . . Why . . . one small nation of 1,000,000 people living in a very small territory should be forced to accept in 25 years immigrants of an alien race up to nearly 50 per cent of their own number is hard to understand. . . .

"Now, the guests at the Arab's table are declaring that . . . they are going to bring in large numbers of their kinsmen, take over all of his lands, and rule to suit themselves."

Truman assured the Arabs and his own State Department that he would keep Roosevelt's promises with regard to Palestine. At the same time, he was demanding that the British immediately admit 100,000 European Jews into Palestine.

In his memoirs, Truman says:

"My efforts to persuade the British to relax immigration restrictions in Palestine might have fallen on more receptive ears if it had not been for the increasing acts of terrorism . . . committed [by Jews in] Palestine. . . .

"The Jews themselves . . . [were] making it almost impossible to do anything for them."

Concerning Jewish pressures on him, Truman says:

"I do not think I ever had as much pressure and propaganda aimed at the White House as I had in this instance. The persistence of a few of the extreme Zionist leaders—actuated by political motives and engaging in political threats—disturbed and annoyed me. Some were even suggesting that we

pressure sovereign nations into favorable votes in the General Assembly."

Nonetheless, Truman continued pushing the British to lift restrictions on Jewish immigration into Palestine. He says he acted not in response to Jewish demands, but out of compassion for the suffering of Jewish refugees in Europe who did not want to return to their nations of origin. Truman also says he felt a responsibility to implement the Balfour Declaration of 1917—though he never explains why an American President should be bound by a British promise which the British themselves were denying.

Unable to find a solution satisfactory to Truman, the Jews, and the Arabs, Great Britain eventually referred the Palestine problem to the UN.

On November 29, 1947, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution sponsored by both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. According to the resolution, the British mandate over Palestine was to end not later than August 1, 1948; independent Jewish and Arab states were to be formed not later than October 1, 1948; and an international administration was to be set up for the Jerusalem area.

Meanwhile, terrorism continued in Palestine. The worst incident occurred on April 9, 1948, when a Jewish terrorist band murdered all inhabitants (men, women, and children) of an Arab village near Jerusalem.

Soon thereafter, the British said they would end their mandate and withdraw from Palestine by the middle of May, 1948. A special session of the UN General Assembly was called. The U.S. supported a plan for a UN trusteeship over Palestine; but on May 14, 1948, Zionists proclaimed the State of Israel. Eleven minutes after this proclamation was made in Palestine, the White House in Washington announced U.S. recognition of the new State. The U.S. delegate at the UN was caught still arguing the virtues of the trustee plan when Truman acted.

The day the new state of Israel was proclaimed, the Arab-Israeli war of 1948 began.

Later: Details on the three Arab-Israeli wars since 1948, commentary on contemporary events, and suggestions about what the U.S. should do now.

[From the Dan Smoot Report, Jan. 27, 1969]  
ISRAEL—PART II

(NOTE.—Policies of the U.S. government are responsible, to a considerable degree, for the dangerous situation in Palestine. Unless those policies change, they will eventually get us into a war in the Middle East. This is the second in a series of articles attempting to outline what those policies are, and how they evolved.)

Palestine has been the homeland of Arabs for 2000 years. Throughout the Middle Ages (and afterward), when there was harsh hostility between Christians and Jews in the Christian nations of Europe, Jews and Arabs got along well together. The relatively few Jews who sought refuge in Arab lands were welcome.

No real conflict between Arabs and Jews developed until late in the 19th century, when the movement known as Zionism was formally launched.

Just as many Negroes in the United States have been deceived into supporting the communist-planned civil-rights movement, thinking it was a humanitarian effort to improve the lot of Negroes, many Jews throughout the world have been deceived into supporting Zionism, thinking it was: (1) a humane effort to provide a refuge for persecuted Jews; and (2) a religious movement to establish a national headquarters for the Jewish faith.

Actually, Zionism always has been a political movement, whose purpose was to colonize Palestine with enough alien Jews to take the land away from Arabs and create a Jewish political state.

The Zionist claim, that Palestine is historically Jewish land, rests on the historical



fact that a Jewish nation existed there for a brief period almost 3000 years ago. By the same logic, present descendants of Indians who inhabited the Americas 400 years ago could lay claim to ownership of the entire Western Hemisphere.

The Zionist claim that homeless Jews were entitled to a refuge in Palestine has had strong humanitarian appeal. But what about Arabs who—in almost exactly equivalent numbers—were despoiled of their lands and other property and driven into squalid refuge camps in the process of making Palestine a haven for Jews?

The conflict in Palestine between Zionism and Arab nationalism could never have escalated into its present dangerous importance, without the machinations of political leaders in Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union.

Great Britain started Zionism and Arab nationalism on a collision course during World War I—by promising Arabs political independence in Palestine, while also promising to support the Zionist program for Palestine. Harry Truman engineered the collision in 1948 by supporting the establishment of a Zionist state in the heart of the Arab homeland. The Soviets—by using Arab hatred of Israel and resentment of the United States to promote Soviet expansionist aims in the Middle East—have aggravated the problem into an explosive situation that could shatter the world.

The first Arab-Israeli war began May 14, 1948, when Zionists in Palestine suddenly and unilaterally proclaimed the Jewish state of Israel. Eleven minutes later, a spokesman for President Truman in Washington announced U.S. diplomatic recognition of Israel.<sup>1</sup> Truman was facing a presidential election which few thought he could win. He needed the votes and powerful influence of Jews, especially in the key political state of New York where, in one city alone, at least two million Jews resided. There was no politically important "Arab vote" or "Arab influence" in the United States.

As soon as the state of Israel was proclaimed on May 14, 1948, troops from Egypt, Jordan, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and Saudi Arabia entered Palestine to help the Arabs. They wrested a part of northern Jerusalem and the Jewish quarter of the Old City from the Israelis. The UN Security Council ordered a cease-fire, which went into effect on June 11, 1948. While UN representatives were in Palestine trying to mediate a settlement, the Israelis smuggled in, by air and sea, huge quantities of arms. On July 9, the Israelis suddenly renewed hostilities, and successfully routed the Arabs on all fronts. Thereafter, the Israelis ignored all UN Security Council cease-fire orders that did not suit their immediate needs.<sup>2</sup>

Sporadic fighting continued until January, 1949. A formal armistice agreement was made February 24, 1949. In that first Arab-Israeli war of 1948, about one million Arabs were driven from their homes, their farms, their businesses in Palestine. Most of them took refuge in the Gaza Strip (a narrow piece of desert on the Mediterranean coast) and in other Arab territory, where they and their progeny are still living, in hopeless poverty, surviving on an American dole administered by the United Nations.

Arab refugees—homeless and propertyless, embittered and desperate, and now numbering almost two million—have created grave economic, social, and political problems in the Middle East. They supply the recruits for the *fedayeen*, guerrilla groups that make retaliatory and terroristic raids on Israel. In the smaller Arab nations that have tried to remain pro-Western, and moderate in their attitude toward Israel (Jordan and Lebanon), the *fedayeen* often have more public support, and therefore more strength, than the official governments. They are sometimes beyond the

control of government even in the strongest Arab countries.

The precise boundaries of the state of Israel are not known. A United Nations partition plan of November 29, 1947, assigned 4300 square miles of Palestine for an Arab state, 5700 square miles for a Jewish state. In the 1948 war, Israel seized and kept 1400 square miles of territory that had been assigned to Arabs.<sup>3</sup>

Israel thus annexed almost a third more territory than was allotted to it under the UN partition plan. Egypt took over the Gaza Strip. Jordan annexed the west bank of the Jordan River, including the Old City of Jerusalem. Israel was in possession of the New City of Jerusalem. The UN plan for an internationally administered Jerusalem was dead.

Harry Truman won his election in 1948; but political wars never really end. Congressional elections came up in 1950, and Democrats made another strong bid for Zionist support. In May, 1950, the Truman administration entered a joint agreement with France and England to aid any victim of aggression in the Middle East. This meant, of course, protecting Israel in the possession of Arab territory seized during the 1948 war.

In 1952, both Republican and Democrat parties pledged the American government to defend any Middle Eastern nation against aggression.

On April 10, 1956—continuing crises in the Middle East having come to another crescendo—President Eisenhower announced that the U.S. was "determined to support and assist any nation which might be subjected to . . . aggression [in the Middle East]." At that time, it looked as if the "aggression" would be committed by Arabs trying to take back some of the territory seized from them in 1948.

But a few months later, all went topsy turvy. In July, 1956, Nasser of Egypt nationalized the internationally-owned Suez Canal, and closed it to Israeli shipping. In October, Israel suddenly attacked Egypt, driving deep into the Sinai Peninsula and occupying the Gaza Strip. Great Britain and France joined Israel two days later, attacking Egyptian airfields and making paratroop landings in the Canal Zone.

Clearly, someone was a "victim of aggression," and we were on record to defend any such victim.

Egypt was in the hands of a dictator who was a virtual puppet of our enemy, the Soviet Union. France, Great Britain, and Israel were presumably our best friends; but they had plunged into war, in an area where we had dangerous commitments, without discussing the matter with us or even giving us advance notice. Was Egypt the aggressor for provoking Israel? Or was Israel the aggressor for making a military attack on Egypt?

What should we do?

This hard decision confronted President Eisenhower a few days before the 1956 general election when American voters would decide whether to return him to office or to replace him with Adlai Stevenson; and, at that time, political analysts were predicting the contest would be very close.

Candidate Stevenson spoke on the issue first, saying the U.S. should intervene—on the side of Israel. The public was alarmed at the prospect of American intervention in the Middle Eastern war.

President Eisenhower took his stand on the evening of October 31, 1956, saying:

"The United States was not consulted in any way about any phase of these actions [against Egypt by Israel, Great Britain, and France]. Nor were we informed of them in advance. . . . In the circumstances, . . . there will be no United States involvement in these present hostilities."

That turned the trick in the 1956 elections. Eisenhower won handsomely.

Eventually, France, England, and Israel responded to U.S. and U.N. pressures for a cease-fire. Israel withdrew from the Sinai

Peninsula and the Gaza Strip. The U.N. sent a 6000-man peacekeeping force to patrol the Egyptian side of the 170-mile frontier between Israel and Egypt.<sup>4</sup>

Then, with the election safely behind him, President Eisenhower reached into the pockets of American taxpayers to reward our allies for stopping the war they had started; a \$500 million loan to Great Britain, forgiving an \$83 million interest payment due on previous loans; a promise of oil and other aid to all of Europe to keep it from suffering the consequences of the brief Middle Eastern war.

Soviet influence waxed and American influence waned in the Middle East, following the 1956 war. In an effort presumably intended to retrieve some of the Arab friendship we had lost, President Eisenhower (in January, 1957) asked Congress to approve the Eisenhower Doctrine. This Doctrine (which Congress approved, though public opinion was 9 to 1 against it) was a promise of limitless military aid, including the use of American armed forces (with the proviso that our troops would be under the "overriding authority of the United Nations Security Council"), to any Middle Eastern nation requesting such aid against "overt armed aggression from any nation controlled by international communism."<sup>5</sup>

The 1957 Eisenhower Doctrine did not deter Soviet penetration of the Middle East. Its chief result was a 10-year armaments race. The U.S. helped finance both sides, giving military aid to Israel and Arab Nations.<sup>6</sup> France and England (with American tax money which had been given or lent by our government) also helped finance both sides. The Soviets, pursuing their strategy of encouraging Arab-Israeli hostility to widen the rift between the U.S. and its former Arab friends, gave military aid only to the Arabs.

In 1967, Nasser of Egypt demanded withdrawal of the UN force that had been in Egypt patrolling the Egyptian-Israeli border since the 1956 war. The UN complied. Nasser blustered about closing Suez and the Strait of Tiran (passage to the Gulf of Aqaba) to Israeli shipping, and about an Arab holy war to destroy Israel. The Middle East, heavily armed and fully mobilized, was a tinderbox.

Both sides accuse the other of making the first strike in the 1967 war. Facts indicate that Israel struck first. At any rate, Israel struck, efficiently and furiously, on June 5, 1967, destroying Arab air power on the ground.

In six days, Arab forces were utterly smashed. Israeli casualties were 679 killed, 2563 wounded, 16 captured. Arab casualties were 15,000 killed, 50,000 wounded, 11,500 captured. Of the some \$700 million in military equipment (mostly Soviet) lost by the Arabs, a great deal was not destroyed, but was captured by the Israelis. Israel seized from Syria, Jordan, and Egypt territory four times bigger than the nation of Israel before the 1967 war;<sup>7</sup> and she immediately began building roads linking the conquered Arab lands to Israel, thus giving rather convincing proof of her intention to keep them permanently.<sup>8</sup>

In the 1967 war, Israel brilliantly demonstrated a military principle which all Americans should yearn for their own government to heed: namely if you are going to fight a war, fight it—quickly, fiercely, totally, aiming for nothing less than complete victory at the earliest possible moment.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs*, by Harry S. Truman, Doubleday, 1956, Vol. II, pp. 132-69.

<sup>2</sup> *The Encyclopedia Americana*, 1961 edition.

<sup>3</sup> *U.S. News & World Report*, June 19, 1967, pp. 44-46.

<sup>4</sup> Message to Congress, by Dwight D. Eisenhower, Jan. 5, 1957.

<sup>5</sup> *U.S. News & World Report*, June 26, 1967, p. 23.

<sup>6</sup> *U.S. News & World Report*, June 26, 1967, pp. 11, 26, 27.

<sup>7</sup> *U.S. News & World Report*, Jan. 20, 1969, p. 48.

[From the Dan Smoot Report, Feb. 3, 1969]

### ISRAEL—PART III

Without U.S. political support, the state of Israel probably never could have been created. Without U.S. economic support, Israel probably could not have survived.

U.S. government aid to Israel has totaled about \$1.5 billion in 20 years—which means that Americans have been taxed to provide approximately \$600 for every man, woman, and child presently living in Israel. The federal government also helps Israel economically by granting tax exemption to organizations whose primary purpose is to raise money for Israel from private sources in the U.S. High officials of our government often make speeches at rallies to promote fundraising for Israel.

When the 1967 Arab-Israeli war began, the United Jewish Appeal (which exists to raise money in the U.S. for Israel, and which enjoys federal tax exemption) asked for \$200 million in contributions for Israel. Many individual gifts of \$1 million, and several in six figures, were made immediately. In New York City alone, \$20 million was raised in a day or two; \$3.5 million in Chicago, \$3 million in Philadelphia; \$2.5 million in Boston.<sup>1</sup>

The United Jewish Appeal has raised as much as \$365 million a year for Israel.<sup>2</sup> Most of this money is contributed by wealthy people who deduct the contributions from their federal income taxes. Other Americans must be taxed, of course, to make up the resulting loss of tax revenue for the federal government. The vast annual flow of tax-free money to Israel also adds greatly to the U.S. balance-of-payments deficit, which has created the worst U.S. monetary crisis in this century.

In short, Americans have been very generous to Israel—so generous, in fact, that Israeli leaders seem to think Israel can count on U.S. support even if Israeli actions are embarrassing or damaging to the United States.<sup>3</sup> In a sense, the mighty U.S. has become a captive of the little socialist nation of Israel which our politicians helped create and which the bounty of our people and our government has subsidized.

For example, Israel unilaterally decided to invade Egypt in 1956—knowing this would bring on a long chain of serious consequences for the U.S., but so unconcerned about our reaction that she did not even give us warning.

The most brazen demonstration of Israel's indifference to, or contempt for, U.S. public feeling and U.S. national interests occurred in 1967.

In the spring of that year, when war clouds were darkening over the Middle East, an Israeli official publicly announced that the United States had committed the U.S. Sixth Fleet (based in the Mediterranean) to help Israel. The U.S. denied that any such commitment had been made.<sup>4</sup> This denial made no difference to Arabs. The Israeli statement sounded like the truth to them.

Arab resentment of the United States flared into violence. Mobs stoned and burned U.S. diplomatic facilities. Lives of American tourists and businessmen were in danger. By the first of June, it was apparent that evacuation of some 20,000 American citizens from Arab countries would soon be necessary.

On June 2, 1967, the U.S.S. *Liberty*, a U.S. Navy communications ship, with a crew of 275, left Rota, Spain, bound for the Eastern Mediterranean. Her mission was to assure communications between U.S. government posts in the Middle East and to help with communications problems involved in the massive evacuation of Americans.

While the *Liberty* was enroute, the Arab-Israeli war began, June 5. On June 8, the

*Liberty* was cruising at 5 knots in international waters about 15 miles off the coast of the Sinai Peninsula (Egyptian territory). At about 1:30 p.m., two Israeli jets flew over the *Liberty*, taking a good look at her. Seas were calm. Visibility was practically unlimited. The American flag was flying on the ship, and her name and other identification marks were prominently in view.

At about 2:00 p.m., three Israeli jets made several strafing runs on the *Liberty*, splattering decks and hull with some 821 rocket and cannon hits. The *Liberty* (armed only with four 50-caliber machine guns) never returned the fire. Some crewmen apparently were killed before they could reach their battle stations. About 20 minutes after the strafing, three Israeli patrol boats appeared and attacked the *Liberty* with guns and torpedoes. One torpedo-hit flooded a compartment and drowned 24 crewmen. Total American casualties in the two attacks which lasted about 30 minutes: 34 dead, 75 wounded. Damage to the ship was critical.

Soon after the attack by Israeli patrol boats, another Israeli boat and a helicopter came by and apologized, saying the *Liberty* had been mistaken for an Egyptian ship. Later, the Israeli government formally apologized.

The U.S. government accepted the apology but rejected the explanation that the attack was accidental. On June 10, 1967, the U.S. Defense Department released a statement saying:

"[We] cannot accept an attack upon a clearly marked noncombatant U.S. naval ship in international waters as 'plausible' under any circumstances whatsoever. . . .

"The suggestion that the United States flag was not visible and the implication that the identification markings were in any way inadequate are both unrealistic and inaccurate. The identification markings of U.S. naval vessels have proven satisfactory for international recognition for nearly 200 years."<sup>4</sup>

Obviously, the attack on the *Liberty* was a deliberate decision by some important Israeli officer.

One published account in June 1967, said the Israelis deliberately tried to sink the *Liberty*, knowing it was American, because it had intercepted and recorded messages proving that Israel had started the war with surprise attacks. Israeli and American officials denied this story—on the grounds that it was "unthinkable," because Israel regards the U.S. as her chief ally.<sup>5</sup>

Israeli behavior in 1968, however, suggests the possibility that Israel feels safe in defying her "chief ally" at will—believing that Zionist economic and political influence in the U.S. is strong enough to guarantee U.S. support of Israel regardless of what Israel does.

On December 26, 1968, two Arab terrorists attacked, with hand grenades, an El Al (Israeli) commercial airliner at the airport in Athens, Greece. One Israeli citizen was killed, another wounded. The plane was severely damaged. The terrorists were arrested immediately and jailed in Athens, where they will stand trial under Greek law. The Arabs were carrying leaflets of the Popular Front For the Liberation of Palestine, an Arab commando group (*Jedayeen*) which has offices in several Arab countries, including Lebanon. The Israeli government said the two men traveled to Athens on a commercial airliner which they boarded at Beirut, Lebanon.<sup>6</sup>

There is no indication that Lebanon was responsible in any way for the two men.<sup>6</sup> Apparently, they are not even Lebanese citizens, but are from a camp of refugees driven from their homes in Palestine by the Israelis. In fact, Lebanese and Israeli officials had a meeting the day after the attack on the El Al plane at Athens. The Israelis made no protest about the attack, and said nothing about Lebanese responsibility.<sup>7</sup>

Nonetheless, Israel retaliated against the nation of Lebanon.

On December 28, 1968, a strong detachment of Israeli soldiers, traveling in military helicopters, made a 45-minute raid on the Beirut airport. They inflicted no personal injuries, and sustained none; but they destroyed on the ground all airplanes with Arab markings, after removing from the planes, at gun point, passengers and personnel. Published reports said 13 commercial airplanes (representing half of Lebanon's entire commercial airlines fleet) were destroyed. Eight of the planes belonged to Middle East Airlines (which is partially owned by the U.S. Commodity Credit Corporation, an agency of the U.S. government); two belonged to Lebanese International Airways (55% of whose stock is owned by U.S. shareholders); three belonged to Trans-Mediterranean Airways (owned by Lebanese private interests).<sup>8</sup> Israeli defense minister Moshe Dayan—acknowledging in a TV interview that the Beirut airport raid was an official Israeli army operation—said 14 planes were destroyed.<sup>9</sup> Ownership of the 14th plane has not been disclosed.

The fact that Israel—presumed throughout the world to have a virtually unbreakable hold on United States support, including military support if needed—would attack a sovereign nation, in retaliation for the crimes of two individuals for whom the nation had no responsibility, raises a fearsome possibility: the possibility of some aggressive Israeli action, over which we have no control, involving us in war.

All major powers denounced Israel. The British said the Israeli attack on Beirut airport illustrates a "terrifying trend." The French called it deplorable. The Soviets said Israel should be compelled not only to pay damages, but to punish Israeli personnel who participated in the attack. U.S. Ambassador to the UN, J. R. Wiggins, called the raid on Beirut airport "a most regrettable Israeli action which my government condemns,"<sup>10</sup> saying there is a "difference between the acts of two individual terrorists and those of a sizeable official military force operating under government orders."<sup>10</sup>

Walter W. Rostow, President Johnson's special assistant for national security affairs, said:

"We think it is a grave matter for regular forces of the government of Israel to attack a civil international airport in a country which has been striving toward moderation in the Middle East."<sup>11</sup>

A special session of the UN Security Council was convened Sunday night, December 29, 1968. On December 31, all 14 nations represented (including the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.) voted unanimously to condemn Israel for its "premeditated military action in violation of its obligations under the [UN] charter and the cease-fire resolutions."<sup>12</sup> The resolution of denunciation asserted that Lebanon is entitled to redress for the destruction it suffered, and warned Israel that UN Security Council "would have to consider further steps to give effect to its decisions" if Israel repeats such adventures as the raid on Beirut airport.<sup>13</sup>

The Israelis are contemptuous of UN resolutions. They also show contempt for the United States.

Lebanon, with a population (half Christian, half Moslem) about the size of that of Israel (2.5 million) is traditionally pro-Western,<sup>14</sup> and is America's closest remaining friend in the Arab world.<sup>15</sup> Hence, the Israeli raid on Beirut airport—coming the day after announcement that the U.S. would sell 50 jet fighter aircraft to Israel for \$200 million, and lend her part of the purchase price—was more than an embarrassment to the United States. It was a deliberate affront.

An AP dispatch from Tel Aviv, January 1, 1969, asserts that Israelis generally are boastful that the United States cannot "exert its will on Israel." Israelis proudly point out that "the likelihood of American disapproval did not deter the Israelis" from making the raid on Beirut airport.<sup>16</sup>

Footnotes at end of article.

Outraged public feeling in Lebanon is pushing that once-neutral nation toward the militant Arab groups and their Soviet sponsors; and United States influence in Lebanon is rapidly disappearing—all of which, well informed Lebanese say, is exactly what Israel wants.

Pro-American Lebanese officials believe Israel is determined to alienate the U.S. from the entire Arab world, and to force a U.S. confrontation with the U.S.S.R. over the Middle Eastern problem, feeling that the United States will inevitably take the side of Israel.<sup>12</sup>

Not only among pro-American Lebanese officials, but also inside the U.S. State Department, there is strong opinion that Israel is deliberately using terrorist tactics against moderate Arab regimes in Lebanon, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait, to drive these nations into the Soviet orbit and further away from the U.S. The purpose is to leave the U.S. with only one "client" or "friend" in the Middle East: Israel.

This conviction in the State Department (that Israel's truculent behavior is designed primarily to divest the United States of any remaining vestiges of Arab good will in the Middle East) was very strong following the Israeli attack on the Beirut airport. Influential U.S. officials wanted to cancel all U.S. arms deliveries to Israel. They were restrained from making this decision by President Johnson's orders to leave major policy changes to the incoming Nixon administration.<sup>7</sup>

What should President Nixon do? We will deal with that question next week, when concluding this four-part series of Reports on Israel.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> "From U.S., A Flood Of Aid To Israel," U.S. News & World Report, June 19, 1967, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> The (Flagstaff, Arizona) Sun, Apr. 25, 1968.

<sup>3</sup> The Wall Street Journal, Dec. 31, 1968, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> U.S. News & World Report, June 26, 1967, pp. 33-4.

<sup>5</sup> Time magazine, Jan. 3, 1969, p. 26 and Jan. 10, 1969, p. 27.

<sup>6</sup> The Dallas Morning News, Dec. 30, 1968, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> "Washington Wire," The Wall Street Journal, Jan. 10, 1969, p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Mike Wallace interview with Moshe Dayan, on the CBS 60 Minutes tv program, broadcast Jan. 21, 1969.

<sup>9</sup> Editorial, The Dallas Times Herald, Dec. 31, 1968.

<sup>10</sup> The Dallas Morning News, Jan. 1, 1969, p. A4.

<sup>11</sup> Extension of Remarks of U.S. Rep. John Rarick, Congressional Record (daily), Jan. 6, 1969, pp. E50-1.

<sup>12</sup> "Frictions With Israel Push Lebanon Toward Aggressive New Policy," The Wall Street Journal, Jan. 14, 1969, pp. 1, 10.

[From the Dan Smoot Report, Feb. 10, 1969]  
ISRAEL—PART IV

Israel and the Soviet Union display bristling hostility toward each other, while the U.S. and Israel are still regarded as inseparable friends. Yet, there is more ideological and cultural kinship between Israel and the Soviet Union than between Israel and the United States.

Though our government has been socializing the U.S. economy (in violation of our Constitution), our government officials still pay lip service to "free enterprise." A preponderant majority of Americans (though accepting socialism under false labels) are emotionally and historically committed to a free-enterprise economy. They reject the idea of converting America into a socialist state. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, is historically and ideologically committed to socialism. So is Israel. Most of Israel's agricultural production is on collective farms like

the collective farms of communist China and the Soviet Union. Indeed, many entire settlements in Israel are communal communities of the type which is the ideal and ultimate goal of communism.

Concerning the cultural kinship between the Soviet Union and Israel, note this important fact: in recent years, European (or Western) Jews have been leaving Israel in significant numbers. Simultaneously, there has been an influx into Israel of oriental Jews (sometimes called "Arab" Jews).<sup>1</sup> Today, in Israel, oriental Jews (whose cultural roots are in the East, as Russia's are), outnumber European Jews (whose cultural roots are in the West, as America's are).

The historical record shows that American Presidents have been pro-Israel ever since Israel came into existence. President Truman's role in helping create the state of Israel, in defiance of the counsel of his own diplomatic and military advisers, is well known. Recently (January 5, 1969), on a nationwide tv broadcast, Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield said "Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy indicated that we have a moral and emotional commitment to Israel."<sup>2</sup>

There can be no doubt about President Johnson's pro-Israel bias. When the 1967 Arab-Israeli war erupted, a U.S. State Department official said the U.S. attitude was "neutral in thought, word, and deed." This aroused the ire of President Johnson, who did not try to conceal his bias toward Israel.<sup>3</sup> Johnson would have ordered military action on the side of Israel in the 1967 war, if Israel had appeared to be losing. Hence, the quick Israeli victory, obviating need for U.S. intervention, pleased the President.<sup>3</sup> After the 1967 war, Johnson supported Israel's position that there should be no Israeli withdrawal from conquered territory until secure and recognized boundaries were established.<sup>4</sup> It was Johnson who asked congressional authorization for the sale of 50 jet fighters to Israel to replace planes lost or damaged in the 1967 war. Hubert Humphrey, as a spokesman for the Johnson administration, was aggressively pro-Israel.

Between the 1956 and 1967 Arab-Israeli wars, the Soviet Union gave a huge quantity of aid to Arab countries; and so did the U.S. (\$3.4 billion in U.S. economic aid to Arabs; \$300 million in military aid).<sup>5</sup> But the *per capita* aid which the U.S. government gave Israel in the 1956-1967 period was at least seven times greater than the *per capita* aid it gave Arab countries.

Clearly, in the eyes of the world, the opposing sides in the 1967 war were "client" states: Israel, client of the U.S.; Arab nations, clients of the U.S.S.R.

At first glance, the Soviet Union may seem to have been on the losing side: Arabs were shattered, with humiliating ease and speed. Yet, when the war ended, the Soviets were nearer than ever before to one of their most cherished goals in the Middle East—eliminating American influence in the Arab world, establishing Soviet dominance.

There has been speculation that the Soviets encouraged Egyptian bluster and truculence to give Israel provocation for initiating the 1967 war—to increase Egyptian dependence on the Soviet Union. At any rate, Soviet influence on Egypt did become much stronger after the 1967 war. One significant result is that the Soviet Navy now has Mediterranean bases in Egyptian ports—an ancient Russian ambition which previous communist leaders and the czars before them were never able to realize.<sup>7</sup>

The Israeli raid on Beirut airport (December 28, 1968) brought more significant gain for the Soviets in the Middle East, loss for the United States. On January 2, 1969, for example, the Lebanese cabinet decided to admit Soviet Navy ships to Lebanese ports upon request, but ruled that U.S. naval ves-

sels would no longer be welcome—because of the U.S. sale of jet fighters to Israel. This was a sharp reversal of Lebanese policy, which theretofore had been distinctly more friendly to the U.S. than to the Soviets.<sup>8</sup>

Behold, then, this strange situation: Israel and the Soviet Union, while excommunicating each other with harsh words, are pursuing a common objective in the Middle East: to isolate all Arab countries from the United States and drive them into the Soviet orbit.

The U.S. government's attitude toward the Middle East armaments race is equally strange. On December 27, 1968, U.S. officials announced that 50 jet fighters would be sold to Israel. On December 28, Israeli airborne troops raided the Beirut airport. On December 29, U.S. officials denounced Israel for the Beirut raid. On December 30, U.S. military sources said they expect the Soviets to sell Egypt 200 more jet fighters, and to make other arms deals with Arab states, as a result of the U.S. sale of jets to Israel.<sup>9</sup> And on December 30, 1968, the U.S. government issued a plea for Middle Eastern disarmament.<sup>10</sup>

What will President Nixon do about the Middle East? At present, it is hard to tell.

The 1968 Republican Party platform said: "In the tinderbox of the Middle East . . . we will seek an end to the arms race through international agreement and the stationing of peacekeeping forces of the United Nations in areas of severe tension . . . ."

"Nevertheless, the Soviets persist in building an imbalance of military forces in this region. The fact of a growing menace to Israel is undeniable. Her forces must be kept at a commensurate strength both for her protection and to help keep the peace of the area. The United States, therefore, will provide countervailing help to Israel, such as supersonic fighters, as necessary for these purposes."<sup>11</sup>

During the 1968 campaign, Richard Nixon sounded even more pro-Israel than Lyndon Johnson. Speaking to B'nai B'rith, Nixon promised military aid to "tip the balance" of Middle Eastern military power in Israel's favor. This Nixon promise was intended not only as a bid for Zionist political support, but also as an effort to eliminate the hostility of the news media, most of which is pro-Israel.<sup>12</sup>

Having squeaked through to victory, without Zionist support, Nixon apparently tried to back off a bit from his promise to help Israel achieve military superiority over the Arabs.<sup>13</sup> Nixon's emissary to the Middle East, William Scranton, came home saying the U.S. should pursue a more "even-handed" policy in the area—that is, a policy less partial to Israel.<sup>13</sup>

Zionists howled; and Nixon tried to placate them by granting a much-publicized interview with Moshe Dayan, Israeli defense minister. Prior to that, the President-elect had stood firm on the position that he would see no foreign leaders until after his inauguration.<sup>13</sup>

What should President Nixon do about the Middle East?

There is really only one safe and sensible way out of the harassing dilemmas which our political leadership has created for us in the Middle East and elsewhere—and that is, to return, as quickly as possible, to the policy of benign neutrality which George Washington recommended in his Farewell Address and which this nation followed for more than a century. Neither give offense to other nations, nor take any. Neither grant special favors to a foreign nation, nor expect any. Show partiality to none. Sternly reject all foreign influence on American policy, whether exerted from within or from without. Keep our government out of the wars, revolutions, and political turmoil of other countries. We have enough problems of our own.

It was tragically wrong for us to get involved in the Middle Eastern mess in the

Footnotes at end of article.



first place. But, having made the error, must we perpetuate it? We are so deeply involved now that we probably should not instantly wash our hands of the problem. We could and should, however, immediately stop all direct U.S. government intervention in the Middle East. Specifically, the U.S. government: should officially declare its neutrality in the Middle East and strictly observe neutrality in deed and word; should stop giving aid of any kind to Arab nations and to Israel; should stop the sale of the 60 jet fighters to Israel, and prohibit any other sales of armaments either to Israel or to Arab countries; should eliminate the privilege of tax exemption for any organization that collects funds in the U.S. for transfer to Israel or to Arab countries, and take any other steps necessary to prohibit the flow of tax-free private funds from the U.S. to Israel or from the U.S. to Arab countries.

While withdrawing from direct intervention, the U.S. should work diplomatically for a solution to dangerous Middle Eastern problems which our meddling helped create. Our efforts should be made through traditional diplomacy, and not through the United Nations, because the UN is worse than useless as a means of solving international problems and settling international disputes.

Our diplomacy should be aimed at the accomplishment of a three-point program:

(1) The historical boundaries of the land known as Palestine prior to the creation of the state of Israel should be identified; and a new political state, with dominion over the entire area, should be created. It should not be a Jewish-governed state, or a Christian-governed state, or a Moslem-governed state, or any other kind of theocratic state, which is an anachronism in our time. It should be a state ruled by a representative government, answerable to all inhabitants, of whatever creed, who qualify as voters.

(2) The property and other rights of all present inhabitants of Palestine should be scrupulously protected.

(3) All Palestinians—Moslem, Christian, Jew, or otherwise—who have been driven from their homelands as a consequence of Arab-Israeli conflicts should be repatriated and indemnified for loss of property. The indemnification should be determined and provided by the government of the new nation of Palestine.

That program, if accomplished, might achieve a just and enduring peace in the Middle East.

The people and governments of the area may not respond to U.S. diplomatic pressures and leadership toward accomplishing such a program. The hatreds and entrenched interests may be so deeply rooted that no fair and sensible program can be adopted.

But our government should try, because its previous actions have given it a responsibility. If, in the end, all U.S. efforts fail, we can at least get out with good conscience.

Would American neutrality ease and speed communist control of all Arab states? No one knows; but we do know that American intervention in the Middle East turned the once-friendly Arabs away from us, and toward our deadliest enemy.

Though Arab states, like Israel, have adopted the subtle form of communism called *socialism*, undisguised communism is repugnant to most Arabs, because it is openly atheistic; and most Arabs are Moslems. Generally, Moslems are such militant fighters for their religious faith that they scorn close alliance with atheists. This condition is reflected by the fact that the Communist Party is still outlawed in most Arab countries, despite the vast amount of aid they have received from the Soviets.<sup>14</sup>

Arab bitterness toward the United States for its role in helping carve a Zionist state from the heart of the Arab homeland made

it possible for procommunist dictators like Nasser to push the Arab world into the Soviet orbit—during the very period when Arabs were receiving even more aid from the U.S. than from the Soviets.

From the record, it is plausible to assume that communist influence in the Arab world would decline, rather than grow, if the United States adopted a clear policy of impartial non-intervention.

But (plausibilities and assumptions aside) the important thing is to get the U.S. out of all treaties, agreements, and programs with inherent possibility of involving us in a Middle Eastern war—before the desert sands are red with American blood.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Human Events, Dec. 28, 1968, p. 13

<sup>2</sup> AP dispatch from Washington, The Dallas Morning News, Jan. 6, 1969, p. A4

<sup>3</sup> U.S. News & World Report, June 26, 1967, p. 34

<sup>4</sup> The Dallas Morning News, Jan. 1, 1969, p. A4

<sup>5</sup> U.S. News & World Report, June 26, 1967, p. 28

<sup>6</sup> U.S. News & World Report, June 19, 1967, p. 28

<sup>7</sup> "Intelligence Report," Parade, Dec. 17, 1967, p. 5

<sup>8</sup> Extension of Remarks of U.S. Rep. John Rarick, Congressional Record (daily), Jan. 6, 1969, p. E50

<sup>9</sup> The Dallas Morning News, Dec. 31, 1968, p. A3

<sup>10</sup> The Dallas Times Herald, Dec. 30, 1968, p. A1.

<sup>11</sup> 1968 Congressional Quarterly Almanac, p. 994

<sup>12</sup> "Israeli Overkill?," National Review, Jan. 14, 1969, p. 15

<sup>13</sup> Time magazine, Jan. 3, 1969

<sup>14</sup> "Middle East: Tom Anderson Reports From the Scene," American Opinion, February, 1969, p. 48

## U.S. PASSENGER SHIPS: CAN THEY BE SAVED?

HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 18, 1969

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, the restoration of health to the American-flag passenger fleet is a matter of concern to all of us interested in maritime affairs. As a long-time member of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, I have been worried about the steady decline of the U.S. passenger ship fleet. While the passenger ships of other nations—most particularly of Russia—increase in number, ours has shrunk. The flourishing cruise trade operating throughout the Caribbean out of Miami consists totally, for instance, of foreign-flag ships. In recent days the S.S. *Independence* has been laid up and the company that operates her is seeking permission of the U.S. Maritime Board to abandon passenger operations altogether.

There is, however, a ray of hope on the horizon. Negotiations are going on to consolidate three U.S. passenger ship operations into one so that five major American-flag ships can be kept afloat. The National Maritime Union and its President Joseph Curran have been participating in these important negotiations. In the current issue of the NMU publication, the *Pilot*, there is an excellent ac-

count of the discussions currently in progress. I insert this article in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks:

**CONSOLIDATION OF U.S.-FLAG PASSENGER FLEET MAKES PROGRESS—NMU PLAYS AN ACTIVE ROLE IN HIGH LEVEL DISCUSSIONS; UNION HOPES THAT CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS WILL WORK OUT**

A major move to save the American-flag passenger fleet through establishment of an independent company that would consolidate operations is making progress.

The new company would operate five ships currently belonging to United States Lines, Moore-McCormack and American Export Isbrandtsen. The five ships are the SS *United States*, *Constitution*, *Independence*, *Argentina* and *Brasil*.

#### NMU PARTICIPATES

Vice President Mel Barisic and the National Maritime Union have been participating in the high-level discussions that are directed toward the retention of United States passenger shipping. The discussions have been taking place with officials of the present Maritime Administration, the three companies and the National Maritime Union and other maritime unions.

The new company, Curran pointed out, would help cut the disproportionately high administrative cost and general overhead expenditures that have seriously hampered American-flag passenger shipping. It also would, he said, lead to improved passenger facilities in New York City, refurbishment of the five ships to make space more salable, and more flexibility for the ships to compete both for regular service and in the cruise trade.

#### EXTREMELY HOPEFUL

Curran said that he was "extremely hopeful" that the current negotiations would be successful. "By all odds, U.S. passenger ship service should not be allowed to disappear from the American scene or in competitive world travel service," he said.

The move to establish the new company represents a culmination of a long fight by the National Maritime Union. In October, 1965, when the Maritime Interagency Task Force recommended a phasing out of U.S. passenger ship operations, NMU led the campaign against the government and some of the industry. Now the strong support which MarAd is giving to the establishment of the proposed new company attest to the rightness of NMU's fight against phasing out passenger ships.

#### NMU LEAVES NOTHING TO CHANCE

"The future of American-flag passenger ships will stand or fall on the ability of a passenger ship company to successfully operate the present passenger ships," Curran said. "We are leaving nothing to chance as far as NMU is concerned. We must and we will do everything reasonable to make it a success. NMU members are completely aware of the continuing need for superior service to passengers. The NMU members know that when the new company proves successful, the present ships will be replaced and additional passenger ships will be built."

Curran further added that he felt the future of ocean travel was bright.

"Regardless of the continued growth of air travel, there is a solid market for ocean travel, both for regular service and in the cruise trade," he said. A certain body of travelers will always desire ocean transportation. This market should be adequately serviced.

"There is a definite market for travel by ship which is limited only by the ability and imagination of Government, labor and management to seize upon it. An appreciable portion of the U.S. travelling public will always be attracted to ocean travel. Until now this has been a luxury which millions cannot afford. We should make it possible for

Footnotes at end of article.

these millions to secure voyages at sea to fit their pocketbooks."

#### MANAGEMENT MUST BE STREAMLINED

Curran pointed out that American-flag passenger ships were constructed at a time when the full impact of overseas air transportation could not be accurately projected. "Now, many of these passenger ships have been operating at or below the nonprofit level," he said. "The changes that have occurred in recent years—in traffic patterns, modal travel demand and the like—require more streamlined central management to successfully operate."

#### SOYUZ AND APOLLO

### HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 17, 1969

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Robert Hotz, in the January 27, 1969, issue of Aviation Week and Space Technology discusses the progress of the Apollo lunar program and the Soviet manned space effort. Mr. Hotz, in his editorial, points out the rigorous schedule and difficult decisions that were necessary for the United States to develop its manned space flight capability and develop a significant effort in the field. He cautions the Nation that the Soviets should not be counted out of manned lunar exploration and that it will not be easy for the United States to achieve a lunar landing this summer. I commend this thoughtful and important editorial to my colleagues and the general public:

#### SOYUZ AND APOLLO

(By Robert Hotz)

The recent successful manned space flights of the Soviet Soyuz 4 and 5 in earth orbit and the U.S. Apollo 8 in lunar orbit appear to have stimulated some basic misconceptions in the popular press about the nature and progress of these programs.

Flawless performance of the Apollo 8 astronauts in their spacecraft in orbiting the moon has apparently convinced many people that the toughest part of the Apollo mission is over and that a manned landing is certain for this summer.

The excellent performance of Soviet cosmonauts in docking and exchanging crews between Soyuz 4 and 5 in earth orbit has also produced a feeling outside that USSR that the Russians have really abandoned their oft-announced plans to land man on the moon and, instead, are concentrating on earth orbital space stations.

Both assumptions are very wrong. The Soviets still are aiming for the moon. The toughest part of the Apollo lunar landing mission still lies ahead.

It should be remembered that when the USSR and the U.S. first began to contemplate design of manned orbital spacecraft, the perfect sphere appeared to offer the best engineering solution. The Soviets, being first to develop actual hardware, proceeded with the spherical concept. They have expanded it through Vostok, Voskhod and Soyuz, although the latter has been enlarged by other modules coupled to its still basically round re-entry vehicle. The U.S., starting later, was able to utilize some significant research from the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics' Ames laboratory on ICBM nose cones for spacecraft. This became the basic design for Mercury, Gemini and Apollo, the Langley laboratory development of a blunt-nose.

Similarly, the manned lunar landing con-

cept as originally developed in both countries envisioned use of an earth orbiting space platform for launching a manned vehicle to the moon. This is the course the Soviets are still pursuing. Again, because the U.S. was so obviously lagging behind the USSR in the early era of manned space flight, the new National Aeronautics and Space Administration had an overpowering sense of urgency in searching for a faster alternative to the earth orbital route. For then, the lunar landing race already appeared hopelessly lost to the Soviets. Again, a group of brilliant researchers at the Langley laboratory came up with an answer, providing the required docking and launch maneuvers in lunar orbit instead of earth orbit. This offered an opportunity to slice as much as a year from the Apollo development time. After a searching, critical review by the NASA hierarchy, the lunar orbiting concept was approved in 1962 for the Apollo mission. Key manned space flight program managers thought it could give the U.S. a slightly better-than-even chance to beat the Russians with men on the moon.

However, the Russians, for a variety of reasons, have stuck to their original program of assembling an earth orbital platform from which to launch their lunar landing mission to the moon. The docking and crew transfer of Soyuz 4 and 5 were an essential milestone in Soviet progress to build this earth orbital launching platform. They have never abandoned their lunar landing goal. They are now well along their chosen path to achieve it. Nor do we think they will abandon it, even if U.S. astronauts are the first to set foot on the lunar surface. The moon is far too valuable as a base for future space exploration and scientific study for the Soviets to ignore it simply because some other flag was planted there first.

Not all U.S. manned space flight experts were convinced that the lunar orbital concept was the most prudent course. They maintained that the earth orbital method, while possibly slower, offered a broader and more useful base for future manned space operations than lunar orbiting hardware. In fact, NASA's decision to go the lunar orbital route was a strong stimulus for the Air Force to develop its own manned orbiting laboratory (MOL), leading to a militarily vital manned reconnaissance satellite. The Soviets, who have never noticeably suffered from this dichotomy between military and civil in their space program, are developing both a moon launching platform and a manned reconnaissance satellite with their Soyuz hardware. They will have the manned reconnaissance capability for at least several years before the USAF MOL reaches an operational stage. There are some who argue that achieving this military manned reconnaissance capability is a much more important element in keeping peace on this small planet than achieving a lunar landing.

But, as any quarterback can tell you, the pressures of coming from behind and playing catch-up football always force decisions and impose risks that are not necessary when enjoying a comfortable lead. This aspect of the U.S. space program provides yet another example of the staggeringly high cost in the end of unimaginative economy in the beginning of any new technical exploration project.

Apollo 8 was a smashing success in transporting man across half a million miles of space and giving his eyes the first long look at his own planet and the first close look at the moon. But, in the perspective of the ultimate Apollo goal, it was an operational reconnaissance that executed only two-thirds of the final mission. The toughest portion lies ahead, for it is the lunar module (LM) that is the most advanced and complicated part of the Apollo spacecraft system. It also is the most vital to the success of the landing mission. It will not get its first manned flight

test in earth orbit until at least next month on Apollo 9. Nor will it be tested in lunar environment until late this spring on Apollo 10. Only when the lunar module proves as reliable as the rest of the Apollo system can the landing mission be attempted.

So, let's not count the Soviets out of manned lunar landing exploration nor assume that we already are a cinch to put men on the moon this summer.

#### REFLECTIONS ON LIFE IN THE CITY

### HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 18, 1969

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks several Members of this body offered unsolicited advice to newly elected Members of Congress concerning their place of residence while pursuing their duties as legislators. The implication was that the District of Columbia offered choice residential, educational, and cultural facilities as opposed to those of nearby Maryland and Virginia. There was further, in the unsolicited advice, a sort of veiled threat that unless new Members partook of the residential opportunities in the District they would be negligent in pursuing their constitutional duties.

In response, Mr. Speaker, I labeled this advice as poppycock, which is what it was. No constitutional provision sets forth residential requirements for any Member of Congress in the Washington area. I also used the opportunity to point out the safety, freedom, progress, and future of suburbia, and urged new Members not to overlook these areas where a child can walk to school unmolested and a housewife shop in reasonable security.

On the heels of my response, the editorial writers of our Washington dailies in nauseating repetition attacked me by charging that my interest was purely financial because a few members of my family own real estate businesses in the northern Virginia suburban district I represent.

The point I made, and they ignored, Mr. Speaker, is that the District of Columbia as it is presently being run is unsafe for civilized Americans, and it will remain so until drastic changes are made, which the Congress should make with the greatest of haste.

I now note, Mr. Speaker, that a young woman living in the District, named Anne Chamberlin, in an article appearing in the Washington Post, of all newspapers, entitled "Reflections on Life in the City," used her personal story of mugging and death as a rapier and scapel to dissect the fear and nonsense allowed on the streets and highways of the District of Columbia.

I commend Miss Chamberlin's article, Mr. Speaker, not only to the new Members of Congress for thoughtful consideration, but also to the editorial writers of our daily newspapers whose heads have too long been buried beneath the muck and misery their blindness to fact has helped create in the Nation's Capital.

She was on the street, Mr. Speaker, where the action is, and where the edi-

to industries and employees injured as a result of trade agreements, past and future.

That policy, of course, reflected the peculiar mental seizure or lapse that held and still holds imports entitled to eminent domain in our domestic market, and that they should be allowed to push our industries out of the way. Imports, it would seem, are vested with some mystical virtue that gives them priority over domestic industry and employees. What this special virtue is has never been made known to the public. It is simply assumed. Our own industries, although heavily burdened with taxes and other high costs which were not of their own doing, under the new approach of adjustment assistance were to give way to imports from countries that imposed no comparable burdens on their own industries. The demand was so irrational that the fiction of inefficiency, previously mentioned, was invented to justify condemnation of our industry in deference to growing foreign access to our market. Beyond that, of course, was the concealed but powerful motive to help exports of industries that boasted heavy political muscle.

It developed that the adjustment assistance provisions of the Trade Expansion Act were so tightly drawn that none of the score of applicants, including labor unions, succeeded in squeezing through the needle's eye. Not one dollar of assistance was paid in the six years since the law's enactment. The economic distortion caused by the great increase in defense expenditures enabled this country to absorb the great upsurge in imports that would otherwise have worked havoc on numerous industries. Now, however, further absorption will no longer be possible without disruptive effects; and should the economy move back to a peace basis, even if slowly, the exposure that was tolerable during the past few years would become intolerable to a growing number of important industries.

The suggestion is now put forward that adjustment assistance should be made easier to invoke. This suggestion ignores the odd philosophy from which the very notion of adjustment assistance arose in the first place. Legitimate American industry, which pays the high taxes exacted of it, that supports the vast welfare outlays through its high productivity and provides high employment at the world's highest wages, is to move over and make room for imports that achieve their competitive advantage from payment of much lower wages than those required by law in this country and very much lower than the wages above the minimum level paid here. What style of philosophy can so far overlook the fairness of treatment to which domestic industry is entitled, as to advance and support such a suggestion? It represents a philosophy that is essentially hostile to the industrial and economic system that supports the American civilization and the capacity of this country to provide aid to other countries. It demands that American industry be exposed to foreign competition, no matter how injurious it might be, regardless of the competitive handicap under which our industry labors.

Greater efficiency is demanded, as already noted, even if displacement of workers on a devastatingly large scale is involved. The government would assume the cost burden of retraining and possibly relocating the displaced workers. Such a policy strives for multiple Appalachias.

It is not explained why we owe such disruption of our industry to other countries or why some of our industries should be harshly treated, so that other industries might reap the benefit of greater exports. If the intention is, indeed, to drive industries to more rapid and radical automation it seems to be forgotten that the rate of mechanization is already a source of unemployment and needs

no additional stimulation. The notion that displaced workers will soon be absorbed by other industries is belied by the stubbornness of the Appalachian problem. This provides further evidence of the sterility of economic theory when it refuses to take into account all the attendant circumstances that might upset expectations.

Adjustment assistance has little to recommend it if the condition to be remedied was deliberately brought about by pursuit of a policy that may be expected to produce the condition. Deliberate action that is expected to result in the serious injury of legitimate industry cannot be said to spring from any considerations of justice or from any concern about equal protection of the law. It is in fact a concept that is alien to the system of private enterprise and should be disowned as a legitimate and justifiable part of public policy.

#### MARKET SHARING AS A REMEDY

Now that the tariff has been virtually dismantled as a means of offsetting cost differences between this country and its competitors, and since the problem of our adverse competitive cost-handicap remains and bids fair to persist, a different remedy is needed to sustain the productive dynamism of this country.

The concept of market-sharing, implemented by flexible import quotas, offers the mildest form of trade regulation consistent with the extensive regulation of the economy as a whole. To free our external trade when the domestic economy is made competitively rigid *vis a vis* foreign production costs is both illogical and unfair. The heaviest cost factors in this country are very rigid indeed so far as competitive maneuvering is concerned.

Wages move in only one direction, and this movement underwrites expanding consumption so long as inflation does not cancel the higher compensation. Wages are entitled to rise as productivity increases.

Taxes are high and quite rigid and going higher if State and local taxes are taken into account, as they must be. The only opening of any significance therefore lies in the possibility of increasing productivity per man-hour; and, as previously noted, this can be accomplished almost exclusively by reducing the number of workers required per unit of output.

Yet such increase in productivity will not improve our competitive posture toward imports *unless wages are not allowed to rise in proportion*. If wages rise in proportion to the increase in productivity the competitive advantage is automatically canceled.

Therefore those who demand "higher efficiency" in our industries (even though we are productively the most efficient in the world) as a means of remaining competitive or as a means of recapturing our competitive position are committed to frozen wage levels. They cannot in all good conscience insist on supporting a liberal wage policy in this country and at the same time demand higher productive efficiency as a means of meeting import competition. They, of course, wish fervidly to pose as friends of labor while promoting a policy that would strip labor of its compensation for increasing productivity, since increasing productive efficiency as a means of fending off rising imports would lose its effect if wages should increase in proportion.

If, however, ceilings should be established over imports at certain recognized levels that would accord to imports a liberal share of the domestic market, and permit them to increase in proportion to the expansion of the domestic market, the sting of unfairness would be taken out of import competition. Imports would be regulated in keeping with regulation of the domestic economy. They would not have a license to benefit from a competitive advantage that rests in numerous instances on nothing more inspiring than

the payment of a level of wages that if paid in this country would subject the employer to a legal penalty. Imports would not enjoy an open field on which to run wild regardless of the havoc they might inflict. Imports would be brought under the restraints that have deprived our industries of competitive flexibility except at the expense of employment. They would not be permitted to exploit the competitive handicap that public policy, supported by a generation of electorate preferences in this country, has placed on our productive enterprise.

They would nevertheless have liberal access to the richest market in the world.

ME

#### CONDEMNATION OF IRAQI GOVERNMENT

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 18, 1969

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, all men of decency and justice were horrified and stunned by the recent action of the Iraqi Government in the hanging of 14 alleged spies. This bizarre and grotesque display of injustices and cruelty should and must be condemned by all men who treasure a life and faith of their own choosing. The recent hangings by the Government of Iraq have stifled such freedom. One of the most important and vital tenets of our Government is the first amendment which safeguards every citizen's right to choose his religion and express himself freely. We, as citizens of the United States cannot ignore this serious travesty of our most precious ideals. The great and General Court of Massachusetts has passed two similar resolutions condemning the action of the Iraqi Government. I submit these resolutions for your consideration and for the consideration of my colleagues. Acts against the lives and freedoms of our fellow citizens of the world should not be ignored.

The resolutions follow:

RESOLUTIONS URGING THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO PROTEST THE RECENT PUBLIC HANGING OF NINE JEWS BY THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT AND EXERT HIS INFLUENCE IN STABILIZING THE CURRENT CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Whereas, United States Secretary of State, William P. Rogers, has expressed this nation's sense of outrage over this week's barbaric public hangings of fourteen Iraqis in these words: "The spectre of mass public executions is repugnant to the conscience of the world"; and

Whereas, the atrocities have heightened tensions in the Middle East and greatly increased the threat of war; and

Whereas, The Jewish community of Iraq is now no more than 2500 souls in the total population of more than 8,000,000 for that country and yet 9 of the 14 Iraqis executed were Jews, suggesting, as Pope Paul has pointed out, racist motivation; and

Whereas, If world opinion is quickly mobilized, further hangings may be forestalled; and

Whereas, These savage acts are shockingly violative of all standards of justice and principles of compassion for which the Commonwealth has stood since its founding days: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Senate respectfully urges the President of the United States to formally protest the recent public



The coal example was not as extreme as might be imagined.

Other industries branched out overseas to avoid similar debacles. Today the steel industry faces a challenge, which if less drastic in its exactions, is nonetheless perilous. The shoe industry faces annihilation in a matter of a few years. The textile industry, which, though partially protected against the same disaster, still faces great difficulties. Other industries are not out of the range of the import onslaught. The fisheries on the east coast, the vegetable producers of Florida, and others are in the same corner.

Our merchant marine is totally dependent on subsidization for survival; and has been allowed to fall to the lowest level in our history from lack of adequate support. American flag ships now carry only about 1/16 of our total imports and exports. The facts are muted and smothered lest they awaken the dreamers and mystics who see nothing ominous in the competitive facts in our foreign trade.

7. Cost-reduction is not a monopoly of American industries, though its imperative presses insistently on them. While we continue as the most productive country in the world in terms of man-hour output, other countries, now equipped with our technology, are also capable of reducing their costs. Our own factories overseas, where our direct investments are now in the magnitude of some \$60 billion, have introduced American methods of mass production, and other countries have not been backward in adopting the American system. If we automate in this country, so may and do our foreign competitors.

8. The cost-gap, although not uniform, will not go away, notwithstanding the theories of academic economists who apparently do their thinking in a vacuum wherein the realities of both national and international politics are absent. Competitive inequalities among the nations do persist, the economists notwithstanding, simply because free competition is now a museum piece thoroughly bolted down—largely, indeed, as a result of the very policies of those who invoke the free market to justify free trade but who buried free market forces under the weight of governmental controls, restrictions, heavy tax burdens, social welfare loads and other cost-inflators.

The differential in shipbuilding and ship operation here and abroad is measured periodically by official wage surveys conducted by the Federal government. This differential is slightly over 100% and reflects the higher employee compensation in this country. That such differentials persist, as they may and do persist, despite economic theory that leaves the facts of life out of account, is shown by the fact that the maritime cost differential just mentioned has widened by 10% in the past ten or twelve years.

9. The competitive weakness of this country makes our economy stand like an island plateau against the pounding waves and tidal flows that beset it from all sides. The natural sequence will be a leveling process that will continue, unless it is halted, until we are level with the sea.

#### FALSE ASSESSMENT OF OUR COMPETITIVE HANDICAP

The competitive situation is serious indeed but is insulated against a remedy by the policy-makers who stubbornly refuse to accept irrefutable facts or insist on evasive interpretations. They will not believe or purport not to perceive that payment of an average industrial wage of \$3 per hour in this country demands that our factories be several times as productive as their foreign rivals if they are to compete with them. With the exception of Canada, the highest foreign industrial wages will do well to equal 40% of our \$3 level, while in many instances the

gap is much wider. The difference in cost, now that our average duty on dutiable items is about 10% on foreign value, and destined to drop to about 7%, must be bridged by a productivity lead of sufficient magnitude to offset the foreign advantage. (For the industrial wage rate of the United States see Current Survey of Business, United States Department of Commerce, September 1968, p. S-15).

It is a favorite but false indictment of American industries that cannot compete with imports to say that they are inefficient. This indictment comes quickly to the tongue of those who continue to see in a free or liberal trade policy the future and the hope of this country's economy. The falsity of the indictment is indeed immediately established when in the next breath those who so eagerly accuse our industries of inefficiency insist that foreign competition is no danger because low foreign wages really reflect the low level of productivity abroad, which is to say inefficiency. We cannot be both too inefficient to compete and at the same time so far ahead of other countries in productivity that their low wages avail them nothing competitively because of their own greater inefficiency.

It was also a favorite and equally false assessment of the competitive situation to say that it was not our high-wage industries that were vulnerable to imports but rather our low-wage or labor-intensive industries. Our high-wage, capital-intensive industries, such as steel and automobiles, were among our leading exporters, thus demonstrating that high wages represented no wage handicap.

The vacuity of this claim has in recent years been demonstrated for all to see. In both automobile and steel our export position has collapsed and we have become net importers of both products. The same is true of other high-wage industries. Whether an industry is "capital-intensive" or "labor-intensive" does not alter the fact that employee compensation is in each case the major element of cost. "Capital-intensive" industries merely spread their costs over a larger number of successive steps of manufacture, as in automobile manufacturing. The Detroit cost, as the Pittsburgh cost in making steel, is only a part of the cost that extends back to mining, agriculture, processing, fabricating, transportation, insurance, financing, warehousing, and all else that is involved in production.

Yet, even as these pillars of economic theory have been knocked out from under the edifice, the economists steadfastly refuse to face reality. They are so inseparably wedded to their vested mental interest that mere facts produce no effect toward relinquishment of their untenable position.

These many years, as just noted, the economists have been at pains to say that our higher wages are attributable to our higher productivity. Therefore, they say, it is wrong to maintain that low foreign wages confer a competitive advantage on foreign producers. Only a rather obtuse mind would fail to perceive the truth of the theory, according to these intellectually elite.

Now that facts to the contrary notwithstanding prove that other countries do enjoy a decisive competitive advantage over us these same economists duly take refuge in charging our industries with inefficiency despite the higher wages they pay—yes, even though high wages, by economic theory, reflect high productivity. By their measure our high-wage industries should have been invulnerable to import competition. The facts have been quite the opposite.

Their edifice having collapsed they seize on other arguments, as previously observed.

The fact is, of course, that considerable discrepancies in wages and costs among nations can and do persist because free competition no longer exists. The numerous interferences with the free market that impede free competition were instituted generally

with the ardent support of the economists who, when it suits them, like to play as if the assumptions on which they lean so heavily, such as the play of free market forces, were still in operation.

The thrust of their untenable but stubborn contentions is that industry, agriculture and labor of this country are to be exposed to highly-advantaged foreign competition despite the heavy competitive handicaps loaded on the domestic producers by a hundred legislative enactments many of which soon came to rest on production in the form of higher costs.

What is the purpose of such a policy? Is it to disperse our capital to the four corners of the earth? Is it to restrain wage pressures coming from labor?

#### OPTIONS FACING DOMESTIC INDUSTRY

What, indeed, are the options of industry when it is confronted by import competition that captures an increasing share of the American market year after year?

One option is obviously that of investing abroad. This step has helped in two respects. (1) It has enabled American companies to supply from within some important foreign markets that would otherwise have been lost. (2) It has in many instances increased exports of machinery, equipment and sometimes semi-manufactures and parts, purchased by the foreign subsidiaries or branches.

On the other hand, some of the slow-down in our commercial exports may be attributed to the very act of supplying of foreign markets from within rather than exporting the finished goods from here. To that extent there has been a transfer of jobs or potential jobs from here to foreign countries. Jobs that do not materialize in this country add to the problem of unemployment. We need many hundreds of thousands of new openings to absorb the large numbers of new workers who come on the labor market each year. If potential jobs are transferred abroad the employment opportunities here naturally shrink by that much.

Also, in some instances foreign subsidiaries and branches export back to this country, thus creating additional competition from lower-wage areas. American automobile manufacturers in Europe, for example, sell numerous foreign-made cars in this country; so do American manufacturers of typewriters, transistor radios and other products.

The impact of low-cost products is not confined to finished manufactures, although these predominate today. A number of industries import parts as a means of achieving lower manufacturing costs in this country and thus to fend off eviction from the market for the finished product. It is true that we also export parts, especially for assembly in foreign plants, such as automobiles. Such exports may, however, face a decline since foreign countries have been insistent upon and indeed have required successively the use of higher percentages of locally manufactured parts in places of imports in their native plants.

#### THE ADJUSTMENT-ASSISTANCE PLOY

In view of many economists adjustment assistance extended both to labor and to companies or whole industries should compensate for the injury done to domestic industries and labor by imports. Until 1962 it was the national trade policy not to cause injury to domestic industries as a result of larger imports attracted by lower tariffs. In that year the Trade Expansion Act substituted the adjustment assistance program for the peril point and the escape clause which provided a cautious approach to tariff cutting and a remedy for injury.

The justification for adjustment assistance was that the reduction of tariffs and the resulting increase in imports would increase exports. The increase in trade would benefit the whole country. Therefore the public should make good any serious damage done

hanging of nine Jews by the Iraqi government and to use his powerful office in an immediate attempt to stabilize the explosive crisis in the Middle East; and be it further

*Resolved*, That copies of these resolutions be transmitted forthwith by the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of State, to the presiding officer of each branch of the Congress and to the members thereof from the Commonwealth.

Senate, adopted, January 30, 1969.

NORMAN L. PIDGEON,

*Clerk.*

A true copy. Attest:

JOHN F. X. DAVOREN,  
*Secretary of the Commonwealth.*

#### RESOLUTIONS PROTESTING THE BRUTALITY OF THE IRAQ GOVERNMENT IN HANGING NINE JEWS

Whereas, The Massachusetts House of Representatives learned with horror of the brutality of the Iraq Government in hanging nine Jews, citizens of Israel; and

Whereas, The Iraq Government, by this wanton and inhumane act not only stands condemned in the eyes of free men everywhere but precipitated a tinder box crisis that could very well lead to a confrontation between the nuclear powers and eventual destruction of all mankind; Therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Massachusetts House of Representatives urges the President of the United States to use the full weight and power of his office in assisting to stabilize this serious situation in the Middle East, guarantee the rights of all nations however small and their people to live, prosper and survive in peace and to lodge a formal protest with the Iraq Government against this barbaric act; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the United Nations be requested to immediately consider this inhumane act by the Iraq Government assess responsibility and guarantee to Israel and its citizens protection against the aggressive and lawless acts of its neighboring nations; and, be it further

*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be sent by the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the President of the United States, the Senators and Representatives in Congress representing this Commonwealth, and to the Secretary General of the United Nations.

House of Representatives, adopted, January 29, 1969.

WALLACE C. MILLS,

*Clerk.*

A true copy. Attest:

JOHN F. X. DAVOREN,  
*Secretary of the Commonwealth.*

#### LITHUANIA

#### HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 18, 1969

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, on February 16, 1969, Lithuanians throughout the world observed the 51st anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of Lithuania. The only country in which they were unable to commemorate this memorable event was Lithuania itself.

The courageous citizens of Lithuania established an independent nation on February 16, 1918. They dedicated their nation to the democratic principles which we in this Nation hold so high. For a brief period they were able to practice these principles not only within their

boundaries but also in the international community as a member of the League of Nations.

On August 3, 1940, Lithuania was involuntarily declared a constituent Communist republic of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The people of Lithuania suffered severely during the war years under both the Russians and the Nazis. It is most fitting that we pay tribute to their strength and will in the face of overwhelming force 20 years ago. It is equally fitting that we recognize that these brave people have been the victims of oppression since the end of the Second World War.

At this 51st anniversary of their independence, all Americans should join the many Americans of Lithuanian descent to commemorate that occasion.

#### COMMENTATOR PUZZLED BY NIXON START

#### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 18, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Washington observers are patiently awaiting the end of President Nixon's honeymoon period.

Certainly, when President Nixon becomes subject to the necessary appraisals of his policies, it is well that the commentary be balanced between Nixon supporters and the professional anti-Nixon barrage which will soon be heard from.

One staunch Nixon supporter is Walter Trohan, the eminent Washington correspondent of the Chicago Tribune, who in a very searching commentary Friday, February 7, raises a few interesting questions:

#### COMMENTATOR PUZZLED BY NIXON START

(By Walter Trohan)

WASHINGTON, February 6.—More in sorrow than in anger, this commentator is beginning to find himself puzzled by Richard Nixon's start in the Presidency.

This commentator was among the first columnists, if not the first, to predict Mr. Nixon would get his party's nomination in 1968. I scolded former President Johnson for what I considered a below-the-belt attack in the 1966 congressional campaign and applauded Nixon's restrained and statesman-like reply.

In general, the Nixon start has been good. The appointments have been generally commendable. The approach has been businesslike rather than dramatic. The programs are deliberate rather than startlingly new.

Yet there would seem to be some cause for uneasiness. During the campaign, Nixon promised to clean out the state department. He said he would cut into the third and fourth levels.

He pledged himself to restore Otto F. Otepka, a state department officer who was hounded and harassed because of his efforts to deny clearance to appointees regarded as security risks. Otepka is still out in the street, while Idar Rimestad, a man dedicated to keeping him out, has been retained as deputy undersecretary for administration.

FOGGY BOTTOM PRAISE SURPRISING

Secretary of State William Rogers has assured members of Congress that Rimestad's

retention is only temporary, but he is being retained altho he has not had long and invaluable experience in the post. And Charles W. Yost, a long-time member of the state department establishment, was named ambassador to the United Nations rather than some deserving Republican. Even more surprising, the post was offered to Hubert Humphrey, the defeated Democratic Presidential candidate; Sen. Eugene McCarthy [D., Minn.]; and Sargent Shriver, brother-in-law of the Kennedys. All turned it down. None of these would signal any policy change.

Even less understandable, perhaps, is the praise Nixon heaped on the state department staff when he called on his round of federal establishments. No less enthusiastic praise has been heaped on others of the entrenched Democratic party. This also contrasted sharply with his call for change during the campaign.

Nixon unwrapped his war on crime in the capital which stressed more policemen, more judges, a new courthouse, more public defenders and supporting personnel. There was nothing new in the anti-crime package. It's not clear how he'll get 5,000 policemen, when the force is running 1,000 under its present quota of 4,000 men.

Democrats have long been meeting any kind of problem by creating more and bigger jobs. Nixon may need more police and more judges, but his package could be no more than another rosy-hued promise that will fade in performance. Also he is being urged to propose a billion dollar program of aid for city schools, largely for blacks.

#### HOME PROBLEMS NEED ATTENTION

Some are concerned about Nixon's hurry to hit the junket trail. With barely one month in the White House he plans to be off to Paris, Bonn, Brussels, Rome, and London trying to charm foreign leaders and revive the fading North Atlantic Treaty organization. Perhaps Nixon, who built himself into Republican nomination contention by making himself an expert on foreign policy, thinks he can succeed where other Presidents failed, but it will take a lot of doing. He can hardly expect to charm Charles de Gaulle—or Harold Wilson, for that matter.

Nixon is going to rise or fall on what he does at home. It would seem that he will be reelected in 1972, but not if he goes chasing rainbows in foreign skies. What Americans want is some sort of house cleaning at home and a slowing down of spending, taxes, regimentation, and government power.

#### PROPOSED POWER DAM ON NEW RIVER BY APPALACHIAN POWER CO.

#### HON. WILMER MIZELL

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 18, 1969

Mr. MIZELL. Mr. Speaker, one of the major concerns of constituents of mine who reside in Ashe and Alleghany Counties, N.C., is the proposed power dam on the New River which will necessitate the taking of property of many of them. The pools which these dams require will flood literally hundreds of acres of excellent farmland, making it necessary for these folks to relocate elsewhere. My people have taken this situation pretty much in stride; however, they have looked to these reservoirs as avenues for development of recreational areas. It has been most disappointing to them and to me to realize that the

Appalachian Power Co. intends to control the water levels of both pools of water with drawdowns during strategic "recreation periods" of such volume as to make them unusable for these purposes.

I recently held office hours in both Ashe and Alleghany Counties and interviewed some 300 individuals practically all of whom spoke with concern of this situation. Because I agree with them wholeheartedly and feel that North Carolina's natural resources should be preserved for North Carolinians, I have addressed the following statement to the Federal Power Commission, which agency held hearings last week on the question of whether or not Appalachian Power Co. should be issued a permit for the construction of this dam:

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN WILMER D. MIZELL, OF NORTH CAROLINA, TO FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION REGARDING PROPOSED POWER DAM ON NEW RIVER BY APPALACHIAN POWER CO., FEBRUARY 12, 1969

Gentlemen, I have just finished holding office hours for two days in Ashe and Alleghany Counties, North Carolina, where I had the opportunity to personally interview some 300 people. These two counties in my District provide part of the site for the power and flood control dams proposed by the Appalachian Power Company. I would like to pass on to you the concern of these people regarding these dams as expressed to me.

There are two major points of concern which have been impressed upon me:

1. The effect upon Sprague Electric Company's plant near Lansing, and
2. The fluctuation of the pool during the recreation season.

Sprague Electric Company's plant employs 15% of the labor force in the area; therefore, it makes a vital contribution to the economy of the area. Together with the citizens of Ashe County, I was relieved to learn that anticipated problems did not materialize when Appalachian Power Company and Sprague Electric Company reached an agreement.

The matter of drawdown of water is proving to be a major concern. It is contended that the natural resources of North Carolina above all else should be protected for the benefit of North Carolinians. Since this taking of Ashe County and Alleghany County property and resources for the purpose of creating power for sale in other areas does not in itself benefit residents of this area, then the people look to the resultant lake for the development of recreational opportunities. They would like to have some assurance that the lake will be maintained during the recreation season which extends from April 15th, the beginning of the fishing season to October 15th at a level of no more than a two foot drawdown. It is further desired that the water level should never exceed a five foot maximum drawdown.

For the most part, those who are having to sell their land and relocate have indicated a desire to resettle in the same vicinity, and would like to receive sufficient compensation for their property to permit them to buy land comparable to that which they sell. When you consider that their land is of the finest farm land, this is not an unreasonable request.

Another concern is expressed by those who own lake-front property. They would like to see the restrictions placed on the buffer zone around the lake enforced by the county governments of Ashe and Alleghany Counties rather than by the Appalachian Power Company.

It is further desired that a firm commitment be made both by the State of North Carolina and the Federal Highway Commis-

sion for an extensive road building and road improvement program for the area. This would insure that the proposed state park and lake are made more easily accessible as tourist attractions for those who travel the scenic Blue Ridge Parkway and for local residents who wish to enjoy these facilities. Dollars spent on such roadways would be a good investment for these roads, would do a great deal to insure development of the area and provide a boost to the local economy.

The residents of Alleghany County have expressed great concern over the tremendous drawdown proposed for the lower reservoir which Alleghany County borders. It is proposed that the drawdown amount to the astonishing figure of 400 feet! This practically eliminates development around the lower reservoir and certainly limits the possibility of its being used for recreational purposes. It is urgently hoped that this drawdown be reduced to one-half of what is presently proposed.

It is further believed that special emphasis should be placed on reducing pollution downstream by those responsible for this condition so that fewer and fewer quantities of fresh water will be required from the storage area upstream for the purpose of flushing out pollution. Also, a fair share of the responsibility of flushing pollution from the Kanawha River should be shouldered by those causing the condition.

If such pollution is eliminated, we can look forward to a time in the not too distant future when this reservoir will be a beautiful lake for development of recreation in the forms of boating, fishing, swimming, etc., rather than a mudhole for tadpoles. One-half of the proposed drawdown will insure this, and consequently, I am in full agreement with the residents of Ashe and Alleghany Counties in their insistence on this point.

If you authorize the building of these dams, I beseech you gentlemen, to honor the simple and humble requests of these proud and hard-working mountain folks whom I am honored to represent in this Congress.

Respectfully submitted,

WILMER D. MIZELL,  
 Congressman, Fifth District,  
 North Carolina.

## HUNGER IN AMERICA

HON. ROBERT O. TIERNAN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 18, 1969

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, today's article in the New York Times on "Hunger in America" points out that "by some official estimates there are at least 6 to 9 million Americans for whom hunger may be almost a daily fact of life."

I only hope that my colleagues are following this highly enlightening series. It is to our ultimate benefit as a Nation that we begin to address ourselves to the scope of this problem:

HUNGER IN AMERICA: MISSISSIPPI DELTA  
 (By Homer Bigart)

YAZOO CITY, Miss.—"They aren't starving, really, but they are undernourished as hell."

Dr. Aaron Shirley, a Jackson pediatrician and civil rights leader, made this diagnosis during a recent visit to Negro homes in the Delta.

The degree of hunger among Delta Negroes has been a political issue ever since April, 1967, when Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York and Senator Joseph S. Clark of Pennsylvania toured the Delta and reported that many people were "slowly starving."

Indignant denials came from the white establishment. The general response was "we treat our niggers fine," Dr. Shirley recalled. Gov. Paul B. Johnson Jr. reportedly described as "fat and shiny" every Magnolia State Negro that met his eye.

The issue flared up anew after a team of doctors headed by Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler of Charlotte, N.C., reported to the Southern Regional Council a widespread and "desperate" need for food and medical care.

The Federal food programs were not only inadequate, they said, but were run by local authorities with flagrant political or racial bias. The doctors' indictment was harsh: "It is unbelievable to us that a nation as rich as ours, with all its technological and scientific resources, has to permit thousands and thousands of children to go hungry, go sick, and die grim and premature deaths."

Though many people may think first of Mississippi when the subject of hunger comes up, the state actually has a good record of participation in Federal food programs. Every one of its 82 counties is enrolled in either food stamps or direct commodity distribution, a better record than New York, where six counties (Sullivan, Rockland, Putnam, Chenango, Ontario and Otsego) do not participate and have no plans for joining the food programs.

Nor are the Delta counties the hungriest in the land. Stomachs of reservation Indians are probably emptier more often than stomachs of Delta blacks.

No one knows how many Americans are chronically hungry. The best educated guess comes from Dr. Thomas E. Bryant, assistant director of the Office of Economic Opportunity for Health Affairs.

According to Dr. Bryant, there are 12 to 15 million "hard-core poor." The "hard core" are defined as those families with an annual income of less than \$2,000, based on a family of four. Since the Department of Agriculture estimates that a family of four must spend \$1,284 for an adequate diet, Dr. Bryant concludes that a family earning less than \$2,000 would find it impossible to buy enough food to meet minimum nutrition standards after meeting other essential human needs.

At present, the food programs of the Department of Agriculture reach about 5,338,000 persons, many of whom are better off than the "hard-core poor." So, by some official estimates there are at least six to nine million Americans for whom hunger may be almost a daily fact of life.

### NEWSPAPERS COVER WALLS

It was cold and rainy the day Dr. Shirley led a visitor into a back-street shack where a Negro couple and several children were huddling at a fireplace. Most of the windows were plugged with cardboard, which rattled dramatically against the wind and rain; old newspapers covered the walls.

Eight children were counted in the room and Dr. Shirley, poking carefully into a pile of ragged, musty quilts, found two more infants asleep in the bed. He said the woman had given birth to triplets four months before; one died at birth, and one of the survivors had nearly expired of diarrhea and was just back from a Jackson hospital. The infant was almost certain to get diarrhea very soon again under these living conditions, the doctor said.

The family was unable to get on the welfare rolls because the husband was considered able-bodied. He earned \$100 last month, but now, in midwinter, there was no farm work available. The family had nearly used up its food stamps, all that was left was sweet potatoes, condensed milk and grits, the mother said.

Dr. Shirley examined the babies, calling attention to the lack of subcutaneous tissue on their tiny arms and legs. "They need protein, calories and iron," he said.

"Too many people sleeping in that bed," the woman muttered from the fireplace.



# DESIGNATION OF SENATOR FANNIN TO READ WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

The VICE PRESIDENT. Pursuant to the order of January 24, 1901, as modified by a previous order, the Chair designates the Senator from Arizona (Mr. FANNIN) to read Washington's Farewell Address on Friday, February 21, 1969.

# APPOINTMENT OF SENATOR BELLMON TO THE MIGRATORY BIRD CONSERVATION COMMISSION

The VICE PRESIDENT. Pursuant to title 16, United States Code, section 715A, the Chair appoints the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. BELLMON) to the Migratory Bird Conservation Commission, in lieu of the Senator from Nebraska (Mr. HRUSKA), who resigned.

# WAIVER OF CALL OF CALENDAR UNDER RULE VIII

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the call of the calendar under rule VIII, for the consideration of unobjected to measures, be waived.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

# EULOGIES OF SENATOR BARTLETT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of the transaction of morning business on Wednesday next, a period be set aside for Senators to eulogize our late departed colleague, Bob Bartlett, of Alaska.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

# GUN CONTROL LEGISLATION—ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, on February 4, the distinguished senior from Utah (Mr. BENNETT) introduced S. 845. It seems to me to indicate that registration by another name is being required by a regulation of the Internal Revenue Service. This regulation covers ammunition for pistols, rifles, shotguns and some components, including primers, propellant powders, cartridge cases, and bullets.

Under sections 992(b) (5) and 923(g), the dealer is required to record the name, age, and address of the buyer of firearms or ammunition, while section 923(g) authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to issue regulations relative to record keeping by dealers. The regulations issued by the Secretary of the Treasury call for far more than sections 922 and 923 require and, in my judgement, go considerably beyond the intent of Congress in passing the Gun Control Act of 1968.

For example, the regulations issued by the Secretary of the Treasury call for the following: Date; manufacturer; caliber, gage, or type of component; quantity; name; address; date of birth; and mode of identification, driver's license, and so forth.

It seems to me that this goes far beyond "the name, age, and address" of the law and covers a good deal more territory

which, in effect, amounts to registration.

If there is to be registration, let it be in the open and on the table, and let everyone be aware of it. Congress, in my opinion, opposed registration under the Gun Control Act of 1968, and this regulation, in my judgment, would go far beyond what Congress intended.

This is back-door registration and should be corrected. In my judgment, it is necessary to correct an unnecessary burden and a deceptive form of registration and to bring the regulations in line with the intent of Congress at the time the bill was passed.

I ask unanimous consent that I be registered as a cosponsor of Senator BENNETT's bill, S. 845.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that my name also be added as a cosponsor.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ME

# THE SUEZ CANAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, there is universal agreement that the situation in the Middle East is a powder keg. There is almost universal agreement that the fuse grows shorter as weeks, months, and years go by without a peaceful settlement of the problems which remain from the war of 1967. To be sure, there have been no Israeli retaliations for the hideous mass executions in Iraq. To be sure, there have been no further Arab attacks on Israeli commercial aviation.

Nevertheless, the gnawing question remains: How much longer before the eye-for-an-eye retaliations are resumed? The question will persist, and properly so, in the absence of the beginning of a settlement of the issues of the conflict. The prospects for finding a way out of the ice jam, however, are not yet visible. That seems to me to be the case, whether the initiative is seen as coming from two powers, from four powers, from direct Israel-Arab negotiations, or from more U.N. resolutions, whether supplicatory or condemnatory.

Is there another possibility? Is there the possibility of a modest beginning on settlement which eschews sweeping generalities or emotional insistences on who is or who is not at fault? Can there be a beginning without faultfinding—a beginning, indeed, in which there is no significant sacrifice of position on any side?

In this connection, I would point out that the Suez Canal has been completely inoperative since the war of 1967. Israeli forces now hold the east bank of the waterway and the Egyptians, the west. However, even if both sides were willing to permit free usage, it would be of no avail at this point, because the canal is blocked by ships which were sunk at the outset of the conflict. Within the channel, moreover, are entrapped other vessels whose crews have been immobilized for almost 2 years.

The loss which results from this situation hits hardest at Egypt and Europe. As a result of the stoppage, tens of millions of dollars have been added to the

fuel bills of the latter. In a broader sense, however, there has been a loss to the concept of freedom of navigation and to the foundations of international commerce, as there is whenever a great waterway is closed to any or all nations. Each day that the current situation persists, moreover, the many-sided loss accumulates.

Some day, Mr. President, the work of clearing and restoring the canal will begin. Apart from the political situation, this technical undertaking will involve several weeks or months of work. It seems to me that it would be to the advantage of all concerned if this operation could begin now. There would be no loss to anyone, so far as I can see, if the entrapped ships were freed and the canal were made ready for peaceful use, even as Egypt and Israel maintain their respective military positions on the two banks. On the other hand, this course would advance, by at least several weeks, the time commercial operations could be resumed, once the political situation makes resumption possible. Most important, the two principal combatants of the war would acquire, in the restoration, an experience in dealing peacefully with one another—with U.N. collaboration, to be sure, but not at arms length—in the solution of a mutual difficulty.

It is a slender possibility, Mr. President, but it could prove to be a useful initiative. Certainly, I should like to see it explored through whatever channels may be feasible. If there is receptivity in Israel and Egypt, it might conceivably break the ice jam which now prevails in the situation in the Middle East.

# LIMITATION OF STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that statements in relation to the transaction of routine morning business be limited to 3 minutes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

# EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

## FEDERAL PLAN FOR METEOROLOGICAL SERVICES AND SUPPORTING RESEARCH

A letter from the Deputy Director, Bureau of the Budget, transmitting, pursuant to law, a Federal plan for meteorological services and supporting research for the fiscal year 1970 (with an accompanying document); to the Committee on Appropriations.

## REPORT OF CERTAIN PROPOSED FACILITIES PROJECTS FOR THE ARMY RESERVE

A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Properties and Installations), reporting, pursuant to law, on the location, nature, and estimated cost of certain facilities projects proposed to be undertaken for the Army Reserve (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Armed Services.

## REPORT OF CERTAIN PROPOSED FACILITIES PROJECTS FOR THE NAVAL RESERVE

A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Properties and Installations) reporting, pursuant to law, on the location, nature, and estimated cost of cer-

# Senate

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1969

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, and was called to order by the Vice President.

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, who has made and preserved us a nation, deepen the roots of this land in everlasting righteousness that the glory of our fathers fade not away. May Thy higher wisdom and infinite grace be the stability of our times. Make us equal to our high trust, reverent in the use of freedom, just in the exercise of power, generous in the protection of the weak.

Consecrate all who labor in this place to the service of this Nation, that by serving this land we may serve all mankind.

Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

## THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Friday, February 7, 1969, be dispensed with.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

## MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries.

## EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session,

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, and withdrawing the nomination of U. Alexis Johnson, of California, to be U.S. Alternate Governor of the International Monetary Fund and U.S. Alternate Governor of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which nominations messages were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

## REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE SUBMITTED DURING ADJOURNMENT

Under authority of the order of the Senate of February 7, 1969, Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, reported favorably, without amendment, on February 7, 1969, the following resolutions:

S. Res. 22. Resolution authorizing the Committee on Banking and Currency to examine, investigate, and study certain matters (Rept. No. 91-45);

S. Res. 23. Resolution authorizing the Committee on Banking and Currency to investigate matters pertaining to public and

private housing and urban affairs (Rept. No. 91-46);

S. Res. 24. Resolution to study certain aspects of national security and international operations (Rept. No. 91-56);

S. Res. 26. Resolution authorizing the Committee on Government Operations to make investigations into the efficiency and economy of operations of all branches of Government (Rept. No. 91-51);

S. Res. 31. Resolution authorizing a study of Federal election laws and related matters (Rept. No. 91-76);

S. Res. 34. Resolution to provide funds for the Committee on Public Works (Rept. No. 91-75);

S. Res. 41. Resolution to consider matters pertaining to Federal charters, holidays, and celebrations (Rept. No. 91-63);

S. Res. 45. Resolution to study matters pertaining to immigration and naturalization (Rept. No. 91-65);

S. Res. 54. Resolution to investigate national penitentiaries (Rept. No. 91-68);

S. Res. 56. Resolution to make a study of all matters within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Armed Services (Rept. No. 91-44);

S. Res. 57. Resolution authorizing the Select Committee on Small Business to make a complete study of the problems of small and independent businesses (Rept. No. 91-77);

S. Res. 59. Resolution to provide additional funds for the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences (Rept. No. 91-43);

S. Res. 60. Resolution authorizing the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs to investigate certain matters within its jurisdiction (Rept. No. 91-56);

S. Res. 65. Resolution to authorize the Senate to respond to official invitations received from foreign governments or parliamentary bodies and associations (Rept. No. 91-80); and

S. Res. 79. Resolution to authorize the Committee on Commerce to make certain studies (Rept. No. 91-47).

Under authority of the order of the Senate of February 7, 1969, Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, reported favorably, with an amendment, on February 7, 1969, the following resolutions:

S. Res. 25. Resolution to provide funds to study and evaluate the effects of laws pertaining to proposed reorganizations in the executive branch of the Government (Rept. No. 91-52);

S. Res. 27. Resolution authorizing a study of intergovernmental relationships between the United States and the States and municipalities (Rept. No. 91-54);

S. Res. 38. Resolution authorizing the Committee on Government Operations to study the origin of research and development programs financed by the departments and agencies of the Federal Government (Rept. No. 91-53);

S. Res. 39. Resolution to study administrative practice and procedure, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 91-57);

S. Res. 40. Resolution to investigate anti-trust and monopoly laws of the United States (Rept. No. 91-58);

S. Res. 42. Resolution authorizing a study of matters pertaining to constitutional amendments (Rept. No. 91-59);

S. Res. 43. Resolution to investigate matters

pertaining to constitutional rights (Rept. No. 91-60);

S. Res. 46. Resolution to investigate the administration, operation, and enforcement of the Internal Security Act (Rept. No. 91-66);

S. Res. 47. Resolution to study and examine the Federal judicial system (Rept. No. 91-64);

S. Res. 48. Resolution to investigate juvenile delinquency (Rept. No. 91-67);

S. Res. 49. Resolution to examine and review the statutes relating to patents, trademarks, and copyrights (Rept. No. 91-69);

S. Res. 50. Resolution to investigate problems created by the flow of refugees and escapees from communistic tyranny (Rept. No. 91-70);

S. Res. 51. Resolution to study revision and codification of the statutes of the United States (Rept. No. 91-71);

S. Res. 52. Resolution to make a full and complete study of the separation of powers under the Constitution (Rept. No. 91-61);

S. Res. 63. Resolution authorizing the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service to make certain investigations (Rept. No. 91-74);

S. Res. 64. Resolution to provide for a study of matters pertaining to the foreign policy of the United States by the Committee on Foreign Relations (Rept. No. 91-50);

S. Res. 66. Resolution to continue for one year the existing authority for the Committee on Finance to employ six additional clerical employees (Rept. No. 91-49);

S. Res. 68. Resolution to continue the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs (Rept. No. 91-78);

S. Res. 76. Resolution to continue the Special Committee on Aging (Rept. No. 91-79);

S. Res. 80. Resolution to authorize an investigation into the problems of education for American Indians (Rept. No. 91-73);

S. Res. 81. Resolution to authorize certain investigations and studies by the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare (Rept. No. 91-72); and

S. Res. 84. Resolution authorizing the Committee on the District of Columbia to investigate certain matters within its jurisdiction (Rept. No. 91-48).

Under authority of the order of the Senate of February 7, 1969, Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, reported favorably, with amendments, on February 7, 1969, the following resolution:

S. Res. 44. Resolution to investigate criminal laws and procedures (Rept. No. 91-62).

## READING OF WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS ON FRIDAY, FEBRUARY, 21, 1969

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of Washington's Farewell Address in the Senate this year, pursuant to the order of the Senate of January 24, 1901, be on Friday, February 21.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RECORD and to call it to the attention of my colleagues, particularly those of our neighboring New England States. It reads as follows:

**THE NEW PUTNAM, FROM DISASTER TO A BLOSSOMING COMMUNITY**  
(By Albert B. Southwick)

Ask the man on the street in Marlboro how to get to Putnam or Killingly, Conn., and he might scratch his head in puzzlement.

The same might apply to the average person in Shrewsbury—or Worcester—or Auburn—or Fitchburg.

But in two short years, all those communities will have something in common and they will know the quickest way to get to each other.

By the end of 1972, according to current predictions, they will be strung together like daisies in a chain by superhighways Route 52 and Route 290. By the end of 1974, Leominster and Fitchburg will be linked up to the northern extension of Route 52.

The big road has already pushed up from New York, New London and New Haven, through Killingly, Putnam, and Thompson to the Connecticut line at Webster.

It is finished from Gold Star Boulevard here in Worcester to Route 20 in Auburn.

When the gaps are filled in, travel time will be cut dramatically. The winding drive from Worcester to Putnam, which now takes an hour, will be slashed to about 30 minutes of smooth freeway travel.

**BLOSSOMING COMMUNITY**

All along the route, communities are pondering the implications of the big highway, much as the small towns in upper New York pondered the Erie Canal 140 years ago.

The impact of Route 52 is already being felt in Putnam. In the past few years, the city has blossomed forth as the retail center of northeastern Connecticut. One shopping center, with 17 businesses, is flourishing, a second is being developed in the city, while a third is being planned for the town.

The city. The town. Persons from Massachusetts do a double take when they run up against the quaint relics of government that still hang on in Connecticut. Yes, Virginia, there is a town of Putnam. Also a city of Putnam. The city is only a small part of the town in area, but it contains most of the 8,500 people. The city has a mayor and a council. The town is run by a board of selectmen. Everybody agrees that the arrangement is ridiculous. It may be phased out within a few years.

But if that seems complicated, travel down the road to Danielson and-or-Killingly, Danielson, an independent city for all intents and purposes, is a borough of the town of Killingly. Like the folks in the city of Putnam, the folks in the borough of Danielson get taxed twice.

**ACT OF GOD**

Unlike Putnam, Danielson has not seemed to profit from Route 52. Between 1961 and 1966, when Putnam was increasing its annual retail sales from about \$16 million to \$25 million, Danielson's retail sales were falling in inverse proportion—from \$21 million to \$15 million.

The go-getter types in Putnam say that Danielson is too conservative, afraid to take risks. But why should Putnam be so different?

It was partly an act of God, as the insurance companies put it. Putnam was a sleepy, shabby little mill town in the first weeks of August, 1955. Then came Hurricane Diane. The rushing waters of the French and Quinebaug Rivers, which merge just above the city, came thundering through with the force of 100 express trains. More than a hundred homes were wiped out, and another 400 devastated. Dozens of businesses were shattered. The heart of Putnam was scooped out and shoved downstream.

"Instant redevelopment," they still call it.

**CHARMING**

It might be more accurate to call it "instant demolition," for the center of the town was not completely rebuilt until 1964. Now, thanks to millions of dollars in federal and state funds, and the unfailing concern of Conn. Gov. John Dempsey (he was Putnam's mayor for eight years), and competent leadership at the local level, Putnam is perhaps the most charming little mill town around. The devastated core of downtown along the river is now a lovely park, where people walk and band concerts are held against the backdrop of the waterfalls.

The city is protected from future floods by the West Thompson Dam upstream, completed by the Army Engineers a few years ago.

In addition, the city has built a number of attractive public housing projects. Except for small areas of blight, like the famous "Bailou's Village," there are no slums at all.

Putnam has also been helped in its rehabilitation by a couple of spectacular fires that eliminated some less-than-elegant buildings. Plans are afoot for more civic projects.

Compared to other cities of its size, Putnam is miles ahead in the redevelopment race. Its future looks rosy. But is it all smooth sailing ahead?

A group of prominent citizens chewed that question over at lunch. Robert Bulger, long time head of the Putnam Redevelopment Agency and Housing Authority, and the sparkplug of Putnam's physical renaissance, still thinks much more should be done, especially in the field of housing.

Roger Kinne, former president of the Putnam Area Chamber of Commerce, feels that the tidy prosperous appearance of the city may be somewhat deceptive.

"We've got to find some way to keep our young people here," he asserted, echoing a cry heard in small communities across the land. "We don't have enough for them—no youth center, no art center, no YMCA. Putnam is just not an exciting place for young people."

But if youth does not think Putnam swings, it appeals to others—the settled family people, the old folks. Northeast Connecticut has the highest percentage of persons over 65 in the state.

A drive through the lovely countryside explains why. The rolling fields, the stone walls, the delightful town commons are like something from the last century. Grandma Moses would have loved Woodstock, and Thompson and Pomfret. The area is a sort of oasis from a turbulent world. No wonder many people love it.

**LABOR MARKET**

And also no wonder that eager youth finds it sedate and unexciting.

What does Putnam want? Does it want to become an industrial center, all hustle and bustle? Mayor R. Roger Brodeur looked pensive at the thought. In many ways, the people of Putnam like it as it is.

But times change. It is getting harder all the time to hire mill help for \$2 or \$2.50 an hour. Young people head for Hartford, New Haven or New York and the higher wages.

Low wage industries in larger cities have been saved by Puerto Ricans and Negroes. Would Putnam want to undertake that sort of sociological transformation?

Even if it wanted to, could it attract wage earners?

"If somebody wanted to come in here tomorrow and build a new factory," said Kinne, "we wouldn't know what to do. We couldn't supply the help. If he brought his own help, we couldn't supply the housing."

Putnam faces precisely the same dilemma faced by hundreds of other small communities.

**THEY WOULD LIKE TO KNOW**

But it has definite advantages. It is in a splendid location. It has plenty of land for expansion (in the town, if not the city). And it has talented leaders who can see the need of such things as art, recreation, and culture.

And, of course, it has the big highway, open south all the way to New York, and scheduled to open north to Worcester, Marlboro, Fitchburg and Boston in a very few years.

Will those cars and trailer trucks roll right through Putnam, north and south, or will the community become a productive magnet for enterprise and wealth? Will the road bring people in or take people away?

Putnam would like to know.

**FASCELL JOINS COLLEAGUES IN URGING U.N. TO CONSIDER IRAQI CRISIS IN SECURITY COUNCIL**

**HON. DANTE B. FASCELL**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 6, 1969

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, all Members of Congress, as well as all other Americans and, indeed, all of the civilized world, were shocked by the appalling persecution of Jews recently in Iraq. All of us are determined to do everything humanly possible to end this tragic episode and see that it never resumes.

As one Member of Congress, I have joined with many of my colleagues in sponsoring legislation to end the murder and tyranny of Jewish alleged spies in this Arab nation. We have called on the President to instruct our representative at the United Nations to seek a special meeting of the U.N. Security Council which would seek ways and means of preserving the human rights of the people of Iraq. We reverently hope that this approach will stop the bloodbath. In the meantime, we are also calling on all appropriate international agencies and diplomatic channels to use their influence in preventing the threatened genocide of Jews in Iraq.

If there is any possible other step that the Congress can take, I am sure that we will spare no effort in doing so. We cannot stand idly by while demagogues launch what could be a chilling effort to systematically abolish the Jewish community in Iraq.

Mr. Speaker, a few decades ago the world watched silently as one demagog prepared his master plan to rid his nation of what he called enemies dangerous to the well-being of the State. In his mind, the plan was so thorough that he called it the "Final Solution," indicating that after the completion of his work the problem would no longer exist. By ignoring the demagog and his scheme, by feigning ignorance of its aims, and by pleading noninvolvement, because the "problem" and the "solution" were internal matters and not the business of outsiders, a complacent world allowed the tyrant to begin his practice of genocide.

By the time men of good will were able and willing to assume the responsibility of stopping the tyrant, millions of Jews and other imagined opponents were ex-



Without committing himself to any increase, Secretary Romney has spoken highly of the interest subsidy idea, observing that it originated with Republicans in Congress.

When and if the Nixon Administration promises to seek increased subsidies from Congress, the corporation will seek clearance from the Securities and Exchange Commission for the stock it will issue to participants. It's expected SEC approval could be obtained by spring.

The NCHP hopes to line up 500 charter stockholders, mostly from the business and financial world. Each would be asked to invest \$100,000, for a total original investment of \$50 million. The corporation would keep \$2.5 million of its original capital for operating expenses and create a national partnership (with the same membership of 500) to invest the remaining \$47.5 million. This money would be invested in local partnerships, up to a maximum 25% participation in each; local investors would put up the remaining 75% or more to finance the low-rent housing projects in their communities.

It's figured this "seed money," by providing 10% down payments with mortgages covering 90% of the cost, in time could generate \$1.9 billion of construction financing. That would be enough to build 130,000 units, officials say.

The attraction to the investors is a potentially handsome return. Not only is it calculated that local housing projects will return a basic 8% profit (distributed among the national and local partners in accordance with their participations), but the advantage of fast tax depreciation would be available to both local and national investors.

Because of this tax advantage, it's calculated that investors would receive an actual return on their investments ranging from 24.4% in a project's second year to 16.8% in its 10th year. That return, says Mr. Muskof, would be "comparable to the yields sought by most industrial investors" and is required to attract private financing to low-cost housing.

#### A TIME TO SPEAK OUT

### HON. LEONARD FARBSTAIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 6, 1969

Mr. FARBSTAIN. Mr. Speaker, I bring to the attention of my colleagues a letter written to the editor of the New York Times by Mr. Eugene P. Connolly, a prominent citizen of New York City. The letter is particularly worthy of our consideration at the present time in view of the unfortunate challenges of the blacks in the city of New York:

NEW YORK, N.Y.

January 24, 1969.

The Editor,

The New York Times.

DEAR SIR: There is a time to be silent and there is a time to speak out. Now is the time for many voices, black and white, to cry out if we are to save our city from the limitless horrors of an urban society where neighbor hates neighbor and people hate people. To hate is to fear and to fear is to rot.

As one who has lived almost his entire adult life in New York City, no counterpart to what is taking place today has existed in our midst. The feeble, futile efforts of the Nazi Bund just prior to World War II earned them only the contempt of the people and the attempt to win converts to the anti-human cause of the "Master Race" foun-  
dered in well-earned ridicule.

What is most alarming is that a small minority is able to create this discord and dissension in a city that has been in the forefront of every meaningful fight for civil liberties in our history as a people. Because New York was the focal point of all immigration and the city represented those of all races and creeds and colors, its sympathies and heart responded to the oppressed and the needy.

Today, when most Americans recognize that the greatest unsolved domestic problem of our nation is to finally and at long last insure to our black brothers the full rights that are theirs by nature and law, it is unthinkable that we permit the development of what is becoming an open and brazen anti-semitism to infect our society by a small minority, unbelievably encouraged by some civic and political leaders who seemingly are unconscious of the effect of their acts. It is tragic that some black leaders adopt a tactic used against their own people for untold generations past.

Hearteningly, black leaders are increasingly speaking out against the prejudice and demagoguery used against them by those who oppose the struggle of the Negro people to obtain their full civil rights.

The incredible reading of anti-semitic poems in classrooms and on the air, or the inclusion of such material in a catalog issued by Mr. Hoving's Metropolitan Museum of Art, are not only shocking but inexcusable.

New Yorkers should be proud that so many dedicated Jewish teachers have chosen what is so often a troubled and difficult area and career. Since there is and has been a serious and growing shortage of teachers, and since the rolls are open to all those qualified, we should be thankful they have been willing to take up that torch on the road of education so basic to the winning of a fruitful life for the students of our city.

Before these incidents become a spreading canker that can poison our relations one to another, let responsible people stand up and be heard while time may still favor our hopes.

Very truly yours,

EUGENE P. CONNOLLY.

#### ELECTORAL COLLEGE REFORM

### HON. JAMES R. MANN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 6, 1969

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, there are many proposals being put forward to change the electoral college system for electing the President and Vice President. One of the more interesting I have encountered is that of the seventh-grade history class at Evans Junior High School in Spartanburg, S.C., taught by Mrs. Lucy Stroup. I recommend that my fellow Members take a look at their proposal, which shows that intelligent interest in public affairs is not limited by age. This class is to be commended for their initiative in coming up with a solution to this complex problem. I include their amendment in the RECORD at this point, along with its letter of transmittal:

EVANS JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL,

Spartanburg, S.C., November 21, 1968.

HON. JAMES R. MANN,  
House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MANN: We are members of a seventh grade history class at Evans Junior High School, and have followed the elections this year with much interest and excitement. We have learned a lot, too.

We are happy to have you as our new representative in Congress, and hope that one of the first jobs you perform will be to propose a Constitutional amendment which would revise the Electoral College system.

Our class has been studying Presidential election processes, and we have discussed weaknesses in the Electoral College system. We have written a proposed amendment to Amendment 12, and we are enclosing a copy for you to read. We suggested five changes in the Electoral College system.

We are hoping that changes will be made before the next Presidential election.

Respectfully yours,

Ricky Satterfield, Jimmy Isom, Donny Powell, Sally Nan Barber, Daniel Weeks, Jim Burchfield, Randy Stroupe, Sotires P. Kaleores, David J. Farmer, Paula Hines, Mary Anne Burch, Lanier Laney, Russell Jones, Merri Turner, Gary Graham, Deede Williams, Faith Cox, Ricky Pennebaker, Steve Jobe, Fran Yoffe, Cathy Patton, Mark Smith, Karen Cavin, Mary Pat Denham, Dale Petty, Ric Thomas, Tom Adams, Kathie Bell, Steve Poole.

#### PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO AMENDMENT 12 OF THE CONSTITUTION

All states of electors shall meet in their respective states and vote for President and Vice President, casting the exact number of votes received for their candidates in the direct popular election held in their state. They shall sign these votes and transmit them, sealed, to the seat of the Government of the United States directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all certificates, and the votes shall be counted. The Presidential candidate and his Vice Presidential running mate having the largest number of votes, if such number be at least 40 per cent of the total votes cast, shall be declared President and Vice President. If no candidates receive as much as 40 per cent of the total vote, or if candidates receiving 40 per cent have an equal number of votes, then, from the two candidates having the highest number of votes, Congress shall meet jointly and shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President and Vice President. The votes shall be taken by states, with each state casting as many votes as there are members from that state in Congress. A quorum for this purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators and members of the House of Representatives.

FRAN YOFFE,  
MARK SMITH,  
MARY PAT DENHAM,  
RIC THOMAS,  
KATHIE BELL,  
Committee Members.

#### THE NEW PUTNAM, CONN.

### HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 6, 1969

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, a very interesting article about my hometown of Putnam, Conn., was published recently in the Worcester, Mass., Evening Gazette. The article, entitled "The New Putnam, From Disaster to a Blossoming Community," is written by Albert B. Southwick, the very able chief editorial writer of the Gazette.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert this fine article into the

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terminated by the Nazis. The results of his insane acts are an historical monument to the philosophy of noninvolvement, a condemnation so absolute that men have pledged themselves never to allow "Final Solutions" to happen again.

On a recent Monday morning in Baghdad, the frightening pattern began anew, to the cheers and festive dancing of a deluded populace. On 14-foot scaffolds in the city squares of Iraq, men were executed for crimes against the state, crimes undocumented and unproven. While there is much doubt concerning the validity of the indictments for espionage and spying, there can be no doubt that nine of these men were convicted and killed because of their religion.

In the enlightened nations of the world, religious faith is not a crime, let alone one punishable by death. The thought of religious persecution is abhorrent, but to carry persecution to the extreme of death is nearly beyond human comprehension.

In the Arab States, there are many Jews being held against their will as hostages in the Arab campaign to destroy the State of Israel. Once proud communities of Jews in Iraq, Egypt, Yemen, and Algeria have been decimated to a few frightened people who again face the threat of extermination because of their religious faith.

Past attempts to save these survivors have been met with the same intransigence and unreasonable hatred that has typified the Arab attitude toward the peace offers of Israel. Just as the Arabs have avoided the conference table, they have ignored the ancient plea, "Let my people go." We ask now that the U.N. investigate the conditions of this captive people and find ways to free the Jews of Iraq from the Iraqi generals and judges, who mete out their sentence of death without the sanction of law or the benefit of reason.

The other dangerous ramifications of the Iraqi hangings are evident: the atmosphere of crisis in the Middle East has heightened and the cause of peace has been handed a staggering setback. For the cause of world peace, as well as for the cause of simple human mercy, the outrages of Baghdad must be ended at once.

We sincerely hope that the conscience and perseverance of free men everywhere will be enough to halt the acts which have brought us once again in sight of the monster of the "Final Solution"—a monster which, if unleashed again, could destroy us all.

#### EXTREMISTS FOR PEACE OR PROPHETS OF DOOM?

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 6, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, extremist citizens masquerading in the cloth and parading as prophets of peace must be placed in proper perspective for our peo-

ple. Their objective is not peace, but doom and death.

Maneuvering under the appealing label of "Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam," they serve only as Ho Chi Minh's little helpers. Their self-proclaimed objective may be peace, but always on Communist terms. Their disloyal expressions promote death to our loyal sons who serve in South Vietnam, that they, the unfaithful, have freedom to be disloyal.

That they were able to obtain a rendezvous with Mr. Kissinger—security adviser to our President—their mockery of our people by dignifying deserters from the armed services, basking in safety in Swedish sanctuaries, are outrages against all loyal Americans. These are intelligent people who are accountable for their acts and appreciate fully they serve to continue the war and prolong any peace results in Paris.

Most Americans are convinced that the intentions of this bunch of rabble-rousers is but to soften public opinion to a defeatist image in favor of Communist North Vietnam's butchers and to strengthen the Communists for additional concessions at the peace table.

One of their members, William Coffin, was granted the privilege, by force of Federal court order, to address the students of the University of Auburn. The Federal judge further aggravated this disgrace by forcing Auburn to provide facilities and payment from school funds to this convicted felon—a conspirator against the draft laws of our country.

So that our colleagues might have current information on the anti-American activities of these prophets of doom, I insert news releases from the local papers following my remarks:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post,  
Feb. 6, 1969]

MRS. KING, CLERGY TALK PEACE WITH  
KISSINGER

Six leaders of the Nation's religious movement for peace, including Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr., spent 40 minutes at the White House yesterday outlining their views to President Nixon's national security adviser, Henry A. Kissinger.

President Johnson and his staff declined to grant similar White House appointment to representatives of the same group in 1967 and 1968.

The White House session followed an outdoor religious ceremony on the Constitution Avenue steps of the Justice Department at which the peace group, Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam, commissioned an Episcopal priest to serve as pastor-at-large to American deserters in Sweden.

The Rev. William Sloane Coffin, chaplain of Yale University, who acted as spokesman for the group when they left the White House, said Kissinger had given them "a very respectful hearing for which we are very grateful."

#### QUESTIONS ON WAR

Mr. Coffin was one of several anti-war figures convicted last year of conspiring to abet violations of draft law. An appeal is pending.

Mr. Coffin said he and his colleagues raised the following points with Kissinger:

They questioned the purpose of continuing fighting in Vietnam while the Paris negotiations are under way.

They feel that U.S. peace aims are still unclear, and that the question of whether this country will accept a neutralist government in Vietnam is unanswered.

They asked whether the President's enunciation last week of a policy of nuclear "sufficiency" includes the proposed erection of a "thin" anti-ballistic missile system.

The peace group feels that as the Vietnam conflict draws to a close, amnesty should be granted to imprisoned draft resisters and to persons who have gone to self-exile or into hiding to avoid military service.

The organization also believes that the current mutiny trial of 21 prisoners in the Army's Presidio stockade in San Francisco is unjust and betrays "a real note of panic on the part of the military."

#### DECLINE COMMENT

Following the customary etiquette of meetings with White House officials, Mr. Coffin and others in the group declined to say what Kissinger had said to them.

In addition to Mrs. King, the group also included other familiar peace movement figures: Rabbi Abraham J. Heschel, a professor at Jewish Theological Seminary, New York; the Rev. Richard John Neuhaus, pastor of St. John's Lutheran Church, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Gerhard Elston of the National Council of Churches, and the Rev. Richard Fernandez, national director of Clergy and Laymen Concerned.

About 500 persons marched peacefully from Metropolitan African Methodist Episcopal Church, 1518 M st. nw., along the 15-block route to the Justice Department for the commissioning ceremony.

Mrs. King, who arrived in Washington in the morning, led the marchers as far as 15th and I streets nw. and then covered the remainder of the route by car. She carried a small bunch of violet chrysanthemums.

Organizers of the march said a chronic leg ailment makes it difficult for her to walk long distances and that she also was still fatigued from her just-completed journey to India.

In her talk outside the Justice Department, Mrs. King suggested the present era in America matches Charles Dickens' characterization of the French Revolution: "The worst of times and the best of times."

The Vietnam War—"Goliath's futility," she called it—continues, but "there is an emergence of modesty for the first time among tens of millions of Americans who have recognized we are not the world's policeman."

Echoes of the peace movement's jousts with President Johnson were recalled as Mrs. King spoke of "political leaders who have the temerity to offer both guns and butter as if they were equivalents."

She evoked cheers from the crowd, a group that ranged from long-haired young men and women to elderly couples, as she declared: "I do not want guns, with or without butter."

The Rev. Thomas L. Hayes, who is currently the executive secretary of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship, has agreed to spend a year in Stockholm as the emissary of Clergy and Laymen Concerned to the American deserters living in Sweden.

Officials of the organization estimate that deserters there now number about 300. Possibly another 50 are said to be living in Paris.

At the edge of the group, about 50 counter-demonstrators led by the Rev. Carl McIntire displayed signs calling for victory in Vietnam. Dr. McIntire is a fundamentalist radio preacher.

Caption under picture: Coretta King and members of Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam commission an Episcopal priest, the Rev. Thomas Hayes, as pastor-at-large to American deserters in Sweden at the Justice Department yesterday. From left, Rev. Richard Neuhaus, a Lutheran minister, Rabbi Abraham Heschel and Mrs. King. In the background is Rev. Richard McSorley, Georgetown University professor.

Caption from picture, Washington Post, January 25, 1969: ACCEPTS TRIBUTE.—Coretta King receives from India's President Zakir Husain the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for

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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—Extensions of Remarks February 6, 1969

Understanding, given posthumously to slain U.S. civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Dr. King's widow said she accepted the certificate and check for \$13,300, "not as an award for a job accomplished or a victory won," but "as a tribute to a well-fought fight and progress."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Feb. 2, 1969]

## MOBILIZATION AGAINST WAR TO OPEN HERE

The third national mobilization of Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam will be held Monday through Wednesday at Metropolitan AME Church, 1518 M St. NW, and other Washington churches.

Heading the list of scheduled speakers are Sen. George McGovern, D-S.D., and Rep. John Conyers, D-Mich. Both will address the opening session Monday morning at Metropolitan Church.

Hiber Conteris, a Uruguayan novelist; playwright and editor, will speak at an evening session Monday on the U.S. role in developing nations. Other speakers at general sessions and smaller lecture-discussions include Marcus Raskin, Arthur Waskow and Richard Barnett, all of the Institute for Policy Studies here, and David Harris, now appealing a three-year sentence as a draft-resister.

Some of the laymen and clergymen who will take part in the mobilization also were signers of a statement issued last week by Clergy and Laymen Concerned demanding that the Army drop plans to court-martial six soldiers charged with mutiny for taking part in a sit-down at the Presidio Stockade in San Francisco. The soldiers were protesting the killing of a disturbed prisoner who was trying to escape.

Among at least 35 signers were the Rev. John Sheerin, editor of the Catholic World; Rabbi Abraham Heschel, professor of Jewish ethics at Jewish Theological Seminary; Methodist Bishop Francis E. Keams of Ohio; Harvey Cox, author of "The Secular City," and the Rev. Jon L. Regier, associate general secretary, National Council of Churches. Sheerin and Heschel also will speak during the mobilization.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Feb. 2, 1969]

## COMMUNISM TOPIC OF TWO FRIDAY TALKS

Two guest speakers will discuss communism at different Catholic-sponsored events on Friday.

The Rev. Paul Oestreicher, a British journalist and ordained Anglican minister, will speak at 8:15 p.m. Friday in Gaston Hall, Georgetown University. His subject will be "The Christian-Marxist Dialogue."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Feb. 6, 1969]

U.S. COURT VOIDS BAN ON COFFIN  
(By J. M. McFadden)

MONTGOMERY, Ala., February 5.—A Federal judge overruled Auburn University's president here today and ordered that the Rev. William Sloane Coffin, Yale chaplain, be permitted to speak at the Alabama school Friday.

Auburn President Harry Philpott said he would appeal to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans and would ask a stay of the court order.

Calling Dr. Philpott's campus speaker rules "blatant political censorship," U.S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. ordered Auburn to provide Coffin facilities and payment from school funds.

The ruling said Philpott's oral rules controlling speaker invitations are unconstitutional and called them a violation of the First Amendment.

The Yale chaplain was convicted with Dr. Benjamin Spock last year of urging students to resist the Vietnam draft. He is free on appeal.

Last month, Philpott vetoed Coffin's appearance at Auburn and the sponsoring student-faculty group sued in Federal court.

Recreation in Alabama to the court's ruling was swift. Gov. Albert Brewer called the order "an insult . . . to the people of Alabama."

"This decree not only undermines the capable administration of Auburn University," he said, "but even goes so far as to direct" the University to pay a "convicted felon who has sought to influence young people to betray their country."

The court order said the State cannot "regulate the content of the ideas students may hear."

"To so is illegal and thus unconstitutional censorship in its rawest form."

While upholding Philpott's ultimate power to determine whether a speaker is invited to the campus, Johnson said, "This determination may not be made for the wrong reasons or for no reason at all."

Philpott ruled that students could not invite (1) a speaker who could reasonably be expected to advocate breaking a law; (2) a speaker who had been previously convicted of a felony; and (3) a speaker of the type represented by Coffin because he said it would be tantamount to University sanction of what the speaker advocated.

## SAILORS OF THE WORLD

## HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 6, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently many Members had the pleasure of meeting two Polish sailors who had just completed a voyage across the Atlantic in a 22-foot sailboat. They had sailed from Denmark where they had been granted asylum after a successful escape from Poland. They reached Miami last Christmas Eve.

An interesting story of these two brave sailors—Mieczyslaw and Piotr Ejsmont—has been written by Sidney Field in his popular column "Only Human," which appears daily in the New York, N.Y., Daily News.

The article is not only a tribute to these young courageous Poles, however, its deep significance lies in the spirit which motivated their daring adventure.

They named their boat *John* in honor of President Kennedy. They were sailing under a white and red Polish banner with the inscription "FPS"—free Polish sailors. Their dream was to place a wreath on President Kennedy's grave. By doing so they wanted to tell the world that Communist oppression did not extinguish the love of freedom and centuries old ties between Poland and the West.

The Ejsmonts belong to the generation which has grown up under the post-war totalitarian system that has been imposed upon Poland.

Their deed speaks more eloquently than anything else of Poland's true spirit, and the bankruptcy of communism.

Following is the text of Mr. Field's article in the January 27 edition of the News. I hope it will serve to remind all of us of our continued concern for the people of Poland who, despite their present fate, retain a deep commitment to

freedom and warm friendship for our country:

## SAILORS OF THE WORLD

(By Sidney Fields)

The journey covered 7,250 miles over water, from Poland to Denmark to the Canaries and across the Atlantic in a 22-foot sailboat.

The Ejsmont brothers, identical twins, 28, ruddy-faced and bearded six-footers, made the extraordinary voyage for an ordinary reason: they love the sea and its freedom. But even the waters around Poland's proletarian paradise is a prison.

"This is bad for boys who always dream of sailing around the world," said Piotr, pronounced Pete.

"In Poland, even if you have government orders, you cannot leave port without inspection by maritime security police," said Mieczyslaw, pronounced Mike.

"They always come aboard," Pete added, "and if there is more food than what is allowed, it is confiscated, you are fined and you can be put in jail."

They were brought up on the rivers and lakes around Grodno, northeast Poland, part of the vast real estate the Russians gobbled up after World War II. Their parents; a sister, Wanda; and a brother, Jan, are still there.

The twins were trained for the Polish Navy, served for three years and captained tourist boats going to Scandinavia and the Baltic countries. Too confining. So, in 1959, when they were 19, they decided to take a little boat trip to Denmark.

## RELEASED AFTER 6 MONTHS

A Polish patrol boat picked them up 10 miles from Copenhagen. They were brought back and jailed. For the next three weeks they were in solitary confinement and interrogated every night.

"They did not believe that we only wanted to sail around," Pete said.

"No, they did not mistreat us," Mike said, "but the food was terrible. We lost 20 pounds."

After six months their xenophobic captors agreed that the teenage twins were not on the CIA payroll and released them. But they were not allowed on the same ship together. After each trip their passports were taken away. For six years they were not permitted to leave Polish waters.

When they could, they carefully planned a second split. In July, 1965, Pete took a boatload of tourists to Copenhagen, told his first mate he was very sick and had to see a doctor at once and ordered him to take the ship back to Poland. When Mike arrived in a second boat, he suddenly got sick, too, and ordered his boat back to Poland. The brothers asked the Danes for political asylum. It was granted.

They then went to work, making beer bottle caps, electric cables, textiles; learned Danish and English; and when they saved enough money proceeded to build a 20-foot sailboat. It took them 10 months. They called it *John I*, after John F. Kennedy.

"By then we decided to sail to America and lay a wreath on the grave of Kennedy," Pete said.

Mike caught my skeptical eye. "In Poland, Kennedy is more revered than here," he said. "Especially by the young. People were still weeping in the streets three days after he was killed."

They set sail in *John I* on June 11, 1967. On the night of June 16 they were hit by a Danish freighter, which just kept going. For the next 30 hours the twins frantically bailed water out of their boat with pails. It had no pump. They barely made it to Bremerhaven.

"The boat was finished," Mike said. "A wreck. We had to take a train back to Copenhagen."



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within the OEO to receive a larger budget allocation than was initially requested.

Furthermore, we enjoy strong bi-partisan support in Congress. And President-elect Richard Nixon not only commended VISTA during the recent campaign, he has repeatedly emphasized his intention to expand the potential of voluntarism in this country.

#### REMAINING ISSUES

None of the above is meant to suggest that VISTA does not still have problems or that there is not a great deal of work to be done.

We need to increase recruiting efficiency so we can be even more demanding in the kind of Volunteers we select for VISTA service.

We need to develop a first rate system for the selection and training of community volunteers.

We have come up with a solution to the old supervision problem. But that solution still needs to be implemented at the field level.

We have conceived and developed the "team concept"—skilled and community volunteers working together under carefully selected and trained supervisors. But the plan must be put into effect all across the nation.

We have phased out many of what are by today's standards our weakest projects. The higher standards of tomorrow will require us to be equally rigorous in evaluating and cutting out "deadwood" in the months ahead.

We have developed a number of imaginative and creative programs in the field; and even more exciting ones are in the planning stage in every region. But an enormous amount remains to be done before we can honestly say that every VISTA project is conceptually sound, offering Volunteers the best possible opportunity to make a significant contribution to the poor and the nation.

A great deal remains to be done. But VISTA is definitely moving in the right direction. I think we can consider the past year as one of significant progress and that we can look to VISTA's future with confidence.

### U.S. COURT ORDERS UNIVERSITY TO HEAR CONVICTED FELON

**HON. JOE D. WAGGONER, JR.**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 6, 1969

Mr. WAGGONER. Mr. Speaker, if there is anyone left in the United States who has even the faintest question in his mind why the university campus is the gathering ground of the young Communist left, a story in today's Washington Post should blow away the clouds in their minds.

The President of Auburn University, one of the Nation's finest universities, has been forbidden to deny school facilities and funds from convicted felon, William Sloane Coffin, who poses in his off-hours as a minister of God at Yale University.

Auburn President Philpott tried to forestall a campus disorder by canceling an invitation to Coffin, darling of the New Left, to speak at the university, but a U.S. District Court judge has struck down the denial. This outrageous Federal intervention is described in the following news item from the Post:

U.S. COURT VOIDS BAN ON COFFIN

(By J. M. McFadden)

MONTGOMERY, ALA., February 5.—A Federal judge overruled Auburn University's president here today and ordered that the Rev.

William Sloane Coffin, Yale chaplain, be permitted to speak at the Alabama school Friday.

Auburn President Harry Philpott said he would appeal to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans and would ask a stay of the court order.

Calling Dr. Philpott's campus speaker rules "blatant political censorship," U.S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. ordered Auburn to provide Coffin facilities and payment from school funds.

#### RULES "UNCONSTITUTIONAL"

The ruling said Philpott's oral rules controlling speaker invitations are unconstitutional and called them a violation of the First Amendment.

The Yale chaplain was convicted with Dr. Benjamin Spock last year of urging students to resist the Vietnam draft. He is free on appeal.

Last month, Philpott vetoed Coffin's appearance at Auburn and the sponsoring student-faculty group sued in Federal court.

#### REACTION TO COURT ORDER

Reaction in Alabama to the court's ruling was swift. Gov. Albert Brewer called the order "an insult . . . to the people of Alabama."

"This decree not only undermines the capable administration of Auburn University," he said, "but even goes so far as to direct" the University to pay a "convicted felon who has sought to influence young people to betray their country."

The court order said the State cannot "regulate the content of the ideas students may hear."

"To do so is illegal and thus unconstitutional censorship in its rawest form."

#### PHILPOTT'S RULES

While upholding Philpott's ultimate power to determine whether a speaker is invited to the campus, Johnson said, "This determination may not be made for the wrong reasons or for no reason at all."

Philpott ruled that students could not invite (1) a speaker who could reasonably be expected to advocate breaking a law; (2) a speaker who had been previously convicted of a felony; and (3) a speaker of the type represented by Coffin because he said it would be tantamount to University sanction of what the speaker advocated.

Payment for the Coffin appearance would come from a \$10,000 fund acquired from student fees allocated for guest speakers.

### LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

**HON. FRANK HORTON**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 6, 1969

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, on February 16, 1918, Lithuanian patriots declared the independence of the Lithuanian State. During this coming week it is very fitting that the Congress of the United States commemorate this event by reminding the world that Lithuania and its people are determined to continue the fight for reestablishment of their own self-government.

During the 23 years that the Lithuanian people enjoyed self-determination as a free nation, few countries have ever demonstrated its capacity and ability for self-government as well as Lithuania did.

During that short span of independence Lithuania's civic leaders brought about much-needed land reforms. They created and expanded industry, established an adequate transportation system, and enacted social and educational

policy that could still serve as an example to other nations of the world.

This great progress was brought to a sudden halt when Lithuania became, once again, the victim of a nation who succeeded in enslaving its people.

Every since the 12th century, Lithuania's history has been enlabeled with heroic battles for liberty. Even under the yoke of Russian domination, which lasted 120 years, the Lithuanian people never ceased to struggle and agitate in revolt after revolt, trying to be free.

This year I am once again taking a firm stand to assure the people of Lithuania, and all the Baltic States, that the Congress will seek to cause world opinion to restore their inalienable rights.

On the first day of the 91st Congress I introduced a resolution calling for the establishment of a Committee on the Captive Nations to study the facts concerning conditions existing in Lithuania and other captive nations.

It would be the express purpose of the Captive Nations Committee to find means by which the United States can assist the people of the captive nations to retain their national and individual freedom.

Mr. Speaker, I shall not cease in my personal efforts to engender the restoration of the rights possessed by the free nations of the world to all those inhabitants of nations who are subjected to domination and exploitation.

The people of Lithuanian descent in America who have valiantly fought to espouse the cause of freedom and liberty for their people at home are in the best position to judge the merits of freedom against oppression.

We must help them be heard throughout the world community by keeping our Nation as a source of hope to those people who have been placed in the shadows of unwanted Communist domination.

To spread joy, we must spread the word of freedom. To unshackle the bonds of tyranny, we must rededicate ourselves to the cause of freedom for all men.

Soviet domination cannot endure when the spirit of freedom exists as an indestructible flame in the hearts of the Lithuanian people. The desire of all men to choose their own destinies can never be extinguished.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, let us mark this 51st anniversary of Lithuania's independence by encouraging the continuing struggle for self-determination in all countries of the world and by saluting all the patriots of freedom who fight to bring nations in bondage out of the darkness into the light.

### ME CONGRESSMAN CELLER'S STATEMENT ON THE MIDDLE EAST

**HON. JOHN BRADEMAs**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 6, 1969

Mr. BRADEMAs. Mr. Speaker, on January 3, 1969, our distinguished colleague from New York, the Honorable EMANUEL CELLER, made a statement in the House with reference to the present dangerous situation in the Middle East. I take this opportunity to associate myself with this statement.

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

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Washington, D.C. 20510

[Streets northwest unless otherwise stated]

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 Allott, Gordon, *Colo.*-----  
 Anderson, Clinton F., 6 Wesley Circle  
*N. Mex.*  
 Baker, Howard H., Jr.,  
*Tenn.*  
 Bayh, Birch E., *Ind.*-----  
 Bellmon, Henry, *Okla.*-----  
 Bennett, Wallace F., *Utah*-----  
 Bible, Alan, *Nev.*-----  
 Boggs, J. Caleb, *Del.*-----  
 Brooke, Edward W., *Mass.*-----  
 Burdick, Quentin N.,  
*N. Dak.*  
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 Cook, Marlow W., *Ky.*-----  
 Cooper, John Sherman, *Ky.*-----  
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 Cranston, Alan, *Calif.*-----  
 Curtis, Carl T., *Nebr.*-----  
 Dirksen, Everett M., *Ill.*-----  
 Dodd, Thomas J., *Conn.*-----  
 Dole, Robert, *Kans.*-----  
 Dominick, Peter H., *Colo.*-----  
 Eagleton, Thomas F., *Mo.*-----  
 Eastland, James O., *Miss.*-----  
 Ellender, Allen J., *La.*-----  
 Ervin, Sam J., Jr., *N.C.*-----  
 Fannin, Paul J., *Ariz.*-----  
 Fong, Hiram L., *Hawaii*-----  
 Fulbright, J. W., *Ark.*-----  
 Goldwater, Barry, *Ariz.*-----  
 Goodell, Charles E., *N.Y.*-----  
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 Gravel, Mike, *Alaska*-----  
 Griffin, Robert P., *Mich.*-----  
 Gurney, Edward J., *Fla.*-----  
 Hansen, Clifford P., *Wyo.*-----  
 Harris, Fred R., *Okla.*-----  
 Hart, Philip A., *Mich.*-----  
 Hartke, Vance, *Ind.*-----  
 Hatfield, Mark, *Oreg.*-----  
 Holland, Spessard L., *Fla.*-----  
 Hollings, Ernest F., *S.C.*-----  
 Hruska, Roman L., *Nebr.*-----  
 Hughes, Harold E., *Iowa*-----  
 Inouye, Daniel K., *Hawaii*-----  
 Jackson, Henry M., *Wash.*-----  
 Javits, Jacob K., *N.Y.*-----  
 Jordan, B. Everett, *N.C.*-----  
 Jordan, Len B., *Idaho*-----  
 Kennedy, Edward M., *Mass.*-----  
 Long, Russell B., *La.*-----  
 McCarthy, Eugene J., 3525 Woodley Rd.,  
*Minn.*  
 McClellan, John L., *Ark.*-----  
 McGee, Gale W., *Wyo.*-----  
 McGovern, George, *S. Dak.*-----  
 McIntyre, Thomas J., *N.H.*-----  
 Magnuson, Warren G., The Shoreham  
*Wash.*  
 Mansfield, Mike, *Mont.*-----  
 Mathias, Charles McC.,  
*Jr., Md.*  
 Metcalf, Lee, *Mont.*-----  
 Miller, Jack R., *Iowa*-----  
 Mondale, Walter F., *Minn.*-----  
 Montoya, Joseph M.,  
*N. Mex.*  
 Moss, Frank E., *Utah*-----  
 Mundt, Karl E., 122 Schotts  
*S. Dak.*-----  
 Murphy, George, *Calif.*-----  
 Muskie, Edmund S., *Maine*-----  
 Nelson, Gaylord, *Wis.*-----  
 Packwood, Robert W.,  
*Oreg.*  
 Pastore, John O., *R.I.*-----  
 Pearson, James B., *Kans.*-----  
 Pell, Claiborne, *R.I.*-----

Percy, Charles H., *Ill.*-----  
 Prouty, Winston L., *Vt.*-----  
 Proxmire, William, *Wis.*-----  
 Randolph, Jennings, W. Va. 4608 Reservoir Rd.  
 Ribicoff, Abraham A., *Conn.*-----  
 Russell, Richard B., *Ga.*-----  
 Saxbe, William B., *Ohio*-----  
 Schweiker, Richard S., *Pa.*-----  
 Scott, Hugh, *Pa.*-----  
 Smith, Margaret Chase, 305 C St. NE.  
 (Mrs.), *Maine*  
 Sparkman, John, *Ala.*-----  
 Spong, William B., Jr., *Va.*-----  
 Stennis, John, *Miss.*-----  
 Stevens, Theodore F.,  
*Alaska*  
 Symington, Stuart, *Mo.*-----  
 Talmadge, Herman E., *Ga.*-----  
 Thurmond, Strom, *S.C.*-----  
 Tower, John G., *Tex.*-----  
 Tydings, Joseph D., *Md.*-----  
 Williams, Harrison A., Jr.,  
*N.J.*  
 Williams, John J., *Del.*-----  
 Yarborough, Ralph, *Tex.*-----  
 Young, Milton R., *N. Dak.*-----  
 Young, Stephen M., *Ohio*-----  
 Quebec House So.  
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 Secretary—Francis R. Valeo.  
 Sergeant at Arms—Robert G. Dunphy.  
 Chief Clerk—Darrell St. Claire.  
 Secretary for the Majority—J. S. Kimmitt.  
 Secretary for the Minority—J. Mark Trice.  
 Chaplain—Rev. Edward L. R. Elson, D.D.

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Sciences*

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 Messrs. Curtis, Hatfield, Goldwater, Mathias,  
 and Saxbe.

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 Eastland, Talmadge, Jordan of North Caro-  
 lina, McGovern, Allen, Aiken, Young of North  
 Dakota, Miller, Curtis, Cook, and Dole.

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 Clellan, Magnuson, Holland, Stennis, Pastore,  
 Bible, Byrd of West Virginia, McGee, Mats-  
 field, Proxmire, Yarborough, Montoya, Young  
 of North Dakota, Mundt, Mrs. Smith, Messrs.  
 Hruska, Allott, Cotton, Case, Fong, Boggs,  
 and Pearson.

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 ington, Jackson, Ervin, Cannon, Young of  
 Ohio, Inouye, McIntyre, Byrd of Virginia,  
 Mrs. Smith, Messrs. Thurmond, Tower,  
 Dominick, Murphy, Brooke, Goldwater, and  
 Schweiker.

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 Mondale, Hollings, Hughes, Cranston, Ben-  
 nett, Tower, Brooke, Percy, Goodell, and  
 Packwood.

*Committee on Commerce*  
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 Hartke, Hart, Cannon, Long, Moss, Hollings,  
 Inouye, Tydings, Spong, Cotton, Scott,  
 Prouty, Pearson, Griffin, Hansen, Baker, and  
 Goodell.

*Committee on the District of Columbia*  
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 Eagleton, Prouty, Goodell, and Mathias.

*Committee on Finance*  
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 Talmadge, McCarthy, Hartke, Fulbright,  
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 of Delaware, Bennett, Curtis, Dirksen, Miller,  
 Jordan of Idaho, and Fannin.

*Committee on Foreign Relations*  
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 Mansfield, Gore, Church, Symington, Dodd,  
 Pell, McGee, Aiken, Mundt, Case, Cooper,  
 Williams of Delaware, and Javits.

*Committee on Government Operations*  
 Messrs. McClellan (chairman), Jackson,  
 Ervin, Muskie, Ribicoff, Harris, Metcalf,  
 McCarthy, Allen, Mundt, Javits, Percy,  
 Griffin, Stevens, and Gurney.

*Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs*  
 Messrs. Jackson (chairman), Anderson,  
 Bible, Church, Moss, Burdick, McGovern,  
 Nelson, Metcalf, Gravel, Allott, Jordan of  
 Idaho, Fannin, Hansen, Hatfield, Stevens,  
 and Bellmon.

*Committee on the Judiciary*  
 Messrs. Eastland (chairman), McClellan,  
 Ervin, Dodd, Hart, Kennedy, Bayh, Burdick,  
 Tydings, Byrd of West Virginia, Dirksen,  
 Hruska, Fong, Scott, Thurmond, Cook, and  
 Mathias.

*Committee on Labor and Public Welfare*  
 Messrs. Yarborough (chairman), Randolph,  
 Williams of New Jersey, Pell, Kennedy, Nel-  
 son, Mondale, Eagleton, Cranston, Hughes,  
 Javits, Prouty, Dominick, Murphy, Schweiker,  
 Bellmon, and Saxbe.

*Committee on Post Office and Civil Service*  
 Messrs. McGee (chairman), Yarborough,  
 Randolph, Hartke, Burdick, Hollings, Moss,  
 Fong, Boggs, Fannin, Stevens, and Bellmon.

*Committee on Public Works*  
 Messrs. Randolph (chairman), Young of  
 Ohio, Muskie, Jordan of North Carolina,  
 Bayh, Montoya, Spong, Eagleton, Gravel,  
 Cooper, Boggs, Baker, Dole, Gurney, and  
 Packwood.

*Committee on Rules and Administration*  
 Messrs. Jordan of North Carolina (chair-  
 man), Cannon, Pell, Byrd of West Virginia,  
 Allen, Curtis, Cooper, Scott, and Thurmond.

UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT  
 Mr. Chief Justice Warren, of California, Hotel  
 Sheraton-Park, Washington, D.C.  
 Mr. Justice Black, of Alabama, 619 S. Lee St.,  
 Alexandria, Va.  
 Mr. Justice Douglas, of Washington, 4852  
 Hutchins Pl.  
 Mr. Justice Harlan, of New York, 1677 31st St.  
 Mr. Justice Brennan, of New Jersey, 3037  
 Dumbarton Ave.  
 Mr. Justice Stewart, of Ohio, 5136 Palisade  
 Lane.  
 Mr. Justice White, of Colorado, 6801 Hamp-  
 shire Rd., McLean, Va.  
 Mr. Justice Fortas, of Tennessee, 3210 R St.  
 Mr. Justice Marshall, of New York, 6233 Lake-  
 view Dr., Falls Church, Va.

OFFICERS OF THE SUPREME COURT  
 Clerk—John F. Davis, 4704 River Rd.  
 Deputy Clerk—Edmund P. Cullinan, 4823  
 Reservoir Rd.  
 Deputy Clerk—Michael Rodak, 6311 Joslyn  
 Pl., Cheverly, Md.  
 Marshal—T. Perry Lippitt, 6004 Corbin Rd.  
 Reporter—Henry Putzel, Jr., 3703 33d St.  
 Librarian—H. C. Hallam, Jr., 10927 Pleasant  
 Acres Dr., Adelphi, Md.

UNITED STATES JUDICIAL CIRCUITS  
JUSTICES ASSIGNED  
TERRITORY EMBRACED

*District of Columbia judicial circuit:* Mr.  
 Chief Justice Warren. *District of Columbia.*  
*First judicial circuit:* Mr. Justice Fortas.  
 Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire,  
 Puerto Rico, Rhode Island.

*Second judicial circuit:* Mr. Justice Harlan.  
 Connecticut, New York, Vermont.

*Third judicial circuit:* Mr. Justice Brennan.  
 Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virgin  
 Islands.

*Fourth judicial circuit:* Mr. Chief Justice  
 Warren. Maryland, North Carolina, South  
 Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia.

*Fifth judicial circuit:* Mr. Justice Black.  
 Alabama, Canal Zone, Florida, Georgia,  
 Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas.

*Sixth judicial circuit:* Mr. Justice Stewart.  
 Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio, Tennessee.

*Seventh judicial circuit:* Mr. Justice Mar-  
 shall. Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin.

*Eighth judicial circuit:* Mr. Justice White.  
 Arkansas, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Ne-  
 braska, North Dakota, South Dakota.

*Ninth judicial circuit:* Mr. Justice Douglas.  
 Alaska, Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana,  
 Nevada, Oregon, Washington, Guam, Hawaii.

*Tenth judicial circuit:* Mr. Justice White.  
 Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma,  
 Utah, Wyoming.

ing and Currency is meddling in Swiss affairs and by some piece of legerdemain is attempting to destroy the banking structure of Switzerland. This is untrue. In my opening remarks at the preliminary hearings I said:

"No country, institution, or person is being accused of any wrongdoing, nor is there any idea of generating undue publicity of the sensationalist type. Our only desire is to obtain more and precise information on this matter which may or may not lead to further hearings and remedial legislation."

We are interested in foreign banking law only insofar as it pertains to the use of such law to violate American law. The Committee staff has been meticulously instructed not to concern themselves with the law of any foreign jurisdiction since it is none of our business. The witnesses at our preliminary hearing observed that the only realistic approach to restriction of the abuses should be directed against domestic wrongdoers, and that legislation, if any, should be couched in purely domestic terms.

Switzerland is a great nation which deserves the highest esteem of all Americans. The fiscal stability and their banking expertise has long been admired by fiscal experts throughout the world. There is absolutely and utterly no intention of doing anything which would jeopardize our friendly relations with that great nation. Our sole concern is the enforcement of American law.

Very truly yours,

WRIGHT PATMAN,  
Chairman.

#### TRIBUTE TO AMERICAN LAW DIVISION

#### HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 6, 1969

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to pay special tribute to the outstanding scholarship and legal research of the American Law Division of the Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, headed by Mr. Harry N. Stein, and also to the Government and General Research Division.

The Committee on the Judiciary processes a wide variety of legislation on diverse subjects, ranging from civil rights to amendments to the Constitution, gun control legislation, and criminal procedures in the Federal courts. In all of these areas, as well as other matters within the legislative jurisdiction of the committee, the small but hard-working and dedicated staff of the American Law Division has provided invaluable assistance in research to the members and staff of the committee.

In the current hearings on electoral college reform before the Committee on the Judiciary, there will be inserted in the hearing record a series of tables and statistical compilations bearing upon various proposals for revising our presidential election system. These materials bear further testimony to the outstanding research assistance rendered to the Congress by the Legislative Reference Service. The Judiciary Committee is indebted to the members of the staff of the American Law Division who, year in and year out, furnish superlative research assistance and legal analysis on a variety of subjects pending before the committee. I wish to acknowledge publicly their outstanding contribution.

#### WHERE IS OUR SENSE OF PURPOSE?

#### HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 6, 1969

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, in the view of Ray Tschimperle, editor of the Chaska (Minn.) Weekly Valley Herald, confusion over what constitutes a sound philosophy of government has contributed to national turmoil and unhappiness. Many of us are inclined to agree, and I am pleased therefore to introduce his thoughtful and provocative commentary into the RECORD.

As Mr. Tschimperle wisely asserts, the year ahead "may prove to be a year of testing of people, not a President—people who sadly need a renewed sense of purpose based on the ideals and principles of self-government."

#### WHERE IS OUR SENSE OF PURPOSE?

The principal thing that may be said of 1968 is that it was not a particularly felicitous year. It was a year of tragedy, strife, confusion and contradiction. We had continuing prosperity for most people—accompanied by growing domestic dissension. In Viet Nam, U.S. observers spoke optimistically about the military situation. At the same time, the patience of the American public with the war appeared to come to an end. For better or for worse, this country's armed opposition to Communism in Southeast Asia may be terminated in the not-too-distant future.

It will seem to many, in looking back over the past year, that much of our trouble stems from confusion of philosophies and labels—a confusion that has existed for a long time, but in 1968 reached a climax. The confusion is well typified in the career of Mr. Johnson as President. He went into office with the near unanimous support of the people. He carried out his pledge. An unprecedented wave of social legislation became law. Untold billions of federal dollars have been committed to programs of health and Welfare, education, urban rehabilitation, a broad war on poverty and environmental improvement. All of these things have been produced under the label of liberalism. In fact, liberalism has become nearly synonymous with the outpouring of governmental tax funds and broad expansion of government powers. This in itself is perhaps the most confusing and contradictory phenomenon of our times. Historically, liberalism is the antithesis of authoritarian government.

Many reasons have been given for Mr. Johnson's eclipse in popularity, of which the Viet Nam war ranks high. Yet, he brought into full flower the highly popular philosophy of government responsibility for solving social and economic problems. Some call it the welfare state. There is no reason to doubt that Mr. Johnson was sincerely striving to give the people what they thought they wanted. Measured by legislation, he was largely successful. Logically, he should have looked forward to tranquility and strong support. Instead, he got riots. Before the end of his first full term as an elected President of the United States, he fell so low in popular esteem he was compelled to announce that he would not be a candidate for reelection.

It is difficult to believe the Viet Nam war is wholly accountable for the sudden reversal of Mr. Johnson's political fortunes. His misfortune—if it may be called that—could be a symptom of national confusion in a day when love of country is considered juvenile by many, patriotism corny, and Presidents are chosen on the strength of their ability to keep everybody happy. The decline in Mr. Johnson's popularity accelerated when the

cost, both in inflation and taxes, of the government's increasing dominance began to be felt.

As a new President prepares to take office, we hear a great deal about the task before him of "bringing the country together." Judgment is being withheld until people can see how he performs. Perhaps it might be well in the coming months for the people to look inward and judge themselves. Our country will become what the people make it. Unless we are ready to accept a dictatorship, we should cease expecting the President of the United States to be all things to all men. He is a fellow citizen filling one of the world's toughest and most dangerous jobs.

In the long run, the President can but reflect the philosophy and purpose of the people. We should not ask the new President to perform like a monkey on a stick. We should ask, what is our philosophy? Do we believe in local initiative? Do we believe in the responsibilities, as well as the rights and liberties of the individual? Do we believe in the American system? The future of the country depends on our answers to these questions. The man in the White House cannot answer them for us. Nineteen hundred and sixty-nine may prove to be a year of testing of people, not a President—people who sadly need a renewed sense of purpose based on the ideals and principles of self-government.

#### ME PROTEST AGAINST BARBAROUS ACTS OF IRAQI GOVERNMENT

#### HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 6, 1969

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, more than 1,500 people met this week at the Jewish Community Center in Springfield, Mass., to protest the Iraqi Government's execution of 14 persons on the pretext of spying charges. The victims—nine of them Jews—were hanged in a barbarous public spectacle unparalleled in recent Middle East history. I feel sure my colleagues join me in strongly endorsing the following resolution adopted at this week's protest meeting in Springfield:

#### RESOLUTION

We, the Jewish Community of Springfield, Massachusetts, decry and protest the barbarism, brutality, and violation of basic human decencies and human rights which is now occurring in Iraq.

We are further concerned with the pending threat of further executions of alleged spies—Iraqis as well as Americans, Jews as well as non-Jews.

We are concerned with terrorized remnants of Jews in Iraq, Syria, and Egypt, many of whom have been imprisoned and under house arrest for years.

We call upon the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, along with appropriate non-governmental agencies to lend their voices in opposition so that further executions will be avoided and the threat of genocide eliminated.

We fervently implore men of all faiths and creed to join with us in expressing their concern in this latest episode of man's inhumanity to man.

Previous commitments prevented me from taking part in the meeting, Mr. Speaker, but I sent the following telegram expressing my views on the mass murder carried out by the Iraqi Government:



apparently would like Swiss banks to screen all prospective American depositors to make sure that no crooks are among them. Naturally, any good bank virtually anywhere will make a reasonable effort to ascertain the identity of its customers, especially when large sums are involved. But how can a bank of any country be expected to play the role of Sherlock Holmes, Scotland Yard, the FBI and the District Attorney, rolled into one, for another nation's government? Can our banks here investigate their clients to the satisfaction of the laws of, say, Argentina, the Philippines, or Zambia? And let us be honest: Is there really anywhere such a thing as monetary patriotism in time of peace? Is it not incumbent upon every country to draft its own tax laws and to implement them in a manner satisfactory and practicable to ensure its own efficient and fair revenue collection? And is it not already a matter of co-operation that American depositors with Swiss banks in Switzerland must pay a 30% withholding tax on interest received and other yield, of which five-sixths is repayable provided the American account holder registers in Switzerland that he has satisfied U.S. authorities with regard to taxation in this country, as provided by the Swiss-U.S. Double Taxation Agreement?

Investments in American stocks by Swiss banks are huge indeed. While many of them may in truth be on behalf of their American customers, it is doubtless a fact that most are for the account of clients other than Americans. In this area, Swiss banks cooperate in that all but a handful of very small ones abide by the margin requirements governing stock trading in the U.S., although they are not compelled to do so by Swiss law. The few who do not are invariably found to be non-members of the Swiss Bankers Association, and some of them, although established in Switzerland, are not Swiss owned.

In a couple of recent cases, e.g., where U.S. authorities discovered that Arzi Bank—an almost unknown outfit—enabled some of its American customers to put up as little as 10%, this surely was not in the interest of Swiss banking as a whole, because the banking community of the Confederation hardly derives a benefit from countering official U.S. attempts to halt excessive speculation in the largest and most attractive capital market in the world. It should instead be emphasized that the huge purchases of American securities through Swiss banks have substantially helped the U.S. balance-of-payments position—at least for the time being. And the vast majority of known and truly Swiss banks in Switzerland has, indeed, avoided all transactions in American securities that have not been properly registered with the U.S. Securities & Exchange Commission.

The introduction of still more exchange controls in the U.S., in addition to the Interest Equalization Tax and the curbs on the flow of capital into direct foreign investments, such as Mr. Patman's proposal that legislation make it a criminal offense for U.S. citizens to deal with Swiss banks—can have but one result. It will give the outboard tide of funds from our shores an added push, because it would be clear admission (a) that the U.S. dollar keeps losing its freedom; (b) that American citizens are losing more and more of their liberties; and last but not least (c) that all is far from well with our greenback. . . . He who excuses himself, merely accuses himself. And this, peculiarly, is why the Swiss banking community has but on rare occasions defended itself against all fanciful accusations so often leveled against it. Besides, as far as the great majority of respectable banks in Switzerland is concerned, it is more difficult for the innocent to prove their innocence than for others to allege their guilt.

The globally respected and well-established Swiss banks offer exquisite service, a background of decades of political stability, as

well as maximum flexibility. The last-mentioned exists because banks in Switzerland are not restricted or compartmentalized but may act freely as commercial bankers, savings banks, investment banks, stock brokers, mortgage banks, business agents, trust companies and financial advisers, both domestically and internationally. Whatever the foolish legend, they do not cater to South American dictators or Mafia magnates, and if the oil-rich sheiks of the Middle-East trust them, this has nothing to do with ciphered accounts and bank secrecy. And it should be added that the overwhelming majority of anonymous accounts in Swiss banks belong to Europeans and to citizens of countries ravaged by war, again and again subjected to political upheavals, or the victims of perennial inflation. Important in this connection: Swiss law even forbids Swiss authorities to obtain information from a taxpayer's bank unless there is a High Court's warrant or judgment on criminal grounds.

The fundamental misunderstanding: The American society is one which by and large loves publicity and does not even mind the most glaring neon-light illumination of a man's private life. In tiny—in terms of natural endowment, almost resourceless—densely populated Switzerland—the only nation of all practicing direct democracy from the bottom up—privacy is inalienably an individual's civil right, and Swiss abhorrence of "economic nudism" causes this liberty to be guarded so jealously that at times it militates against progress.

The state can never be the master and the government must always remain the servant in Switzerland, because sovereignty, there, is vested directly in the people, and this immediacy—almost to the exclusion of the intermediaryship of election or appointed officials—is constantly exercised by the voters on all levels. Moreover, it seems to be noteworthy that while many, here, look with suspicion upon Swiss banks' reticence, Swiss bankers consider the kind of blunt advertising practiced by banks in this country a form of ambulance chasing, incompatible with their professional code of conduct and mores. The accusations that the promotional devices of Swiss banks "include personal calls on U.S. prospects who are shown how secret accounts can beat American laws" fall by the wayside because Swiss financial institutions do not even advertise in our sense in their own home territory. Moreover, Switzerland more frequently than not is inundated by an inflow of unwanted volatile funds. Why then should this avalanche be stepped up?

Completely unmentioned are two rather salient facts: (1) Because of growing distrust in the U.S. dollar, the hand-payment fee for transfers out of banking channels of dollars from here to, say, Geneva, is now up to "4.75% from the top" or even more compared with only 0.5%-0.75% a few years ago. Does that not reflect fright and flight produced in our parts rather than "solicitation" by the Swiss? (2) During the recent gold bubbles, i.e., when suspicion of the dollar's stability reached new highs, many Americans became keenly aware that, after all, their dollar is not as good as gold, but that U.S. laws deny them the right to own gold, although the citizens of more than five dozen countries may do so. During those hectic days, the largest, oldest and universally most respected Swiss banks and many smaller ones received by check and in cash, by cable and in ordinary envelopes such huge quantities of dollars from American depositors—many of them pensioners or small savers—that even upon employment of hundreds of extra clerks they could not open the mail fast enough, book the new entries and return receipts—within less than six to eight weeks.

The bad publicity suffered by Swiss banks, ironically, has so far had only one concrete result: It has made banking in Switzerland so mysterious, so attractive and so desir-

able—that the dash into Swiss accounts in recent years has gained greatly in both volume and velocity. End-1967, the combined capital and reserves of all Swiss banks together came to only \$1.74 billion, yet demand, time and savings deposits with them aggregated \$20.1 billion and their combined balance sheet no less than \$27.5 billion. Thus, these comprehensive-service organizations must be doing something right. . . . And as Swiss financing rests on a small economic foundation and limited initial capital, it can only be confidence that has propelled it to the worldwide prominence it enjoys.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY,

Washington, D.C. January 28, 1969.

To the EDITORS,

*Barron's National Business and Financial Weekly*, Dow Jones & Co., Chicago, Mass.

DEAR SIR: The article in your January 20, 1969, issue entitled "Assault on Privacy" prepared by S. J. Rundt & Associates, is so replete with half truths and self-serving propaganda that it bespeaks a complete misunderstanding of our recent hearings on the *Legal and Economic Impact of Foreign Banking Procedures on the United States*. A point by point review of Mr. Rundt's disconnected diatribe would serve a less useful purpose than an explanation of our Committee's actions.

Members of this Committee have become quite concerned about the use of secret foreign bank facilities as a mechanism in schemes to avoid responsibilities imposed by the laws of the United States. Our concern arose from a number of reported court cases, criminal indictments, agency investigations and the like. Most of these cases were included in the record of our hearings. Even a cursory examination of them amply justifies the Committee's interest.

There are conscious efforts by American citizens and others to engage in activities which undermine the purpose of American banking laws, American securities laws, American tax laws, and American criminal laws. However, it was decided that before launching the legislative process that it would be best to find out the extent of this conduct. Since most of the activities complained of were matters of interest to the Justice Department and the Securities and Exchange Commission and most of the cases came from the New York City area, it was decided to hold hearings of a preliminary nature where officials of these two agencies and their New York offices would be invited to testify.

At the hearings on December 9, 1968, the statement of the Chairman made it quite clear that the hearing was "only a preliminary inquiry to determine if there is a problem sufficient and serious to warrant further legislative action." Any reasonable man reading the testimony of these excellent and experienced witnesses would conclude that further Congressional action is warranted. Accordingly, at the close of the hearings I announced my interest to introduce legislation which would prevent the use of secret foreign banking facilities to avoid responsibilities imposed by American law.

The Committee staff has been working on a draft bill which will hopefully be introduced in the near future. If the Committee decides to take up this bill, there will be full hearings and all interested parties will be given an opportunity to make their views known.

It is unfortunate that this recitation of history has been made necessary by Mr. Rundt's careless treatment of the facts. In the event the Committee has hearings, we shall invite him to appear.

Of greater concern, however, is the implication that the House Committee on Bank-

TELEGRAM

I join you in strenuously protesting the Iraqi government's execution of fourteen persons accused of spying. The United States and the United Nations, I feel, should promptly and formally condemn this barbarous act. It seems questionable, to say the least, that the UN should condemn Israel for the destruction of a few airplanes and remain discreetly mute at the public hanging of nine Jews and the violent murders of scores of others by Arab terrorists operating within Israel's borders. I hope and pray that Israel will achieve her goal of ending bloodshed in the Middle East and of establishing a just and meaningful peace there. Please inform me of any resolutions adopted at the protest meeting and I will make them known to the President and the Secretary of State.

A NEW THOUGHT, A NEW POSTURE

**HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG**

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 6, 1969

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, much has been written about the dignity and calmness surrounding the inauguration on January 20 of our new President, Richard Nixon. Few, however, in commenting or writing about this great and stirring event, have touched on the real spirit of the occasion with more insight than the writer of an article in the Chicago Sun-Times. I urge my colleagues to refresh their minds and spirits after this lapse of time since that event by reading the article and sharing the impact it made on Charles Bartlett, the writer.

The article follows:

A NEW THOUGHT, A NEW POSTURE  
(By Charles Bartlett)

WASHINGTON.—A nation straining for an expression of Richard M. Nixon's leadership found it Monday in the calm, measured dignity of his inauguration. Even the skies cooperated to furnish a cathedral-like gray cast which gave the occasion an aura that was solemn but not grim, cold but reassuring.

The Democrats contributed by the generous style in which they departed. Lyndon B. Johnson was rarely friendly, more formal, or more presidential than he seemed as he gave up his office. The transfer bore no traces of the searing politics that produced it.

The onlookers seemed to catch quickly the spirit that Mr. Nixon has in mind. The absence of sparkle and jubilation was no more important than the presence of the hippies. The tone of the accession lay somewhere between protest and celebration, and the event gained its quality from its absorbence of both moods.

The impact of the new spirit stemmed from the consistency with which Mr. Nixon applied it. The cautious pace of his appointments, the low key of his pre-inaugural pronouncements, the unprecipitous fashion in which he debarked from the aircraft that carried him to Washington, his unexcited bearing as he stood on the inaugural platform, and his abstention from ringing rhetoric as he addressed the nation became manifestations of a leadership intent on launching an interlude instead of an era.

The key was the assertion "We cannot learn from one another until we stop shouting at one another, until we speak quietly enough so that our words can be heard as well as our voices." That was the new thought, the new posture that the new President offers, a challenge less stimulating than the New Deal

or the New Frontier or the Great Society, but nonetheless a response unarguably appropriate to the times.

Mr. Nixon spoke of "the long night of the American spirit," but he left it to the evangelist, Billy Graham, to lash the society for its materialistic and permissive inclinations and the erosion of its values.

He spoke of the measures the government must take in more emphatic and precise terms than his ambivalent campaign had promised. But he also made it clear the government cannot do all that needs to be done.

The sense of balance which Mr. Nixon is prescribing for the country was contained with his speech. It reached out to the young, the Democrats and the hostile, and it weighed the causes for hope against the sources of concern. His words leaned more upon reason than exhortation and they made themselves felt because they were clear and strong and not because they were eloquent.

The test of the occasion will not come in the immediate reaction to it. The test will be Mr. Nixon's success making his inauguration a turning point in popular attitudes. If he can kindle a new readiness to face the harsh dynamics of swift change in a more constructive and less contentious spirit, he will have contributed as much to this moment in history as he possibly could have.

An interlude cannot be the total theme of a Nixon Presidency because it is not in itself enough to carry the country on a progressive course. But an interlude calculated to summon character and composure can be a healing respite and a prelude to something greater and more positive. That seems to be the spirit in which Mr. Nixon intends to exert his calming influence.

VINCENT EDWIN FUMO II

**HON. JOHN H. DENT**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 6, 1969

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I note with great happiness an event of February 1. In the early hours of that day, in Methodist Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa., Vincent Edwin Fumo II was born to Vincent J. and Susan Ann Fumo. The child is the first for the young couple.

Mr. Speaker, the joy of this occasion is first reserved to the proud parents and relatives. But I wanted the occasion to be acknowledged in the RECORD for at least two reasons. First of all, because the child may grow up to become President of the United States and this public mention of his birth may endear me to him to the point where he will then appoint me Chairman of the Tariff Commission—where I sometimes in frustration thirst to serve. Second, and most seriously, however, because his parents are fine examples of the best our society can produce.

His father, with whom I have had first a professional and now social association for some time, is a teacher and also studies law at Temple University. In addition, his passion for participation in good government should someday lead him into active public service, where I know he will serve with distinction. The child's mother is a beautiful young woman who has chosen the full-time profession of wife and mother, the most noble among the rest.

I know young Vincent is already surrounded with all he needs, and especially with the abundant love of his parents. I will only add my congratulations and the best wishes of us all.

OPINIONS OF INAUGURATION

**HON. FRANK HORTON**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 6, 1969

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, there is nothing so sincere as the words which express the feeling of youngsters. I would like to share with my colleagues short essays written by a group of fourth graders from my district at the Williamson Central School in Williamson, N.Y.

If anyone should think that ceremonies get to be old hat, they should read what these youngsters have to say. The feelings they express assure me that the youngsters of today do share a sense of history.

These letters appeared recently in the Williamson Sun, a weekly newspaper.

OPINIONS OF INAUGURATION

The Williamson Central School students of Mrs. Marjorie McCleery's fourth grade watched the inauguration of President Richard Nixon on TV January 20. Mrs. McCleery had her students write their opinions of the inauguration. A few of these are published here:

NIXON

Cindy J.:

"I wonder what Nixon did when he was a boy. Did he have a dog? Mr. Nixon how is Mrs. Nixon? How are you? I like Mr. and Mrs. Nixon and the dogs. Do you have one or two dogs? Do you have a horse? Do you like Snoopy? He likes you. Do you like me?"

FROM THE OLD TO THE NEW

Jackie Weaver:

"Today is a very special occasion. Mr. Johnson is our old President. Nixon is our new one.

"I liked the Inauguration very much. I can't remember having seen one before.

"I liked the bands. There is one thing I dislike about the Inauguration, they have too long prayers."

THE INAUGURATION

Jeffery Covington:

"It was a nice Inauguration.

"I missed Agnew Inauguration because I had to go get milk and ice cream for my class, and that is why I missed Agnew get inaugurated. I saw Nixon get inaugurated. I liked his speech as well as the Sen. speech. I liked the parade very, very, very much."

MY FEELINGS OF THE INAUGURATION

Bob Verbridge: "It was like New Year's Eve. I felt the thrill go up and down my spine. After he took his hand off the Bible, I said amen, Lord, let this man go into his work safely and come back alive 4 years from now, safely, Amen. As Mr. Johnson left the white house, I could almost feel the joy of sadness go through me. As the office went from hand to hand. May there be light on the roads to come ahead. May it choose to go on getting men like this for all the years to come. I must say one more thing. This man will lead our country onward.

"He will always be a great American."

THE INAUGURATION

Lori Warren: "I thought that it was a very interesting Inauguration. I think that Mr. Nixon will keep our country at peace, and

he will make a good President of our country. He seems like a good man. He has a very nice family. He has a big job. I think he is a very special man, and he made a very good speech. I hope he will stop the war. This is the first time I saw a President get sworn in, and I am glad we have a TV in our room. We made hats in our classroom and put Nixon on them. We wore them while we watched TV. We stood at attention while they played the National Anthem. It was an exciting day for all of us."

#### MY OPINIONS OF THE INAUGURATION

David Cooper: "In school today we saw the Inauguration and I liked it.

"It's too bad Mr. Johnson had to leave. But he was in the White House long enough.

"I don't see why any new President has to open a bubble and stick out his head and wave his arms around. They should just sit in the car and wave to people.

"And I don't see why they need bubble cars either."

#### MY FEELINGS OF THE INAUGURATION

Judy Yankelunas: "January 20, 1969 was a very exciting day for everyone. For Mr. Johnson it was probably a sad and a happy day for him. For Mr. Nixon it must have been a very happy day for him. In the next 4 years when another man is elected to be President of the United States will Mr. Nixon feel the same way as Mr. Johnson did?"

#### WHAT I LIKED ABOUT THE INAUGURATION

Nancy Corteville: "When the cars go down the road and the secret service men ran along the sides of the cars. And listening to the speeches and watching the balls in color seeing all the pretty dresses. And watching everybody get sworn in. The parade is fun to watch especially in color because it really is very pretty.

"And then they sometimes show pictures like of the White House at night with its light shining on it. It really is very pretty.

"When they are showing pictures of the President and where he is. It's just a day when almost everyone is happy."

### UKRAINIAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY MARKS ANNIVERSARY

#### HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 6, 1969

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the Ukrainian-American community in Omaha recently observed the 51st anniversary of Ukrainian independence and the 50th anniversary of the Act of Union in a fitting and solemn celebration.

The glorious days of Ukrainian independence are not forgotten. I am proud to pay tribute to the Ukrainian people in my district and those behind the Iron Curtain and fervently hope they will again be free of the Communist yoke.

I include as part of my remarks the following letter from Dmytro Wityek, chairman of the Ukrainian-American Association, Inc., of Omaha, Nebr.:

January 22, 1969 marked the 51st anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence of Ukraine, and the 50th Anniversary of the Act of Union, whereby all Ukrainian ethnic lands were united into one independent and sovereign state of the Ukrainian nation. The independence of Ukraine was proclaimed in Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, on January 22, 1918, and the Act of Union took place a year later, on January 22, 1919, also in Kiev.

The young Ukrainian democratic republic was immediately recognized by a number of

foreign governments, including that of Soviet Russia. The latter, however, almost simultaneously with recognition, began a large-scale invasion of Ukraine. By 1920, Ukraine alone and unaided, succumbed to the superior forces of Communist Russia, and in 1923 had become a part of the Soviet Union.

The freedom-loving people of Ukraine have not accepted Soviet Russian domination and have been fighting for the reestablishment of their independence by all means at their disposal.

During World War II, the Ukrainians organized a powerful underground resistance movement, known as the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which fought not only against the Nazi regime, but against the Soviet Russian occupation as well.

Bloody and relentless persecution of Ukrainians continued after the death of Stalin, and it continues now under Breshnev-Kosygin.

Briefly, the Russian rule in Ukraine can be summarized as follows:

Exploitation of Ukraine's economic resources for the benefit of Moscow and its imperialistic ventures in Asia, Africa and Latin America;

Continued deportation of Ukrainians to Central Asia, replacing them with Russian settlers for the purpose of augmenting the Russian ethnic element in Ukraine;

Arrests and trials of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists," who in fact are Ukrainian patriots fighting for freedom of their country;

Terror and assassination of Ukrainian leaders outside Ukraine, such as the assassination of Dr. Lev R. Rebet, a noted Ukrainian writer, and Stepan Bandera, head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), both of whom were slain by KGB agent Bogdan Stashynsky in Munich, in 1957 and 1959, respectively;

Persecution of all religions in Ukraine, despite the fact that Moscow claims that "religious freedom" is assured to all Soviet citizens;

Enforced Russification, aiming at the cultural and linguistic genocide of the Ukrainian people. A number of Ukrainian intellectuals were arrested, tried and sentenced at hard labor for advocating more freedom for the Ukrainian people. Among them are such known writers as Vyacheslav Chornovil, Svyatoslav Karavansky, Ivan Dzyuba, and many others. In December 1968, the U.N., in defiance of the destruction of Human Rights in Ukraine, awarded a "Human Rights Award" to Prof. Peter R. Nedballo, a representative of the Ukrainian SSR in the U.N. Human Rights Commission, thus making a mockery of Human Rights Year, 1968.

Today, more than ever, Ukraine is a colony of Communist Russia.

Both the U.S. Congress and the President of the United States expressed their concern over Ukraine by enacting the "Captive Nations Week Resolution" in 1959, whereby Ukraine is enumerated with 21 other non-Russian captive nations in the USSR.

### THE SAD "PUEBLO" STORY MUST NOT BE REPEATED

#### HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 6, 1969

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, all Americans were disheartened by the capture of the U.S. vessel *Pueblo* by North Korea and the subsequent mistreatment of Comdr. Lloyd M. Bucher and his crew. We are glad that Commander Bucher and his men were eventually released after lengthy diplomatic pressure and nego-

tiations. The outcome of the current Navy hearings on the matter is yet to be known, but certainly there will be few plaudits growing out of this sad episode in our history.

While it is fortunate that the explosive incident did not touch off another Korean war, it appears necessary that Congress also hold hearings and examine the facts concerning the *Pueblo* seizure. We must take whatever actions are justified to insure that there are no future repetitions, and I will be personally concerned with seeing that this is the case.

In the meantime, the Nation will be watching the Navy hearings which delve so deeply into our national pride and military tradition. I am pleased to call the attention of my colleagues to an editorial from the Miami Herald of January 23, 1969. This editorial asks penetrating questions about the "sorry naval affair" which it says has many of the undertones of the Pearl Harbor fiasco of more than 27 years ago. I believe that many of my colleagues will be interested in its contents, as follows:

#### THE SAD "PUEBLO" STORY MUST NOT BE REPEATED

All hands must be heard before public judgment is passed, of course, but the early testimony of the skipper of the intelligence ship *Pueblo* is disquieting. What Comdr. Lloyd M. Bucher told a Navy court of inquiry in California has many of the undertones of the Pearl Harbor fiasco of more than 27 years ago.

Whatever its political origins, the Japanese attack on Hawaii was successful largely because U.S. commanders had poor communications and improper liaison. The intelligence system broke down.

Comdr. Bucher has testified that the *Pueblo* was outgunned by the North Koreans who waylaid her at some point offshore as yet to be determined. He did not resist because, properly, he "saw no point in senselessly sending people to their deaths."

His first warning message to naval headquarters in Japan took 12 to 14 hours in transmission, "as we had feared."

The ship contained few or no "destruct devices" and critical equipment was limited.

During the capture, the day after *Pueblo* had been detected by North Korean fishing vessels, the radio antenna was shot off. Apparently there was no substitute gear.

According to Comdr. Bucher's testimony, his fears about inadequate communications and a shortage of destruct devices was passed on to his superiors in Japan, where the vessel was based, before he sailed. But nothing happened.

Again there must be no prejudgments. But if the witness is telling the truth it is clear that *Pueblo* was a sitting duck for the enemy. The ship could not be defended. Neither could her commander alert headquarters ashore in time to get help.

It had been disclosed earlier that only nuclear bomb equipped planes were available to go to *Pueblo*'s help. Would the extra 12 to 14 hours have enabled the Navy to bring up air support of a conventional nature—fighter-bombers, say, from somewhere in the Pacific?

That is only one of the many questions which must be asked about a sorry naval affair.

This nation is deep in the intelligence business, as are most nations, for its own defense. It will continue that posture, which it is learning with difficulty. Thus there must be no more *Pueblos*. The public has a right to assurance on that score, and we trust it will come out of the humiliating inquiry into the plight of a brave man and his valiant crew.



February 6, 1969

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE

H 843

Flag of registry, name of ship—Continued	
	Gross tonnage
British (15 ships)-----	85,647
Court Harwell-----	7,133
Dartford-----	2,739
Fortune Glory-----	5,832
Greenford-----	2,964
Isabel Erica-----	7,105
Kingford-----	2,911
Meadow Court <sup>1</sup> (trip to North Vietnam under ex-name Ardrossmore—British)-----	5,820
Rochford-----	3,324
Rosetta Maud <sup>1</sup> (trip to North Vietnam under ex-name Andtara—British)-----	5,795
Ruthy Ann-----	7,361
Shienfoon-----	7,127
Shun On <sup>1</sup> (trip to North Vietnam under ex-name Pundua—British)-----	7,295
Shun Wah (previous trip to North Vietnam under ex-name Vercharmlan—British)-----	7,265
Taipleng (tanker)-----	5,676
Tetrarch <sup>2</sup> (trips to North Vietnam under ex-name Ardrowan—British)-----	7,300
Cypriot (6 ships)-----	41,386
Acme-----	7,173
Agenor <sup>1</sup> (trip to North Vietnam—Greek)-----	7,139
Amfthea-----	5,171
Antonia II-----	7,303
Laurel-----	7,297
Marianthi-----	7,303
Somali (2 ships)-----	16,082
Shun Tai (trip to North Vietnam—British)-----	7,085
Yvonne-----	8,997
Greek (1 ship)-----	6,724
Leonis <sup>1</sup> (trip to North Vietnam under ex-name Shirley Christine—British)-----	6,724
Panamanian (1 ship)-----	1,889
Salamanca <sup>1</sup> (trip to North Vietnam under ex-name Milford—British)-----	1,889
Singapore (1 ship)-----	4,225
Lucky Dragon <sup>2</sup> -----	4,225

<sup>1</sup> Ships appearing on the List which have made no trips to North Vietnam under the present registry.

<sup>2</sup> Added to Report No. 23 appearing in the Federal Register issue of December 17, 1968.

Section 2. In accordance with approved procedures, the vessels listed below which called at North Vietnam on or after January 25, 1966, have reacquired eligibility to carry United States Government-financed cargoes from the United States by virtue of the persons who control the vessels having given satisfactory certification and assurance:

(a) that such vessels will not, thenceforth, be employed in the North Vietnam trade so long as it remains the policy of the United States Government to discourage such trade and;

(b) that no other vessels under their control will thenceforth be employed in the North Vietnam trade, except as provided in paragraph (c) and;

(c) that vessels under their control which are covered by contractual obligations, including charters, entered into prior to January 25, 1966, requiring their employment in the North Vietnam trade shall be with-

drawn from such trade at the earliest opportunity consistent with such contractual obligations.

## Flag of registry, name of ship

- a. Since last report: none.  
b. Previous reports:

Flag of registry:	Number of ships
British-----	1
Italian-----	1
Section 3. The following number of vessels have been removed from this list since they have been broken up, sunk or wrecked.	
Flag of registry:	Broken up, sunk, or wrecked
British-----	3
Cypriot-----	3
Greek-----	1
Lebanese-----	2
Maltese-----	1
Polish-----	1

By Order of Acting Maritime Administrator.

JAMES S. DAWSON, Jr.,  
Secretary.

Date: January 29, 1969.

**ME**  
**CONGRESSMAN ANNUNZIO INTRODUCES RESOLUTION CONDEMNING IRAQ FOR JEWISH PERSECUTION**

(Mr. ANNUNZIO asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join my distinguished colleague, Hon. LEONARD FARBSTEIN, from New York, as well as many other Members in cosponsoring the resolution presented today condemning the Government of Iraq for persecution of the Jews.

If there was any shred of doubt among men of good will concerning the treatment of the Jews in the Arab Nations, the events of January 27, 1969, should have served as sufficient proof that persecution of the Jews not only lives, but thrives among the Arab people. To make a public spectacle of the hanging of 14 men is an unpardonable display of barbarism, reminiscent of precivilized man. That nine of those men were Jews, executed for their religious faith as much as for the trumped-up charges offered to the so-called court, clearly demonstrates that Arab hatred toward Israel and the Jews knows no bounds. In an age when we are constantly reminded of "man's inhumanity to man," the Iraqis have reached a new low in depravity.

As if the first series of trials were not enough, the Iraqi Government has announced that the second round in the farce has begun. It would be just that—a farce—if the results were not so ominous. Because of the theatrics of the Iraqi court, men may die, just as the 14 died before them, as public monuments to insanity. While it is too late to help those who died on January 27, it is not too late to condemn the Iraqi Government and people for their obvious disregard of human dignity. That protest must make extremely clear our rejection of the Arab persecution of the Jews, for whatever reasons the Arab dictators may offer. Our protest must make extremely clear the support of the United States for the undeniable rights of the Jews in whatever

country they may reside, by force or choice, and that the United States totally and unequivocally rejects any abrogation of the rights and dignity of men for whatever reason.

By requesting that this matter be considered by the United Nations, we will provide both the forum for presenting the facts of Arab denial of the rights of the Jews and a chance for the escape of those Jews still held in Arab countries as hostages in the Arab-Israeli dispute. The machinery for the release and emigration of the captive Jews exists within the United Nations, and we seek the means by which that machinery can be set in motion. If we hesitate, there may be more innocent Jews on the scaffolds of Baghdad, and who knows what other cities in the region.

I support this resolution and the purpose to which it is dedicated, that the United States take the lead in finding refuge for the tortured Jewish minority in the Arab world. I most heartily support the condemnation of the Iraqi regime for its immoral display of ignorance and hatred.

**AMENDMENTS TO SALARY COMMISSION PROCEDURES**

(Mr. RANDALL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record.)

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a series of amendments to Public Law 90-206, which was H.R. 7977, approved in December of 1967. This carried the very innocent title, "To Adjust the Rates of Basic Compensation for Certain Officers and Employees of the Federal Government."

You may recall this was the measure we passed near the end of the first session of the 90th Congress which necessarily raised postal rates in order to give some long needed pay increases to our thousands of faithful postal employees. Yet the provision creating a Presidential Salary Commission was not only ill advised, but now is revealed to contain provisions that no Member could hardly have intended to support in the light of the way the Commission plan has worked in practice.

Accordingly, I have proposed today an almost new section 225, which if passed by the Congress will in my opinion insure sorely needed corrections in Salary Commission procedures.

First, my amendment will provide and insure that no lame duck President can make salary recommendations, because our measure would place the Commission on a calendar year rather than a fiscal year basis and would move forward by 1 year the quadrennial cycle for implementing salary adjustments. Another requirement is that the Commission must make its recommendations to the President no later than July 1. Even if the Commission fails to act until the last year of a President's term of office, this provision will mean that the recommendation must be submitted over 6 months before his term ends. There is a further requirement that the President must advise the Congress no later than August 1 as to his recommendations to the Congress of salary changes in the executive,

legislative and judicial branches. Even though his budget message may not be required until January, our new requirement will make it necessary that the President pass on his own recommendations to the Congress in order that, if this period should ever fall in an election year, there will remain the months of August, September, and October for the issue to be subject to debate in the campaign. Thus every candidate, if called upon, will have to state clearly his position on such salary recommendations.

Still another provision I have supplied as an amendment is the requirement that there be a 180-day waiting period after the budget message is submitted before the raises shall become effective; and finally, the requirement that there shall be a rollcall vote in both the House and Senate necessary to indicate acceptance of the pay raise recommendations.

(Mr. RANDALL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

[Mr. RANDALL'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

#### ORGANIZATION OF HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

(Mr. ICHORD asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, which I have the honor to chair, met today for the purpose of reorganizing. As we enter upon the important duties confided to us by the mandate of the House, it has been my desire to establish a sound basis for the fair and effective operation of the committee. In this effort I have the staunch support of the distinguished members of my committee.

A major point of business was the preparation and adoption of revised committee rules, a copy of which I append to my statement today for the information of the House. The rules the committee has adopted are the most comprehensive and the fairest rules ever adopted by a committee of this Congress and go as far as possible in protecting the rights of persons appearing before the committee while still constituting a workable set of rules for a legislative body keeping in mind its purposes. Other proposals likewise considered, which I shall briefly note hereafter, include a revision of House rule XI with respect to the certification of contempts, and an amendment to the contempt statute (2 U.S.C. 192, 194) to lay a basis for the prosecution of misbehavior before committees of the Congress.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities was the first committee to adopt written rules of procedure, the substance of which were, in fact, some years ago incorporated in rule XI of the House. The late Congressman Clyde Doyle, of California, a member of the House Committee on Un-American Ac-

tivities, in fact drafted the resolution, presently clause 27 of House rule XI, which was adopted by the House in 1955 with a view toward establishing a fair code of procedure for all committees of the House.

Distinguished commentators on congressional investigation, including the late Mr. Justice Frankfurter, have taken the position that congressional inquiry should remain unfettered if it is effectively to serve its constitutional purposes. We share the basic concern expressed in that point of view. While sharing that concern in drafting the present rules, we have also been mindful that liberty is not license. To borrow the words of Chief Judge Prettyman, a learned jurist of the court of appeals, liberty is achieved by rules which correlate every man's actions to every other man's rights and that liberty, in short, involves reasonable restraints so that the exercise of rights and duties of one may not operate to oppress another. We believe that the rules we have today adopted, strike the happy median.

Nevertheless, we have not lost sight of the fact that we are preparing rules for an investigative and legislative committee and not rules of a court. We are in an area of the administration of law where the discipline of men complements certain fixed rules. This discipline, within the framework of specific rules, should be accepted practically as a reasonable guarantee to the exercise of power that conforms to the spirit of our institutions and finds expression in the concept of due process. In this way, the disturbance to the individual affected by the exercise of power is minimized while yielding to the broader and more imperative demands of the Nation's interest. The distinguished lawyer and former Senator, George Wharton Pepper, aptly said:

Let it once and for all be understood that the power of inquiry exists, that its possession is a great public trust and that the American people are going to pour out the vials of their wrath upon those who prove themselves unworthy of the trust.

I want to take this occasion to state that in drafting the present revision of the committee rules, we have had the benefit of a good deal of spade work on this subject in the reports of the American Bar Association and the proposals of several Members of Congress. I am pleased to note that the new rules substantially embrace the proposals made by Mr. GONZALEZ in this Congress (H.R. 46), together with the provisions of the proposed Code of Investigative Procedure adopted in 1954 by the American Bar Association which had made a thorough study of the investigative procedures of the House and Senate.

A further matter of concern to me and to several other Members of Congress has been the processing of contempt prosecutions pursuant to sections 102 and 104 of the Revised Statutes (2 U.S.C. 192, 194), which directs the Speaker of the House to certify to the appropriate U.S. attorney for prosecution committee reports with respect to refusals of witnesses to testify or produce papers. It has been suggested that such reports of con-

tempt should be filtered through special committees which would have the duty to study and make recommendations to the House and Speaker prior to certification. I think such a course desirable and useful, and for that purpose I am proposing an amendment to House Rule XI, clause 27, a copy of which I likewise place in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

Another related subject of great concern to me is the inadequacy of legislation for prosecuting acts of misbehavior of counsel, witnesses, and others in the presence of committees and subcommittees of Congress. It seems to me that unless we have statutory base for prosecuting such misbehavior, we may tend to lose control of the hearing room and find ourselves unable to maintain and preserve the dignity and authority of Congress through its committees. In these troubled days the problem is becoming one of increasing importance. I will not burden this statement by detailing the existing legal situation, except to say that present statutes are inadequate. There is a distinct need for authority similar to that possessed by courts in the misbehavior provisions of section 401, title 18, U.S. Code. I have been in discussion on this subject with Senator McCLELLAN and Senator EASTLAND, and I hope shortly to lay a proposal before the House for remedial legislation. I would hope that this proposal and the above amendment setting up a separate contempt citation committee will be passed and that each be considered in the light of the other, although they will be referred under the rules to different committees, as each does complement the other.

#### COMMITTEE RULES OF PROCEDURE

##### I—INITIATION OF INVESTIGATIONS

No investigation shall be undertaken by the Committee unless authorized by a majority of the members thereof. Committee investigations shall be limited to those legislative purposes committed to it by the mandate of the House. The subjects of inquiry of any investigation shall be specified in the Committee resolution authorizing such investigation.

##### II—COMMITTEE AND SUBCOMMITTEE MEETINGS—QUORUM—APPOINTMENT OF SUBCOMMITTEES

A—Committee or subcommittee meetings to make authorizations or decisions with respect to investigations shall be called only upon a minimum of 24 hours' written or verbal notice to the office of each member while the Congress is in session, and 3 days' written notice when not in session. Any objection to the sufficiency of notice of any meeting shall be deemed waived, unless written objection is filed with the Chairman of the Committee or subcommittee.

B—The Chairman of the Committee is authorized and empowered from time to time to appoint subcommittees, and to reconstitute the membership thereof, composed of three or more members of the Committee, at least one of whom shall be of the minority political party, and a majority of whom shall constitute a quorum, for the purpose of conducting any investigation initiated by the Committee or performing any and all acts which the Committee as a whole is authorized to perform for the purpose of any such investigation. No subcommittee shall have the authority to release executive testimony, or to report any measure or recommendation to the House.



United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 91<sup>st</sup> CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 115

WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1969

No. 25

## Senate

The Senate was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Friday, February 7, 1969, at 12 o'clock meridian.

## House of Representatives

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1969

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.  
The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

*And the Lord went before them by day in a pillar of cloud to lead them along the way, and by night in a pillar of fire to give them light.—Exodus 13: 21.*

O God, our Father, in generation after generation men have sought Thee and have found that Thy faithfulness never fails, Thy love never falters, and Thy strength never fades. Our fathers walked by the guidance of Thy spirit and rested in Thy mercy, so to us, their children, be Thou a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night to give us light upon our way, strength to walk along it, and peace in our hearts.

Remove the veil from every heart and unite us into one people as we walk together toward the promised land where free men shall dwell together in peace and good will.

In the Master's name we pray. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

### APPOINTMENT AS MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION ON REVISION OF THE CRIMINAL LAWS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of section 1002, Public Law 90-226, the Chair appoints as members of the Commission on Revision of the Criminal Laws of the District of Columbia the following Members on the part of the House: Mr. Dowdy and Mr. Hogan.

### APPOINTMENT AS MEMBERS OF THE FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL COMMISSION

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of section 1, Public Law 372, 84th

Congress, as amended, the Chair appoints as members of the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Commission the following Members on the part of the House: Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey, Mr. MURPHY of New York, Mr. HALPERN, and Mr. FISH.

### APPOINTMENT AS MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE HOUSE RECORDING STUDIO

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of section 105(c), Public Law 624, 84th Congress, the Chair appoints as members of the Committee on the House Recording Studio the following Members on the part of the House: Mr. STEED, Mr. COHELAN, and Mr. KYL.

### APPOINTMENT AS MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON FIRE PREVENTION AND CONTROL

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of section 202(b), Public Law 90-259, the Chair appoints as members of the National Commission on Fire Prevention and Control the following Members on the part of the House: Mr. MILLER of California, and Mr. PETTIS.

### APPOINTMENT AS MEMBERS OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY POLICY

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of section 401(a), Public Law 414, 82d Congress, the Chair appoints as members of the Joint Committee on Immigration and Nationality Policy the following Members on the part of the House: Mr. CELLER, Mr. FEIGHAN, Mr. RODINO, Mr. McCULLOCH, and Mr. CAHILL.

(Mr. HOLIFIELD asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. HOLIFIELD'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

### RESTRAINT ON MIDEAST—WARNING AGAINST IMPOSED SETTLEMENT

(Mr. FARBSTAIN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. FARBSTAIN. Mr. Speaker, I read with dismay the reports that the United States has agreed to enter preliminary discussions with the Governments of France, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union on the Middle East situation. I urge the United States to approach such talks with both restraint and caution. The consultations which would presumably take place at the United Nations between the permanent representatives of the so-called Big Four would attempt to find ways and means of solving the Middle East crisis.

The United States must, however, avoid any suggestions which would either diminish the position of Israel or which would seem to impose any conditions. Solution to the situation in the Middle East can only be arrived at through direct negotiations between the Arabs and Israelis. While the announced purposes of such informal discussions would appear to give added prestige and support to the jarring efforts to find some area of agreement between the antagonists, there is always the possibility that such talks could eventually lead to efforts by some to impose a settlement in the area.

If the Soviet Union and France can use their influence upon the Arab States to negotiate honestly and sincerely with-



in a framework of explicit recognition of Israel sovereignty and a permanent end to hostilities, then the U.N. talks may make a worthwhile contribution to a peaceful Middle East.

For this reason any proposals which might result from these talks at the United Nations can only be the basis for negotiations between the Arab and Israel Governments.

Any solution to the Middle East crisis should embody the five principles enunciated by President Lyndon B. Johnson in statements on June 19, 1967, and September 10, 1968. The five principles were: Recognition of the right of every nation to live in peace and have this right respected by its neighbors; freedom of innocent maritime passage in international waterways; limitation of the arms race; respect for the political independence and territorial integrity of all countries; and progress in solving the refugee problem. The fifth principle—progress in solving the refugee problem—would have to take into consideration the entire history of the refugees in the Middle East.

Efforts to impose a peace settlement have failed in the past and they will fail again unless these principles are adhered to. Peace can come only if both sides respect the right of each to exist. This cannot be imposed; it must come from a realization that there is no alternative.

I, therefore, hope that President Nixon will not accept any agreement to impose a peace in the area, and that he will use all of the prestige of the Office of President of the United States to urge the Arabs and Israelis to reach agreement with each other.

#### RESTORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN IRAQ

(Mr. FARBSTEIN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, the atrocious spectacle occasioned by the public execution of 14 Iraqi citizens, nine of whom were Jews, raises once again the specter of extinction of a minority group only because of their religious beliefs.

The persecution of the Jews in Iraq has been well documented over the years. Economic sanctions and travel restrictions have made it impossible for the pitifully few Jews remaining in Iraq to either sustain themselves properly or to emigrate from Iraq. Now the process of persecution and discrimination has taken a macabre turn with the recent hangings. And we are told by the Iraqi Government that the trials and presumably the executions will continue, although the executions will not again be public. But, Mr. Speaker, it does not make one bit of difference if a wrongful act is committed in public or private. The unfortunate victims of the recent hangings would be no less dead had the act been committed within the closed confines of the prison walls.

Mr. Speaker, there must be a place in this world to which civilized nations can turn in a collective effort to put a stop to barbarous treatment of human beings. The only body is the United Nations. For

it is only by condemnation of such governments as Iraq by the entire world community is there a possibility of putting a stop to the genocidal acts.

Today it is the Jews, tomorrow it may be the Catholics, maybe even the Moslems. We must persevere in our efforts to preserve the right of people to worship as they see fit. For this reason, I am introducing this resolution condemning the Government of Iraq for perpetrating this violent act of murder, and further to express the sense of Congress that the President instruct the permanent representative to the United Nations to ask for a special meeting of the Security Council in an effort to find a way to put an end to these senseless murders before even more are committed.

Mr. Speaker, these violations of human rights and lack of human decency must be investigated thoroughly—and now.

Following is text of resolution and a list of the sponsors:

#### H. RES. 226

Whereas the Government of Iraq has violated all of the principles of common decency by making a public spectacle of the execution of fourteen Iraqi citizens of whom nine were Jews;

Whereas all vestiges of civilized behavior were lost when the bodies of the victims were publicly displayed at the gates to the city; and

Whereas the Government of Iraq appears to be oblivious to the condemnation which this atrocious act, signifying their return to the age of barbarity, has aroused throughout the world;

Whereas more secret trials followed by public executions can only inflame emotions and decrease the opportunity for peace and stability in the Middle East;

Whereas the Government of Iraq has by its actions violated the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations; and

Whereas it is the policy of the United States to respect the principle of equal rights, the dignity of the individual and the equal rights of all people regardless of race, color or creed: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That it is the sense of the House of Representatives of the United States that the secret trial and public execution of Iraqi citizens be condemned and that the House of Representatives respectfully request the President of the United States to instruct the Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations to request a special meeting of the United Nations Security Council to seek ways and means of preserving the human rights of the people of Iraq.

#### LIST OF SPONSORS

Hon. Joseph Adidabbo, Democrat of New York.  
Hon. Glenn Anderson, Democrat, of California.  
Hon. Frank Annunzio, Democrat, of Illinois.  
Hon. William A. Barrett, Democrat, of Pennsylvania.  
Hon. Mario Biaggi, Democrat, of New York.  
Hon. Jonathan B. Bingham, Democrat, of New York.  
Hon. Edward P. Boland, Democrat, of Massachusetts.  
Hon. John Brademas, Democrat, of Indiana.  
Hon. Frank J. Brasco, Democrat, of New York.  
Hon. Philip Burton, Democrat, of California.  
Hon. James Byrne, Democrat, of Pennsylvania.  
Hon. Don H. Clausen, Republican, of California.

Hon. R. Laurence Coughlin, Republican, of Pennsylvania.

Hon. John Conyers, Jr., Democrat, of Michigan.

Hon. Glenn Cunningham, Republican, of Nebraska.

Hon. Emilio Q. Daddario, Democrat, of Connecticut.

Hon. James J. Delaney, Democrat, of New York.

Hon. Charles C. Diggs, Jr., Democrat, of Michigan.

Hon. Florence P. Dwyer, Republican, of New Jersey.

Hon. Joshua Ellberg, Democrat, of Pennsylvania.

Hon. Leonard Farbstein, Democrat, of New York.

Hon. Dante Fascell, Democrat, of Florida.

Hon. O. C. Fisher, Democrat, of Texas.

Hon. James G. Fulton, Republican, of Pennsylvania.

Hon. Gilbert Gude, Republican, of Maryland.

Hon. Seymour Halpern, Republican, of New York.

Hon. Augustus F. Hawkins, Democrat, of California.

Hon. Frank Horton, Republican, of New York.

Hon. Craig Hosmer, Republican, of California.

Hon. Ray J. Madden, Democrat, of Indiana.

Hon. Joseph G. Minish, Democrat, of New Jersey.

Hon. Robert H. Mollohan, Democrat, of West Virginia.

Hon. Robert N. C. Nix, Democrat, of Pennsylvania.

Hon. Claude Pepper, Democrat, of Florida.

Hon. Otis Pike, Democrat, of New York.

Hon. Bertram Podell, Democrat, of New York.

Hon. Melvin Price, Democrat, of Illinois.

Hon. Thomas M. Rees, Democrat, of California.

Hon. Peter W. Rodino, Democrat, of New Jersey.

Hon. Benjamin Rosenthal, Democrat, of New York.

Hon. William F. Ryan, Democrat, of New York.

Hon. James H. Scheuer, Democrat, of New York.

Hon. William St. Onge, Democrat, of Connecticut.

Hon. Fernand J. St Germain, Democrat, of Rhode Island.

Hon. Charles W. Sandman, Republican, of New Jersey.

Hon. Charles A. Vanick, Democrat, of Ohio.

Hon. Joseph P. Vigorito, Democrat, of Pennsylvania.

Hon. Jerome R. Waldie, Democrat, of California.

Hon. Lawrence Williams, Republican, of Pennsylvania.

Hon. Gus Yatron, Democrat, of Pennsylvania.

#### ME CONDEMNATION OF IRAQ

(Mr. VANIK asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, I would like to rise in support of the House resolution introduced today by 48 Members of this Chamber condemning the Government of Iraq for its action of January 27 in which the peace of the Middle East was further threatened by the public execution of 14 persons, nine of them members of the Jewish faith.

This atrocity is a barbaric action belonging to the Dark Ages. Executions such as this following secret trials are a

complete violation of the principles of the United Nations. Iraq's attitude toward the State of Israel raises the suspicion, which cannot be dispelled, that nine men were hung for their religious beliefs rather than their alleged crimes.

Despite the outcry which her action has caused among men of good will throughout the world, it is reported that Iraq is starting a new series of secret, mass spy trials involving 35 people, including 13 Jews. It is reported that several dozen more persons have been held for months on charges of espionage and sabotage.

I know, Mr. Speaker, that these executions have deeply shocked the greater Cleveland community which I represent. On Monday night, February 3, a mass rally was held to protest the action of the government of Iraq. That night and since then, over 2,200 Clevelanders have signed petitions deploring the atrocity.

It is my hope that the whole House will support the resolution we are introducing today to condemn these acts and request our permanent representative to the United Nations to call a special meeting of the U.N. Security Council to seek ways and means of preserving the human rights of the people of Iraq.

Only if the human rights of minorities are preserved in each country of the Middle East will peace ever be possible in that troubled area. We cannot condone, we must condemn the actions of the Baghdad regime which ignores the rights of individuals and the safety of millions.

#### SALARY RAISES—A VICTORY FOR WHOM?

(Mr. RARICK asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, now that the Rules Committee has tabled any possibility of bringing the Federal salary increase to the floor for approval or disapproval by the full membership, we hear the rumor—"This is a victory." Apparently the pay raise is now automatic on February 14, 1969, and there can be no vote—no chance to show our constituents opposition to this increase of 41 percent on our own salary.

"A victory for whom?" may haunt us. For we, the recipients of a salary increase, were not even permitted an op-

portunity to express by record vote the wishes of our people.

A strange victory when we consider that the action of a few must have assumed the attitude that the full membership could not be entrusted with our own decision as to whether or not we approve of this increase. The inference is that gag action was necessary to keep the bill from the membership because—had the pay bill been discharged the Members would have voted to kill it.

Will we benefit by a pay raise, when we can anticipate the increase will be immediately offset by additional inflationary increases in other areas of the economy. Can we not expect that the private and public sector will immediately follow suit—and justify their increases on our leadership?

Labor will demand appropriate increases, the farmers will feel justified in seeking higher prices or larger supports—business executives will feel free to upgrade their salaries to induce capable men into the ranks of free enterprise. Caution against inflation has been scattered to the winds. In short, the entire producing economy of our country will overnight be dissatisfied. We have but opened a Pandora's box to a renewal of revolutionary inflation.

Many among the citizenry already feel themselves aggrieved—our retired citizens, pensioners, salaried people, and welfare recipients can be expected to see in our indiscretion the need for reaction so they, too, can offset the spiraling losses in the purchasing price of our dollar.

And what of our young men in the military forces? In Vietnam under combat conditions a private receives \$186.40 per month, a captain receives \$621.80 per month. These are men who face death at any moment. Can we refuse to grant them a 41-percent military pay raise?

Salaries and costs have already all but priced us out of competition on the world market. Where will there be victory on the world exchange from such action?

Consider also the precedent now established—that is, that a committee can circumvent the wishes of the full membership of the House. Can we distinguish such action from taxation without representation?

Can we allay, as unfounded, the growing uneasiness of our people that a committee may be established to raise taxes without any vote or the opportunity of the constituents to express disapproval. Government which denies its people a voice is not representative government.

Rather, it is called government by committees—soviets.

The pay raise may be considered a victory by some, but I fear it will be a short-lived victory which can only usher in further chaos and disorder among our concerned people.

#### SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS SURVEY—PART II

(Mr. PERKINS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include pertinent material and tables.)

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, the tabulations of the questionnaire which was sent to over 20,000 school superintendents is continuing. The basic purpose of this questionnaire is to draw upon the personal experience of school superintendents so as to assist the committee in making objective judgments with regard to the future direction of Federal education legislation. The responses have been most helpful in gaining an insight into the feelings of the superintendents who implement the programs established through this legislation.

Since the committee has already begun hearings on extension of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, this would be a most propitious time to share with my colleagues some of the responses to the question—"In general, have the recent enactments of Congress furnishing support for elementary and secondary education been of great, substantial, moderate or little value?" Our analysis of the responses to this question indicate that, indeed, the majority of superintendents are convinced that recent Federal education programs have been of concrete assistance. Of those responding, 74.2 percent indicated that recent enactments have been of great, substantial, or moderate value. As I stated last week, approximately 70 percent of the responding school superintendents stated that ESEA is underfunded in their school district. Principally because of limited funds, uncertainty as to the amount of funds to be received, and actual reductions in levels of support, a certain number, however only about 12 percent, indicated that recent enactments have been of less than moderate value. In contrast to this, 18 percent of the superintendents who responded were most enthusiastic about recent enactments, feeling strongly enough about these programs to state that Federal assistance has been of "great" value as is evidenced in the following table:

PERCENT OF RESPONSES INDICATING RECENT ENACTMENTS OF CONGRESS FURNISHING SUPPORT FOR ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION HAVE BEEN OF "GREAT" VALUE

States by region	Total percent-age	School enrollment				
		Under 1,000	1,000 to 4,999	5,000 to 34,999	35,000 to 99,999	100,000 plus
New England.....	11.4	14.2	8.3	19.4	0	-----
Connecticut.....	8.8	20.0	0	22.2	-----	-----
Maine.....	6.2	20.0	4.2	0	-----	-----
Massachusetts.....	8.4	6.6	7.5	13.3	0	-----
New Hampshire.....	13.6	50.0	12.5	0	-----	-----
Rhode Island.....	25.0	0	16.6	60.0	-----	-----
Vermont.....	23.5	33.3	21.4	-----	-----	-----

States by region	Total percent-age	School enrollment				
		Under 1,000	1,000 to 4,999	5,000 to 34,999	35,000 to 99,999	100,000 plus
Midwest.....	12.6	11.8	11.6	14.4	66.6	0
Delaware.....	0	0	50.0	0	-----	-----
Maryland.....	11.1	-----	0	-----	-----	-----
New Jersey.....	11.8	10.5	11.4	15.8	-----	-----
New York.....	13.0	14.0	9.7	18.0	50.0	0
Pennsylvania.....	13.2	10.5	13.0	13.2	100.0	-----

## PERCENT OF RESPONSES INDICATING RECENT ENACTMENTS OF CONGRESS FURNISHING SUPPORT FOR ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION HAVE BEEN OF "GREAT" VALUE—Continued

States by region	Total percent-age	School enrollment				
		Under 1,000	1,000 to 4,999	5,000 to 34,999	35,000 to 99,999	100,000 plus
Great Lakes.....	12.0	2.4	13.1	13.4	66.6	20.0
Illinois.....	11.4	9.0	14.1	12.5	0	0
Indiana.....	10.4	0	12.5	8.3	0	0
Michigan.....	11.6	3.6	13.2	12.0	0	100.0
Ohio.....	16.0	9.1	15.8	16.6	100.0	0
Wisconsin.....	9.6	9.6	8.6	16.6	0	0
Plains.....	15.6	14.8	16.6	18.0	0	100.0
Iowa.....	13.6	12.4	11.8	33.3	0	0
Kansas.....	16.0	16.2	13.5	33.3	0	0
Minnesota.....	11.8	12.4	10.0	16.6	0	0
Missouri.....	14.6	11.1	20.8	0	0	100.0
Nebraska.....	18.0	19.1	16.6	0	0	0
North Dakota.....	16.9	14.6	22.2	50.0	0	0
South Dakota.....	26.6	22.8	41.2	0	0	0
Southeast.....	31.8	27.2	32.6	36.0	13.3	0
Alabama.....	59.0	50.0	57.1	80.0	50.0	0
Arkansas.....	32.6	28.6	29.0	28.6	0	0
Florida.....	37.5	50.0	12.5	66.6	0	0
Georgia.....	20.0	0	11.6	16.6	33.3	0
Kentucky.....	36.2	33.3	38.8	38.4	0	0
Louisiana.....	29.4	0	0	41.6	0	0
Mississippi.....	34.1	0	33.3	35.7	0	0
North Carolina.....	34.0	0	37.7	39.2	0	0
South Carolina.....	30.0	0	36.3	25.0	0	0
Southeast—Continued						
Tennessee.....	28.8	12.5	41.6	18.1	0	0
Virginia.....	23.5	0	14.8	38.0	0	0
West Virginia.....	15.0	0	33.3	0	0	0
Southwest.....	33.8	36.4	30.0	17.1	50.0	0
Arizona.....	31.1	33.3	31.6	25.0	0	0
New Mexico.....	22.9	18.8	31.2	0	0	0
Oklahoma.....	49.1	47.1	57.6	25.0	0	0
Texas.....	28.8	32.4	25.9	16.6	66.6	0
Rocky Mountain.....	12.8	10.9	33.8	15.8	33.3	0
Colorado.....	9.5	8.1	10.0	25.0	0	0
Idaho.....	25.0	25.0	33.3	0	0	0
Montana.....	9.7	8.7	8.3	33.3	0	0
Utah.....	23.0	0	16.6	16.6	100.0	0
Wyoming.....	6.6	5.2	11.1	0	0	0
Far West.....	15.4	14.0	18.1	12.6	21.4	0
Alaska.....	12.5	0	0	0	100.0	0
California.....	16.6	12.9	21.9	14.1	18.2	0
Nevada.....	22.2	50.0	0	100.0	0	0
Oregon.....	4.8	3.2	6.8	0	0	0
Washington.....	18.6	23.8	20.6	0	0	0
United States.....	18.4	17.5	18.3	20.1	25.0	18.2

Many of those who said that Federal assistance has been "great" were quite enthusiastic about programs which were made possible through Federal assistance. Others cited the progress that has been made in their schools because of the Federal enactment. The number in parentheses following the city is the enrollment figure:

Dayton, Ohio (58,500): "Recent enactments, of course, for elementary and secondary education have been of great value in promoting new programs, creating innovations and allowing for expansion of services to the educationally deprived youth and adults."

New Orleans, Louisiana (109,684): "In my judgment, the recent enactments of Congress which have provided support for elementary and secondary education have been of great value. The value of such legislation lies not only in the improved quality of education which has been made possible but also in the increase in aspiration levels of millions of disadvantaged youth. Hope has been promised for a better educational world where previously there was no hope. Moreover, I am firmly convinced that aid for the disadvantaged has resulted in improvement in the education of children in areas which are not classified as disadvantaged. Certain provisions such as Title II of ESEA and the use of Title I funds for special education classes have had across the board beneficial results."

Leavenworth, Kansas (66,048): "Recent enactments of Congress for support of elementary-secondary education have provided locally: greatly improved libraries and library service, summer reading improvement programs; travel allowance to college girls from local college to public schools to become individual tutors for junior high students; teacher aides to provide clerical and supervisory assistance to teachers with large class loads; medical and dental care to individual students from low income."

Brookings, South Dakota (2,794): "Recent Federal support for elementary and secondary education has been of great value not only in the educational funds that it has provided but I believe that it has had a great effect on calling the attention of situations to be of urgent nature and of the problems of education in this country."

Tusculum, Alabama (2,421): "The Elementary and Secondary Education Act has added great impetus for change and improve-

ment. It has played a significant role in upgrading education in the south and other parts of the nation."

Naco, Arizona (32): "We are a small Mexican border school with very inadequate funding, a bilingual program, and provincial attitudes; the support has been of very great value to us."

Richmond, California (43,779): "Recent support to schools by the Congress has been of great value. There still is much progress and work to be accomplished in this difficult task."

Akron, Ohio (59,000): "Of great value: (a) they have changed attitudes; (b) bought equipment and materials; (c) permitted experiment; and (d) inspired innovative thinking."

Pauls Valley, Oklahoma (2,027): "Categorical aid has been of great value indeed. I shudder to think what our Oklahoma public school system would be like today if there had been no Federal assistance."

Numerous superintendents, in their evaluation of Federal education programs, made specific mention of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Title I of ESEA received a high evaluation from a substantial number. The following are examples of this type of response:

Mount Pleasant, Texas (2,825): "We feel that recent enactments of Congress in regard to education have been of great value to the local educational agency in providing educational opportunities to all youth regardless of economic, ethnic or educable background. Within our own district we are able to validate the increase of the learning level of seventy percent (70%) of our economically and educably deprived at least one grade level since the implementation of our remedial programs which are available to us under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. In addition, the vocational programs available under the Vocational Act of 1963 are of tremendous value to all youth of our district."

Donna, Texas (3,850): "In the past, this district, which has a high concentration of disadvantaged youth, could not effect substantial educational change because of inadequate finances. A condition of lethargy existed among the professional personnel who could see no possibility for improvement. All of this has now been changed with the influence of Federal legislation.

Through ESEA, special programs now exist and an atmosphere of anticipated improvement exists among both faculty and students."

Coulee City, Washington (204): "ESEA funds have greatly improved the educational program of our school system."

Lee County, South Carolina (6,200): "ESEA has and continues to have a great impact on the quality of the educational process in this state. All of the other Acts—NDEA, Vocational etc., have also been highly effective, if somewhat restrictive. There must be more if we are to even reach the goal of providing educational opportunities that will permit children to achieve to the maximum of their potential."

Banks County, Georgia (1,347): "ESEA has helped our school district tremendously since enactment of law by Congress. Our school district is located in the Ninth Congressional District in North Georgia. ESEA has enabled our district to purchase equipment, reduce teacher pupil rate, help with lunches, clothing, reading (remedial) and many other projects. Without Title I ESEA it would have taken our district 10 years to reach the present level that we now have. In my opinion, ESEA has done more to improve education in my area than all the other federal projects combined."

Sandersville, Georgia (5,300): "Through our Title I PL 89-10 money, we have increased our attendance to 97%, overall an increase in attendance over three years ago of 19%. Through our Title III PL 89-10 project, we have raised the reading levels of all our children and experimenting with a public kindergarten and a program for multiple handicapped children—the programs have been of great value."

Strathmore, California (372): "The ESEA Title I is a good program and has really been of great value in this particular school. I am positive it has improved education as a whole."

Frederick, Maryland (18,356): "Federal aid for support of elementary and secondary education has been of substantial value to this school system. Title I particularly has enabled us to help many children in many ways that we could not do without use of these funds."

Juneau, Alaska (Department of Education) (70,000): "ESEA has been of great value as 'seed' money. Over 50% of the schools in the state have made modifications in their locally supported school systems



February 5, 1969

For instance, you can collect and distribute clothing, books, food and other items in short supply among the urban poor.

You can use the free resources of the city's playgrounds, parks, museums or libraries to sponsor recreational or cultural projects.

You can form a committee to write letters, prepare data and consult with elected officials on pressing urban problems.

The list is endless, and thousands of your fellow citizens have shown the way. For example—

On New York's Lower East Side, Humberto Aponte, an insurance claims adjuster who was born on a poor farm in Puerto Rico, runs a one-man housing clinic in his spare time. Armed with only a battered typewriter, he battles for his neighbors who often lack the knowledge and resources to fight back against slum landlords.

First in Hartford, and then in New York, 27-year-old Ned Coll created an organization called the Revitalization Corps which functions as a kind of non-governmental domestic Peace Corps through a variety of grass-roots programs. Coll's "Operation Suburbia," for example, placed 100 city children from Hartford and New York in suburban homes for several weeks last summer. Other projects include tutoring and campaigning for better schools—all on \$5,000 a year, privately raised.

In Harlem, Miss Cora T. Walker, who for years has been telling her neighbors: "Quit complaining about problems. Do something about them!" launched a \$5 per share supermarket last spring. Called the Harlem River Consumers Cooperative, Inc., it provides jobs for 80 Harlem men and women and lower prices for housewives on shopping day. Seventeen teenagers traveled from door to door to sell shares in the cooperative.

#### IN UNION THEIRS IS STRENGTH

If your inclination is to "join" rather than act on your own, there are innumerable organizations and groups that will welcome your participation. Let's look at what some of them already are accomplishing in various parts of the country on major aspects of the urban crisis.

#### Education

A good education is the greatest single weapon for combating the cycle of poverty, despair and disorder that festers in so many of our cities. The education problem, as we all know, is beset by conflicting pressures. Yet in scores of communities, heartening results have been achieved by groups who found that there were practical steps they could take right in their neighborhoods.

In Bridgeport, Connecticut, the School Volunteer Association, made up of some 375 black and white volunteers, tutors children with reading problems. The school superintendent calls the volunteers' work "an academic tender-loving-care that you couldn't buy."

In another typical community, women volunteers of a Stay-in-School Committee have been encouraging high school dropouts to return to school by establishing personal contact to get at the basis of each youngster's problem. With the help of church, service and community groups, they find dropouts part-time jobs and help them maintain their morale and keep their school and job performances up.

In New York City, a group of 70 young businessmen has set up an organization called SEO—Sponsors for Educational Opportunity, Inc. SEO searches for ghetto boys and girls with top potential and helps them get into the better colleges and universities. The SEO members entertain the students in their homes, build up a personal relationship, look into family problems and seek scholarships and summer jobs. Most of the 150 students SEO has selected for sponsorship are already in college. Says Harold Davis, whom SEO helped to win a scholarship to Wesleyan:

"Ninety-nine per cent of the boys I grew up with are dead, in jail or on drugs—It's a miracle I'm alive."

#### Jobs

A job often makes the difference between becoming a useful citizen with a sense of hope and responsibility, or a public charge and possibly a criminal. James Rudd, leader of a group of 50 businessmen in Hempstead, New York, who banded together to help local youths find jobs, says: "There were plenty of Negro kids in this community who felt that they could become leaders by having the guts to stand up and throw a brick. I wanted to channel this energy into getting jobs instead."

In Indianapolis, a Voluntary Advisory Corps (VAC) has been helping unemployed persons overcome obstacles that have prevented them from finding and keeping a job. The only special skill required of a VAC volunteer is that he be a successful breadwinner—a person with a job who pays his bills and deals with his employers and fellow workers successfully month in and month out. The VAC volunteer meets with a job-seeker, usually referred by an employer who has been unable to offer him a job. In a series of sessions, the volunteer advises the job-seeker about how and where to apply for a job within his capabilities, how to prepare for interviews and fill out the necessary forms and how to bring out his positive factors that will appeal to an employer.

Sometimes just a bit of community encouragement is all that is needed to generate effective self-help programs. In Washington, D.C., a group of teenagers, given such encouragement, banded together as "The Working Magnificents" and sent out flyers that said:

"What jobs have you found for these industrious young men in your neighborhood? They can rake leaves, paint your porch floor, clean up your yard, shellac your inside floors, clean out your basement, wash and polish your car, get rid of your rats and roaches, and do any other such jobs. . . ."

#### Crime

The President's Riot Commission last spring drew a collective profile of the "counter-rioters"—after interviewing many ghetto residents who worked to prevent the riots. The report stressed that "the counter-rioter's actions and attitudes reflected his substantially greater stake in the social system." In other words, the key is: a stake in the community.

A number of volunteer groups throughout the country have sought to apply that message. In Indianapolis, a group of women started modestly, seeking to curb crime, persuade dropouts to return to school and obtain a new light on one dark street.

Thousands of women in the community have joined the campaign. They have helped keep scores of children in school, gotten hundreds of new street lights and established a "court-watchers" program to keep tabs on the efficiency of the courts. They have also begun a "one-woman-one-child" program in which one woman helps to solve the problems of one disturbed child, whether he needs a new sweater, help with his schoolwork or a job for his unemployed father.

An incident in Chicago recently gave eloquent testimony to the value of such programs. A 16-year-old hefted a fist-sized rock in his hand, then suddenly thrust it toward Lucy Lewis, a city anti-poverty worker. "Here," he told her, "I've got something for you. You kept me so busy I never had a chance to throw it."

#### HOW DO YOU START?

Chase Volunteers for Community Action (CVCA) has been created to help Chase staff members who want to do voluntary work on community problems in their spare time. It acts as liaison with various private

and public groups and agencies that are seeking volunteer help.

Through CVCA you can take youngsters for a boat ride around the city, or to a museum, to a ball game or the circus; help out in child care centers; tutor children in remedial reading or other subjects; teach them to paint, sew or make handcrafted articles in workshops; or counsel adults on job difficulties, family finances or other problems.

To get started in these and various other activities and projects, telephone CVCA on Extension 4314.

Many Chase officers are working to assist economic development in disadvantaged areas—through Bank programs, the Interracial Council for Business Opportunity, the Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation, the New York Coalition and other groups. Volunteers provide managerial assistance to minority-group clients who want to start their own businesses and who need advice about financing, credit, marketing and other problems; or who already have their own businesses, but have run into difficulties.

"GREATER, BETTER AND MORE BEAUTIFUL . . ."

In the Golden Age of Ancient Greece, every young Athenian as he came of age took this oath of citizenship:

"Thus in all these ways, we will transmit this City not less but greater, better and more beautiful than it was transmitted to us."

Perhaps we should all take our own version of that oath.

ME

A PLAN TO EVACUATE THE JEWS OF IRAQ

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 5, 1969

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed proper to mourn for the 14 human souls, Jewish and non-Jewish, who were so notoriously mass murdered by hanging in the streets of Baghdad, Iraq. Civilization cries out against this return to the barbarity of the German Nazis by the Government of Iraq.

But we must do more than merely cry out. We must embark on an action plan to save the survivors. The remaining estimated 2,500 Jews in Iraq are all under virtual house arrest. They face restrictions modeled after the Nazi Nurnberg laws. They may not emigrate from the country. Scores are in jail. Many are now facing phony trials, such as the so-called trials conducted by the Gestapo judges of Nazi Germany. We fear more mass executions from day to day in this campaign of genocide.

The Government of the United States can do little because Iraq broke off diplomatic relations with Washington during the 6-day war of 1967. The fanatical generals and colonels who act as military dictators of Iraq have voiced public contempt for anything the U.S. Government might say.

Indeed, the State Department has indicated that it might even be counterproductive for Washington to intercede directly. One of the charges against those held in Baghdad jails, including even an American gentile citizen, is that they are spies for the United States.

I am proposing, therefore, to our Secretary of State, an action plan to save the surviving Jews of Iraq.

The Government of India is the government with the most influence with Iraq. Indeed, India might be Iraq's closest friend. Iraq chose India to represent Iraqi diplomatic interests in Washington after the Iraqi embassy was closed.

I propose that the United States enlist the offices of India, a country that has received as much as a billion dollars a year in various forms of loans and economic assistance from the United States, which reflects the humanitarianism of the American people. I will suggest today that India show a special measure of compassion for the Jewish victims of Iraq, just as we have shown compassion for the hungry masses of India.

India can do this through her special status as diplomatic representative of Iraq in the United States. Specifically, India can propose to Iraq, whom she represents and with which she is on such good terms, that Air India provide an emergency air lift, a flying carpet of compassion, to remove the Jews from Iraq.

The estimated 2,500 Jews of Iraq could be flown out by Air India in less than a week. Other airlines could rush to lend planes to Air India just as the airlines of the world sped to the assistance of the Arab airlines after the Israeli action at Beirut. At Beirut not a single life was taken. But at Baghdad human beings are being liquidated in naked genocide.

The Government of India would be compensated for the special expenses including air fares, by appropriate philanthropies. Special visas could be issued by the U.S. Government under the immigration provisions providing emergency sanctuary for refugees from religious or political persecution.

I believe that the Government of India should make the rescue of the Jewish community in Iraq a matter of utmost priority. Pending before the Subcommittee on International Finance of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, a subcommittee on which happen to serve as the ranking Republican member, is a bill crucial to India.

It is a bill authorizing a 4-year commitment to the International Development Association. The largest single beneficiary of this bill is the Government of India. Indeed, some have argued that India is receiving a disproportionately large amount of aid and there is some opposition to the bill. However, I am mindful of the human plight of India's millions of underprivileged and am taking this into account as I form my own opinion.

But I would be less than frank to state to this audience that a country like India, which receives massive U.S. food-for-peace grants, U.S. Government loans, and assistance of all kinds, both directly and indirectly, should show a little compassion for the helpless Jews of Iraq. It would be in keeping with the finest traditions of Mahatma Gandhi who so eloquently denounced Adolf Hitler's persecution of the Jews.

Last Saturday President Nixon devoted the entire session of the U.S. National Security Council, his top advisers on diplomatic, military, and security mat-

ters, to the crisis in the Middle East. Indeed, this was the only subject taken up in many hours of White House discussions. The conclusions, of course, have not been publicly announced.

But I am now confident on the basis of my own information that the President will not rush headlong into any deals with France or the Soviet Union which would involve a sellout of Israel. I can also reassure you today that the President expressed concern about the situation of the Jews in Iraq at the meeting.

The President is convinced that the most important threat to world peace exists in the Middle East. But he is not pushing the panic button. He is avoiding possible missteps that might compromise Israel's right to peace and security.

I can assure you today that the President has resisted various pressures for a headlong surrender to pressures for a so-called "imposed" settlement injurious to Israel. He is acting cautiously and with a cool determination to preserve the peace and security of all the countries of the region.

While the outlines of the new American policy are not yet clear—indeed, the President has not yet made up his mind on basic options—one thing is certain. It is that he understands that the Russians are exaggerating the crisis in a self-serving manner in a bid to help their Arab friends and to further penetrate the region. President Nixon recognizes that the threat to Israel is also a grave threat to the national security interests of the United States.

#### NIXON: THE REPUTATION AND THE REALITY

#### HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 5, 1969

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include in the RECORD an excellent article on our new President, Richard M. Nixon, by Jack Leacacos whom many of us know as the very able Washington correspondent of the Cleveland Plain Dealer.

As chief of the Plain Dealer's Washington Bureau, Mr. Leacacos has a background in national affairs that lends particular insight to his story of Mr. Nixon's career:

NIXON: THE REPUTATION AND THE REALITY  
(By John P. Leacacos)

WASHINGTON.—Finally, tomorrow at noon, 11 days after his 56th birthday—America and the world will be able to see Richard Milhous Nixon, front and center of the stage, and never to depart from it for four long years. Then and only then can the new president begin to display his character and personal style in action, by deeds as well as irretrievable words, by his posture and at what angle and direction he leans into the sky.

Yet, paradoxically, ever since Nixon's photo-finish victory last Nov. 5, there has been a growing and smoldering curiosity about the man and what kind of a president he would make, despite the fact Nixon has been a nationally known figure for 20 years. It's as if an unbelieving country never quite thought he'd make it.

But he did all right. Now everybody has to take Nixon seriously, for he is indisputably the new president, and in the great tradition of American politics, every new president deserves a fair shake and every citizen is duty-bound to give him the benefit of the doubt.

Why the confused impressions, the grudging acceptance by some, the apparent mystery of who is the true Richard Nixon?

It may be useful, therefore, to attempt to explain, as far as one can, how the strawman effigy of Nixon came about and why, by and large, Nixon has had one of the worst press reputations in American history, though unfair.

For one thing, Nixon retains his small-town, grass-roots aura, his past high positions and converse with the great of the world notwithstanding. He is not a buddy-buddy type who has been barbered and glossed over into a politician who can be all things to all men. He has a deep reserve, does not wear his heart on his sleeve for the gentlemen of the press to stroke into friendly headlines.

The fact that he has been consistently himself as a basically unreachable Nixon is reflected in press clips which go back two decades. And one of the first things reporters have to do when writing about a public figure is to resort to the filed clips. Thus, in one sense, the straw-man picture gets repeated—and repeated.

Two more basic reasons come into play. From his very entry into politics, his 1946 upset victory over popular Rep. Jerry Voorhis, a Democrat, in his home district of Whittier in California, through his role in the exposure of Alger Hiss, his bare-knuckles defeat of Helen Gahagan Douglas for the U.S. Senate and his meteoric rise to vice president in 1952, Nixon has been the No. 1 bete noire and savage butt of the Democrats and the vast liberal and articulate majority who supported them for almost two generations.

Sen. Robert A. Taft of Ohio and President Dwight D. Eisenhower never drew such vindictive fire. The first was of the great 19th Century mold, the second to much a "father of his country" figure. But Nixon was the new, aggressive and dangerous symbol cast as the threat to the welfare-state gains and illusions of a whole area.

More subtle but perhaps even more pervasive in engineering anti-Nixon animosity and shrouding him in misunderstanding was the disillusionment of the nation over the aftermath of World War II, fought to insure a peaceful, democratic world—only to find totalitarian Soviet Russian imperialism thrusting a chagrined United States into constant crisis.

The pro-Soviet predilections of the 1930s and Communist Utopia, before the 1939 Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact, left many feeling like fools. Nixon was the lightning rod to draw the abuse for the awakening sensations of self-guilt. Nixon was the unwitting victim of the maelstrom of the tides of history.

The Nixon, indeed, seems at times a scroll of many personalities in search of a character: anti-Communist inquisitor, partisan zealot, press scapegoat, liberal bogeyman, protocol figurehead, Quaker quietist, relentless climber, crusading evangelist, indefatigable lawyer, world statesman, anti-hero of the Jet Set, and ideal son, father and husband.

Who, then, is Nixon? What are the components of his soul? What is his character inside the public shell? What made Richard Milhous Nixon what he is today?

Nixon himself is amused at all the attempts to psychoanalyze him.

"It's a lot of fun and I don't mind it," he told a TV interviewer. Further, "as far as that charisma and public relations tricks that are supposed to make you look like a matinee idol, forget it. If that is what the

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Unfortunately, social security laws presently discourage their entry into the labor market, even on a reasonable part-time basis.

Enactment of my bill would not only provide much needed assistance to our senior citizens, but would materially help employers in locating competent and experienced employees, particularly at this time when labor is in such short supply.

ME

## ISRAEL'S SECURITY IS NOT INTERNATIONALLY NEGOTIABLE

**HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 5, 1969

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, of late there have appeared in respected journals a series of items regarding a prospective settlement in the Middle East. It seems that each of these plans seeks to give to the Arabs at the conference table what they were denied on the battlefield. Each of these plans envisage the negotiability of the rights Israel has won and protected at such high cost.

It seems that this Nation is eagerly seeking to subscribe to the French plan that calls for American concurrence in a Soviet drive to eviscerate Israel's defenses.

France is Israel's enemy as much as she is America's. France serves Soviet ends in working for this conference on the Middle East. She is the running dog of the Kremlin, seeking to curry the favor of Arab despots and bask in the reflected glow of the Communist superstate. At the United Nations, the anti-Israel forces whine unceasingly for American acquiescence in this hoped-for repetition of 1938 and Munich. The Arabs have shown nothing but intransigence and brutality. There is no reason in the world for Israel to allow her military security to be comprised through such a four-power conference.

I condemn in the strongest terms any American agreement with the Soviet plan for Israel's destruction. I condemn vehemently any American concurrence in De Gaulle's attempt to destroy Israel. I condemn the attempt to strip Israel of her military gains which are her strongest bargaining card.

International guarantees are fine for editorial pages and the floor of the United Nations. They are worthless to the Israelis who would face Arab terror and death should these guarantees prove worthless. How worthy were the guarantees given to Czechoslovakia in 1938? How strongly did the great powers of 1938 enforce the rights of the Czechs? Ask the Czechs today, as they groan under the Soviet boot.

Think of the merciless advantage the Arabs would take of any Israel compromise and agreement to false guarantees. Think of the fedayeen and the newly rearmed Arab armies, licking their chops at the thought of another chance at Israel, with the odds on their side for a change. Shall America dare to take the

triumphant sword from the hand of Israel so she will stand vulnerable and naked before her enemies? Shall the United States betray the Israelis for the worthless words and guarantees of the United Nations, the Arab States and the Soviet Union?

I thought better of Mr. Nixon. I thought better of some of the people around him. I thought better of the American foreign policy establishment. It is obvious that Scranton-type thinking permeates the new advisers on the Middle East. This could result in the extinction of Israel. Mr. Speaker, I place no faith in these overtures. I place no faith in these promised guarantees. I place no faith in the honeyed words and glib promises of the Soviet Union and her Arab clients.

And I have nothing but contempt for the Arab-Soviet lapdog, De Gaulle's France. Let the gentlemen in the fogged areas of Foggy Bottom take notice that Israel's friends will not take such suggestions seriously. Their idea of a solution to the Middle East is the same as the Arab's solution—the extinguishing of the State of Israel.

I cannot believe that America would acquiesce in such a move, much less support it.

## CONGRESSIONAL PAY RAISE

**HON. CLARENCE E. MILLER**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 5, 1969

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, today the Rules Committee blocked legislation from coming to the floor of the House of Representatives that would lead to a vote by the House Members on a pay increase.

I believe firmly that the House Members should be allowed to debate and work their will on the resolution concerning pay increases from 28 to 71 percent.

At a time when inflation is causing those people living on fixed incomes to do without many of the necessities of life the Federal Government should not start another round of inflationary pay increases that would harm those on fixed incomes and those earning a minimum salary.

During this period when talk of holding the line against inflation is uppermost it seems almost unreasonable that we could sit by and allow this increase to come about.

Today we had a vote as to whether or not the House should recess from February 7 to 17. Since the Commission's recommendation will go into effect the 14th, I feel we should stay in session and attempt to pass legislation which would block this pay increase. Therefore, I voted "no" on the resolution to recess until February 17.

I want to go on record as opposing the pay increase and had this issue come to the floor for consideration I would have voted against the increase.

## BETTER HOMES AND GARDENS TAX REFORM ARTICLE

**HON. HENRY S. REUSS**

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 5, 1969

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, on January 29, 1969, I was joined by nine of my colleagues, Mr. MEEDS, Mr. REES, Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD, Mr. MOORHEAD, Mr. ADAMS, Mr. BINGHAM, Mr. BROWN of California, Mr. ZABLOCKI, and Mr. EDWARDS of California, in introducing H.R. 5250, the Tax Reform Act of 1969.

The Tax Reform Act is a 13-point reform package that would bring in some \$9 billion in extra revenue and make unnecessary the proposed extension of the 10-percent tax surcharge.

The November issue of Better Homes and Gardens contains an excellent article on tax reform entitled "Our Income-Tax Mess: Is There Any Way Out?" by Peter Lindberg and George Bush in which many of the reforms contained in H.R. 5250 are discussed. The article deals in intelligent and readable fashion with such controversial issues as the oil depletion allowance, tax-exempt bond income, capital gains, the unlimited charitable deduction, estate and gift taxes, hobby farms, the \$100 dividend exclusion, and the proposal for a minimum-maximum tax on individuals.

I commend this article to my colleagues and ask that it be printed at this point in the RECORD:

### OUR INCOME-TAX MESS: IS THERE ANY WAY OUT?

(By Peter Lindberg and George Bush)

(NOTE.—Of all the puzzling ways of government, the whys and hows of our income tax are probably the most mysterious. Rates are supposedly progressive, rising up to 70 percent in the top bracket—yet your family is taxed a greater percentage of its income than are many millionaires. Indeed, according to the latest figures, 18 individuals with personal incomes of more than one million dollars paid no income tax at all in 1966.

(If you're over 65 and blind, you get two extra exemptions; if you're over 65 and paralyzed, you get only one. Make money on stocks instead of by the hour, and your tax obligation is almost automatically cut in half. Single people get hit so hard that it actually pays them to get married. Sell your home for more than it cost you, and you must account for the profit; sell it for less, and you ordinarily cannot deduct your loss.

(The list of inequities and inconsistencies is so complex that only an expert can take full advantage of tax-saving devices. And here the average breadwinner is strictly out of luck. Most legal "loopholes" pay off only where big money is involved.

(To make matters even more frustrating, nobody seems quite sure what income taxation is all about these days. Is it to finance the operations of government? Is it to redistribute the income, to channel funds from the richer to the poorer? Is it to fight inflation by absorbing some of your extra money, rather than letting inflation run its damaging course?

(Considering all this, it's no wonder the tax system is both confusing and open to boondoggling by politicians. It's also no wonder that the system is making cynics out of so many.



(Obviously something must be done, and it isn't surprising that "tax reform" has become a magic phrase in this election year. But none of the proposed changes is a panacea. Each has its pros and cons. For this reason, and because the Treasury some months ago was considering a tax reform program for introduction by the present administration, *Better Homes and Gardens* decided to explore the major inequities and solutions.)

#### OIL AND GAS DEPLETION ALLOWANCE

Most tax reformers long have had an eye on this controversial bit of favoritism that allows oil producers to deduct 27.5 percent of the gross income from their wells before they even start figuring their taxes. True, this deduction can't exceed half of taxable income—i.e., the income after expenses (without subtracting depletion). But this deduction is allowed annually for the full life of a well without relation to the dollar amount invested. Thus, the deduction limit isn't much of a problem for most of the oil industry. What's more, to help on the deductible expense picture, oil people may claim "intangible drilling and development costs" as current outlays instead of spreading them over a number of years as other industries must do with similar expenditures.

It's no revelation, then, that there's little left to tax. And while there are a number of high-bracket individuals on this long-running gravy train, corporations generally make the most use of it.

Opponents of the allowance, like former Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois and Senator Albert Gore of Tennessee, have a point when they say that it has outlived its purpose since it was instituted in World War I to stimulate oil exploration. Today, say these critics, it's an unwarranted gift and privilege, regardless of how many people benefit.

Defenders of the allowance also have some arguments. They maintain the relatively low price you pay for gasoline is a result of the depletion allowance. Others, like Senator Jack Miller of Iowa, have said the depletion allowance helps our oil companies compete in the world's petroleum market.

Not surprisingly, while a reduction of the allowance is often recommended, few reformers suggest abolishing it entirely. Even Rep. Henry S. Reuss of Wisconsin, in his tabled tax bill of 1967, merely proposed cutting it to 15 percent, thereby increasing federal revenues by an estimated 500 million dollars a year. This compromise shows how difficult it is to be idealistic about taxes: In principle, the allowance represents an inequity, whether it's 27.5 or 15 percent.

#### TAX-EXEMPT BOND INCOME

If you're very rich, you can avoid paying income taxes altogether by investing your wealth in tax-exempt bonds that are issued by municipalities and other local governmental bodies to raise money for schools, roads, water purification plants, and other projects. Because such securities are tax-exempt, the issuing community can pay a lower interest rate and still compete successfully for funds in the capital market. Where an ordinary corporate bond may pay 5 percent or even more these days, tax-free school bonds, for instance, may be floated at only 3 or 4 percent. Yet they are extremely attractive to those taxpayers in the 50 percent tax bracket or above.

Why not raise the interest rate on municipal bonds and make them taxable? Simply because communities could not afford to pay the high interest rates of the open market. Even as it is, they often have a hard time meeting their financial obligations. If exemptions were abolished, local taxes most likely would rise (although for every dollar now saved in local taxes with exemptions, federal taxpayers lose \$1.25 to \$1.50, the difference going to high-bracket taxpayers).

The solutions? One is an across-the-board

minimum tax—regardless of source of income. We'll talk about this later. Another is a suggestion made by some economists that the federal government could get by cheaper by making up the difference between the interest rate the community can afford to pay and the going market rate.

#### CAPITAL GAINS

Make money in the stock market—or in any other capital investment or income-producing property—and you often can cut your tax bill at least by half, provided you hang on to your investment six months and a day. The most you'd ever have to pay (if you're in the 50 percent or over tax bracket) is 25 percent of your gain, not including the new surtax.

Take the assembly-line worker earning \$7,000 a year who files a standard 1040 form. He has to pay roughly \$1,100 in tax. Another taxpayer whose sole income is \$7,000 made from long-term capital gains on stock investments gets by with a \$400 tax bill. On the face of it, that's a tremendous injustice. But this law was written to stimulate risk investment. Without risk investing, a country cannot grow. There must be some incentive for you to put your money into a project where you might lose it. Indeed, some countries don't tax capital gains at all.

Thus, it's not likely that the capital gains advantage will be—or should be—abolished entirely. But many lawmakers would change the provisions. They point out that there's a big difference between a man who invests his money in a long-range project, and the speculator who buys stock and sells it at a profit right after the six months are up. Various informal proposals have been put forward, such as lengthening the required holding period for the maximum tax benefit from six months to, say, five years, with intermediate points allowing lesser benefits. Another proposal is to do away with the 25 percent maximum and simply tax capital gains at half the regular rate applicable to the taxpayer, with rates then ranging up to 35 percent.

#### UNLIMITED CHARITABLE DEDUCTIONS

This is a net little wrinkle, and you'll have to read carefully to follow it.

You, as the average taxpayer, cannot deduct more than 30 percent of your total income for contributions to charity no matter how much you actually give (though you can carry over unused contributions to the next five years). A little-known law, however, lets a taxpayer deduct gifts to charity without limit in a given year if—in that year and eight of ten preceding years—his charitable contributions plus federal income taxes paid exceeded 90 percent of taxable income.

Now what does this mean? One thing it does not mean is that a millionaire actually must give away or pay in taxes more than 90 percent of his income all those years. The key word here is *taxable*. By investing so he receives income from capital gains, tax-exempt interest on municipal bonds, and oil property, he can reduce his *taxable* income to a minimum. In actuality, his federal income taxes and his gifts together can be much less than 90 percent of what he earns.

Example: A man with a million-a-year income, half from municipal bonds and half from long-term capital gains, could contribute to charity and pay taxes of just over \$225,000 a year for eight years and still qualify for this tax break. Then in the ninth year, he could make a gift in excess of \$225,000 and escape paying taxes entirely for that year.

If the unlimited charitable deduction provision were abolished, the government would gain about 50 million dollars a year in taxes. But there's also an argument for allowing this privilege to continue. Remember that the millionaire *does indeed* give this money away to a worthy cause. If he didn't contribute generously, the money would have to

come from elsewhere, most likely from a government source. The question then narrows down to one of control of the charitable funds. Who should decide how much money goes to which charities? The millionaire as the individual donor, or the government?

#### INHERITED SECURITIES

By not taxing capital gains at death, the government last year lost out on an estimated 2½ billion dollars in revenue (or about a tenth of that years deficit). What's involved here is this: A taxpayer buys stock worth \$5,000. By the day of his death, the stock's value has increased to, say, \$15,000. If he sold it one minute before his death, he'd owe capital gains tax—a maximum of \$2,500 on the profit. But if the stock is not sold and passes on to his heirs, *neither* he nor his heirs have to pay income tax on the increase in value. The heirs' only responsibility for taxes is on any future profit they receive.

President Kennedy tried unsuccessfully to plug this loophole in his tax reform package of 1962. Congressman Reuss tried again in his aborted tax bill of 1967. Reuss' charge was that the provision greatly favors those who have large amounts of accumulated wealth.

But many congressmen balked at the hardships that would result from requiring an additional income tax at death. Something they might accept, however, would be a requirement that an estate or heir must use the same income tax base for property as the deceased, rather than the higher appreciated value allowed under present law. This would result in the heirs' paying an income tax, not at the time of the death of decedent, but when they sold the inherited property.

#### FEDERAL ESTATE TAXES

According to the tax-rate schedule, federal estate taxes are steep. The gross tax rates on taxable estates run up to 37 percent on one-million-dollar estates to 77 percent on estates over ten million dollars. Yet the actual tax paid runs from 15 percent at the \$500,000-to-one-million level up to no more than 24 percent, then tapers off above the \$20-million mark.

How does this happen? Well, simply by leaving his estate to his wife, a taxpayer can exclude up to half that money from *any* tax on his estate. Available to all estates, it's obviously most useful to large ones—i.e., being able to leave half of a 20-million-dollar estate to your wife and be taxed at the 10-million rate. But even at the lower end of the income scale, it in effect lets you leave \$120,000 tax-free to your wife—\$60,000 under the estate-tax exemption clause, another \$60,000 under the marital deduction clause. Some say this doesn't offer permanent tax escape, since money is taxed when the donee dies. But it can save tax, since the estate is divided into two smaller taxable packets, each taxed at lower rates than if combined. And the donee has the use—and interest from—the money that otherwise would go to the Treasury. Result? For the Treasury, a hefty revenue loss. (When the marital deduction was adopted in 1948, it lowered estate tax revenues by one-third.)

But there's even more tax-relief mileage built into our present federal estate laws. Simply by leaving money *in trust* to his wife or children—rather than by outright bequest—a man can save surprising amounts of tax money. His wife or children get all the income from the estate—such as interest on bonds—during their lifetime. When they die, the property is not subject to estate tax—and, if it's left in trust for the children, an entire generation escapes paying estate tax. Obviously, the leverage increases with wealth. On an eight-million dollar estate, for instance, bequeathing 2.4 million in trust to the children could save roughly 1½ million dollars in taxes. (To insure that he pays even less tax, the same cautious man can make use of the gift-tax loophole described below—all perfectly legal.)

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believe that while change is needed, the states should retain a role in a revamped Electoral College. But the point missed is that states do not vote, people do vote. The President, who represents all of the people, should be elected by them directly.

Some of the discussion about reforming the system has centered on legally committing the Electors to vote as instructed by the people, or by abolishing the Electoral College but assigning the same Electoral votes to the states. There would still be a chance of distorting the popular will since there is no exact correlation between Electoral votes and the popular vote. Mr. Nixon in the recent election won 43 per cent of the popular vote but 56 per cent of the Electoral votes. It would be possible for a candidate to win a popular majority and lose the election, as has happened.

The election of a President, it seems to us, is a place for a popular decision. We favor a system allowing Americans the right to vote directly for their President.

It was Thomas Jefferson in his first inaugural address on March 4, 1801, who said, "sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the forms of kings to govern him?"

#### RESOLUTION IN SUPPORT OF ISRAEL

**HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 4, 1969

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, on January 10, the Maine Township—Illinois—Regular Republican Organization adopted a resolution declaring its support of Israel in that nation's struggle against imperialistic communism. Inasmuch as this resolution eloquently demonstrates that the people of my district are aware of the fact that the Arabs and the Soviet Union are endangering the peace of the Middle East, I am inserting it in the RECORD:

#### RESOLUTION IN SUPPORT OF ISRAEL

Whereas, The Republican Party in general and, specifically, the Republican Party of Maine Township, Illinois, is dedicated to the preservation of peace and freedom in the world and is unalterably opposed to the encroachment of communism on freedom as a threat to global peace, and

Whereas, the failure of American foreign policy in the Middle East has led not only to undue communist influence in that area but also to direct arming of Arab states by the Soviet Union, and

Whereas, communist influence and arms in the Middle East menace the freedom of Israel, and

Whereas, the recent Israeli action in Lebanon against property, but not against human life, has been condemned in the main by nations not friendly to the United States, and

Whereas, the United Nations resolution that criticized this Israeli action is symptomatic of a hypocritical double-standard by which Arab raids and atrocities are ignored while whatever Israel does in defense is condemned

Now, therefore, be it resolved that the Maine Township Regular Republican Organization:

1. Declare its support of Israel in this latest of many crises, and

2. Go on record as urging a policy of permanent peace in the Middle East and for public acknowledgement by all nations of the world of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and its right to live, in freedom and in peace, within secure and recognized boundaries.

Be it further resolved that the Secretary of this organization be empowered to distribute copies of this Resolution to appropriate bodies and to make copies available to any organization, be it local, state or national, that may be interested in a similar expression of support.

Adopted this 10th day of January, 1969.  
Attested to by:

JOHN F. CALEF,  
President.

JOAN HALL,  
Secretary.

FLOYD T. FULLE,  
Committeeman.

#### TRAFFIC IN NARCOTICS AND DANGEROUS DRUGS

**HON. JOHN J. ROONEY**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 4, 1969

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, within recent weeks one of our most eminent American business leaders was prevailed upon to speak on the timely subject of "Traffic in Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs." Hardly a day passes without our attention being called to crime and violence directly associated with narcotic usage or traffic in drugs. It is for these reasons that I think the message of my good friend Samuel F. Pryor is of particular interest to the public as well as to the Members of this body.

Sam Pryor, who as senior vice president helped to build a world organization of Pan American Airways, is a man dedicated to public service and the betterment of mankind. He has devoted many years to the Boys' Clubs of America and Little League Foundation giving them his wise counsel and unstinting help in the same manner he has served his Government as a consultant and as an official representative to international meetings and conferences. In his capacity as a consultant to the Department of State he is a foremost leader of that fine group of American businessmen and professional leaders who are giving so generously of their time and experience in helping to achieve some degree of perfection in our foreign affairs. For these efforts he is deserving of our commendation and our gratitude.

Sam Pryor can speak with authority on the subject of narcotics and drugs because he studied it for many years and also attended and was graduated from our U.S. Treasury Narcotic Agents' School in Washington. He represented the U.S. Government at the last six annual meetings of Interpol—the International Criminal Police Organization—in various parts of the world. He served as an agent and acts as an adviser for the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs in the U.S. Department of Justice.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, as a result of his wide travels and his expertise gained by careful study of every aspect of the drug traffic, Sam Pryor speaks with the voice of authority. For these reasons I include the text of an address given by him at the Don Bosco-Holy Name Breakfast on December 8, 1968:

#### TRAFFIC IN NARCOTICS AND DANGEROUS DRUGS

I wish it was my privilege to talk to you this morning on many other interesting subjects that I have seen around our world where my business has taken me for thirty years and before that visiting most of the countries of the world at a very early age, but this morning I have been asked to talk about—"Traffic in Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs".

If some of you young people go on to run a business or even an airline—you will quickly discover that difficult problems can be put aside but can never be dismissed. We can try and try again to solve them without facing the unpleasant facts and we will fail every time. We can try to sweep facts under the table or bed out of sight, but they will still be there. Facts must be faced and, so often, the unpleasant facts lie close to home.

Travel abroad sharpens those facts. Travel abroad often opens our eyes to dangers which lie at our very feet.

So this morning I am going to talk to you about the most unpleasant facts and the most dangerous facts that we all young and old are facing in this community—this beautiful community and country and even the World where we are living. This traffic in narcotics and dangerous drugs is truly a world problem. Two months ago I attended the meeting of Interpol—the International Criminal Police organization and there at Tehran in Iran seventy-five countries of this world were in agreement as to the dangers we all were facing in dangerous drug abuse.

I became interested many years ago because as a Director of the Boy's Club of America—I saw what was happening to so many good boys because of lacking something interesting to do and lack of guidance turned them to experimenting with narcotics, leading them to ruin—even death.

Then because of the great privilege of being able to travel abroad, I saw many of the ruins of ancient cities which are now either in ruins or buried underneath desert sands. Roman ruins in Europe, Italy—all over the Middle East—the ancient pre-Christian Kingdoms of Quataban, Petra, Timna, the Hadhuramut, Saba—the home of the Queen of Sheba, the great lost city of Shabwa—ancient frankincense City of Sumhuran, and our own continent the ancient city—Chichen-Itza in the Yucatan.

Some of these civilizations have been buried now for over 2,000 years. Each of these cities, in its proper time, stood at the peak of achievement and accomplishments. Each exerted its influence throughout the then known world. Each was the leader of its time.

Pondering over these ruins caused me to wonder about ourselves. Now how much time do we have? And how wisely are we using it? To these questions we old and young must provide the answers.

As Arnold Toynbee, the great historian has documented, in case of civilization after civilization, complete destruction comes from within. Egypt, Babylon, Crete, Greece, Assyria and in our own hemisphere the Mayas, and the Incas were not from within. When the final test came, these great cultural, once healthy systems found themselves spiritually sick and helpless. They could not defend themselves, because they had already lost faith in themselves.

Now at what time in the history of these lost civilizations did the parents begin to ne-

include the following article which appeared in the St. Louis, Mo., Globe-Democrat of January 18-19, 1969:

**MITCHELL HAS WHAT IT TAKES**

Some critics of incoming Attorney General John Mitchell have suggested he may be of questionable effectiveness because he lacks experience in such areas as civil rights, anti-trust cases, dealing with organized crime and other issues which might come before the Justice Department.

What they overlook is that Mitchell gives every indication that he is a man who will do what his predecessor did all too reluctantly in certain instances—enforce the law and prosecute offenders vigorously.

Crime has reached the point in this country that a hard-line law enforcement man such as Mitchell is urgently needed in this post, which has been occupied in recent years by men more concerned with espousing their sociological views on crime than in enforcing the law.

In the case of Gov. Walter Hickel of Alaska, a chorus of critics are trying to paint him as a despoiler of land and resources because he indicated he disagreed with a policy of withdrawing a large area of land for conservation and "lock it up for no reason."

To date no one has shown that Alaska Gov. Hickel has anything more than a balanced view on conservation. He has indicated he will continue to pursue a policy of intelligently conserving the nation's land and resources. But he also will recognize the need for developing resources such as oil deposits in Alaska when this is the wisest course.

**CONSUMER CREDIT PROTECTION**

**HON. DANTE B. FASCELL**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, February 4, 1969*

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, credit is one of the foundation stones of our modern economy. Without the availability of credit, economic development would be severely curtailed. Access to credit is indispensable to the businessman, and to the individual as well. For this reason, complex credit systems have been developed in this Nation over many years to fill the vast need for operating capital and personal financing. It is hardly surprising that within this elaborate system, from time to time, minor flaws may occur. Such, I believe, is the case in the present practice of withholding information on credit ratings from individuals whose economic and personal well-being may be unfairly jeopardized by the ratings.

I am happy to cosponsor today, with my colleague, Mr. ZABLOCKI, of Wisconsin, legislation to correct this evil by making available to any individual the basis of an adverse credit report on himself so that he may have the opportunity of refuting any incorrect evidence used against him.

This legislation, to be known as the Fair Credit Reporting Act, is proposed as an amendment to the Truth-in-Lending Act. It would establish "due practice" in credit rating and reporting businesses on much the same basis as is now commonly found in our basic legal system.

Not only would this bill allow an individual to see a report prepared on him-

self by a credit reporting agency, it would also require credit reporting agencies to keep their reports confidential. This would help insure the individual's right to privacy in the collection and reporting of information which is increasingly more detailed and vital to his affairs.

As I have said, the credit reporting business is necessary and, indeed, required in our modern economy. The great majority of agencies, no doubt, develop accurate information and protect privacy. This legislation would not interfere with the continued successful operation of credit reporting agencies, but instead would help maintain public confidence in and respect for their activities by guaranteeing individuals a means of redress for any unfair injury that may occur.

As my good friend and respected colleague, Congressman ZABLOCKI, has pointed out, the fact that the vast majority of cases are handled without abuse to the individual does not justify the many cases of error and mistaken identity in credit reports now being discovered. He said:

In fact, such erroneous reports can practically destroy a person and yet the agencies, as part of their established mode of operation, will not give the person the chance to correct a mistake in his report. It is therefore obvious that regulation of the industry is needed to protect the individual.

Mr. Speaker, I agree with the need for greater protection for our citizens, and therefore I am delighted to cosponsor this legislation designed to protect the consumer against malicious, arbitrary, and erroneous credit reports.

**LEGISLATION TO STRENGTHEN THE  
FEDERAL EQUAL EMPLOYMENT  
OPPORTUNITY ACT**

**HON. OGDEN R. REID**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, February 5, 1969*

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, today I am joining with my colleague, Mr. HAWKINS, of California, and 28 other Members in introducing legislation to strengthen the Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Act.

Legislation similar to this was first drafted by James Roosevelt and myself and was passed by the House in 1966, but failed in the Senate. Federal officials feel that these powers are essential if the objective of equal employment opportunity is to be brought within reach. Thirty State commissions, including that in New York, now have the powers which would be granted to the Federal Commission under this act.

Briefly, this bill would amend title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to confer upon the EEOC authority to issue judicially enforceable cease-and-desist orders directing the discontinuance of discriminatory employment practices. The Commission's power under existing law is limited to conciliation. In addition, our bill would extend coverage of the law to employers and labor organizations with eight or more employees or mem-

bers. The present law exempts units of less than 25.

I urge my colleagues to join in giving the EEOC effective enforcement power in our effort to grant equal employment opportunity to all Americans.

**ELECTION REFORM IS URGENT  
NEED**

**Hon. ROBERT H. (BOB) MOLLOHAN**

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, February 4, 1969*

Mr. MOLLOHAN. Mr. Speaker, last week I joined some 37 other Members of the House in the introduction of House Joint Resolution 317, proposing an amendment to the Constitution to provide for direct popular election of the President and Vice President of the United States.

This amendment would insure that the man with the most votes will win the election. It abolishes all the trappings of electoral votes and says that the popular vote—the vote of the people—will determine who shall be President.

Mr. Speaker, a very fine editorial was published by the Wheeling News Register on the subject on January 10, 1969, and I am including it in my remarks:

**ELECTION REFORM IS URGENT NEED**

The need for reform of the Electoral College method of electing a president of the United States was demonstrated clearly again earlier this week when Congress formally certified the electoral victory of Richard M. Nixon.

After an afternoon of debate over the right of a maverick elector from North Carolina to ignore the majority of his state's voters and cast his ballot for George C. Wallace, the election of Mr. Nixon as president and Spiro Agnew as vice president was formally proclaimed. It was just one more instance pointing up the dire need for change of this system which was introduced in 1804 and which is both archaic and dangerous.

We will not soon forget that on election night last Nov. 5, there was genuine fear in the country that the next forty days and forty nights would find America swept by the severest political storm of the century. The concern was based on the strong possibility that neither candidate for president would win the 270 votes needed to carry the Electoral College and that the President would not be selected until January.

There was ample reason for this anxiety since if, for instance, California had not gone to Mr. Nixon by a margin of 200,000 votes but instead had gone for Vice President Hubert Humphrey, the Electoral College would have been stalemated. The way would have been open for weeks of wheeling and dealing over the votes of the elector, with Mr. George Wallace attempting to play the role of the kingmaker with his 45 votes.

The Founding Fathers introduced the Electoral College from a complete mistrust of the people. Their system has been modified in practice, since the electors are pledged to vote for specific candidates, but not by law, since the electors do not legally have to carry out their pledges. This was demonstrated again this week when Congress upheld the maverick elector from North Carolina.

It seems to us that the best method for reform is to abolish the Electoral College and permit Americans to elect their President by a direct popular vote. The one-man, one-vote proposal is opposed by many who



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reflecting my point of view appeared in the Plain Dealer on February 1, 1969.

#### REORGANIZATION ACT

Congress should waste no time in acting upon President Nixon's request to extend the Reorganization Act of 1949.

The act permits a president to reorganize the executive branch of government on his own authority through abolition, transfer or consolidation of agency functions. Without the act a president would have to submit carefully drawn legislation to Congress each time he wished to make a change.

The act usually has been routinely extended by congressional consent every two years, but it was permitted to lapse on Dec. 31. Its passage is necessary if the new President is to be able to shape the executive branch to his liking.

#### ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE REPORT ON THE JAPANESE BOYCOTT OF ISRAEL

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 4, 1969

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, while acts of Arab terrorism are occurring in the Middle East, we should not overlook attitudes of governments elsewhere toward the struggle of Israel to survive.

Recently the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith studied the Japanese boycott of Israel. I think many of my colleagues will agree that the report which follows is discouraging, and also that officials of our Government should communicate with the Japanese Government our concern and displeasure over any kind of boycott of Israel.

The following is the Anti-Defamation League progress report on the Japanese boycott of Israel, dated January 1969:

#### INTRODUCTION

Despite a professed concern with the boycott of Israel by significant Japanese business interests—reports of which have been widely published—the Government of Japan has yet to adopt a policy which would assist its business community in resisting pressures from the Arab bloc. As a result, a number of large Japanese businesses have stuck to their refusal, in some cases, to trade with Israel, or their unwillingness, in others, to consider Israeli requests for expansion of existing agreements or entry into new ones.

On the basis of data now available, the Anti-Defamation League finds signs of worry within the Japanese business world itself, and on high governmental levels—but little, if any, meaningful activity from either segment.

In early May, 1968, during its National Commission meeting, ADL released its findings on the Japanese boycott of Israel; named specific Japanese companies which had yielded to Arab pressure and curtailed trade with Israel; traced the two-year history of meetings with representatives in this country of the Japanese government, business interests, and Trade Center; and called upon the Government of Japan to establish a government policy that would oppose restriction of trade with nations friendly to Japan, and afford government assistance to Japanese companies defying pressures from those who advocate such restriction, i.e., the Arab states.

ADL documented in economic terms the irrationality of the trade boycott of Israel by Japan—e.g., Israel's per capita income being higher than that of any Arab country save Kuwait—and, in moral terms, the hypocrisy

of Japanese business interests' lobbying for freedom from trade restrictions with the United States while supporting such restrictions vis-a-vis Israel.

The ADL findings were published in a major story in the *New York Times*, as well as in the *Wall Street Journal* and other influential papers and business newsletters throughout the U.S., Europe and the Far East. A wave of indignation swept American businessmen—non-Jewish as well as Jewish—who have dealings with Japanese companies, and many informed ADL of their intention to make known such indignation to their Japanese counterparts. Subsequent reports in the daily and Anglo-Jewish press confirmed that letters and cables had indeed been sent by Americans to Japanese firms both here and in Japan.

#### RESULTS

On the positive side, two effects can be documented: (1) some Japanese companies have declared their intention to change their restrictive policies in relation to Israel; (2) the Government of Japan—officially silent on the whole matter before the dissemination of ADL's study—issued a series of statements professing a preference for nonrestrictive practices—and thereby acknowledged the boycott of Israel, which it had not done before.

Negatively, however, two parallel—and more significant—effects are demonstrable: (1) denials by a variety of large Japanese firms accompanied the continued silence of still others; (2) while it acknowledged that Japanese business interests had been boycotting Israel and expressed concern about such practices, the Government of Japan said, in effect, that it was powerless to correct the situation because it traditionally maintained a policy of noninterference in Japanese companies' trade relations with other countries.

This report will describe below in detail the effects of publication of the ADL's earlier study; it will indicate those Japanese firms which have changed, or express a willingness to change, their restrictive trade policies toward Israel, as well as those who remain recalcitrant; and it will offer evidence to support the conclusion that until the Japanese government establishes a firm policy—clearly enunciated to its business community—opposing boycotts of countries friendly to Japan (similar to policies legislated by many countries of the world, including the United States), the Japanese business boycott of Israel will remain a harmful ingredient in the relationship between the two countries.

#### CHANGE IN POLICY

As noted in earlier ADL reports, several Japanese firms, after meetings with the League, abandoned the Arab boycott of Israel. The *Fuji Photo Film Company* informed its American distributors that its policy had been changed and it has since appointed a distributor in Israel and exhibited in the 1968 Tel Aviv International Trade Fair.

The *Nissei Sangyo Company, Ltd.*, a subsidiary of *Hitachi, Ltd.*, manufacturers of radios, television and electrical appliances, agreed to open trade relations with Israel, also after conferences with ADL.

Similarly, the *Kawasaki Dockyards*, part of the multimillion-dollar *Kawasaki Corporation*, revised its previous boycott decision and agreed to resume trade relations with Israeli maritime interests.

Several Japanese firms that have been cited in the boycott situation have denied they support boycott policies in relation to Israel and several denials have been evidenced to be valid.

1. *Hayakawa Electric Company* of Osaka, Japan, manufacturers of television sets and calculators under the name of "Sharp," have demonstrated that they are exporting to Israel through the Shiro Trading Co., Ltd. and that their products are being imported into Israel by Inpoxel, an Israeli import firm.

2. *Yamaha* was one of two manufacturers

of motorcycles cited in the boycott situation who had refused to deal with Israel. The *Yamaha International Corporation* of California took issue with the allegation, saying that "Yamaha motorcycles are sold in 67 countries of the freeworld, including Israel." However, as late as November 1967, *Yamaha Motors Co. Ltd.* was on record stating, "... our company's policy (is) our products are not exported to your country." Confronted with these contradictory statements, the California source admitted no Yamaha cycles were exported to Israel, "because the motorcycle market in that country is small; however," the letter continued, "sales of Yamaha Outboard Motors are growing at a most satisfactory rate, and the Yamaha piano now commands 20% of the Israeli piano market..."

*Yamaha Motors Company, Ltd.*, and *Yamaha Shokai*, manufacturers, exporters and importers of musical instruments. *Yamaha International Corporation* probably represents both firms in international trade; the study referred only to *Yamaha Motors Company*.

The facts indicate that *Yamaha Shokai* is selling musical instruments to Israel and even contemplating the establishment of a plant in Israel, but no motorcycles have to date been sold to Israel in spite of Israeli offers to buy them.

#### STILL BOYCOTTING

No change in policy toward Israel has been forthcoming from such giants as *Sumitomo*, *Mitsubishi*, and *Mitsui*, who have maintained silence during the stir created by the ADL study.

Similar silence and apparent unwillingness to reverse existing boycott policies have been the response of the *Suzuki Motor Co., Ltd.*, *Nippon Electric* and *Shiba Electric*.

In the case of *Marubeni-Iida*, one of the several huge and diversified manufacturing firms that ADL named as participating in the boycott, the firm, in talks here with the League, had indicated the company's agreement to reverse its former policies, and had stated that *Marubeni-Iida* was now prepared to use Israeli flagships. When several specific shipments were to be transported on Israeli shipping lines, however, instructions were issued by *Marubeni-Iida* forbidding use of "Israeli flagships."

The *Toyota Motor Co.* reacting to the ADL study through its public relations representative in the United States, called the ADL to say that Toyota was not engaged in a boycott of Israel. This was early in May, and since then, despite several calls from ADL to the public relations office, no documentation has been offered to substantiate any trade between Toyota and Israel.

#### THE POSITION OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

For several years during which Japanese business appears increasingly to have acquiesced in the Arab boycott restrictions against Israel, the Government of Japan maintained an official silence on the matter. After a story released in Tokyo appeared in the *New York Times* of April 21, a series of statements began to emerge from Japanese government officials, and the public indignation aroused upon the release in May of ADL's study appears to have intensified this.

Typical of the inherent contradictions in the Japanese official position is the response to an ADL-prompted query from Russell S. Codman, Jr., honorary Consul General of Japan in Boston, by Yasuhiko Nara, Consul General of Japan in New York City. Mr. Nara wrote the following:

The position of the Japanese Government has been, from the very beginning of the establishment of the Arab Boycott office, completely neutral. The Japanese Government has, in the past, never encouraged or discouraged any of the Japanese companies from trading with either Israel or the Arab countries. Whether a company has more leaning towards Israel or the Arab countries

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is entirely up to each company concerned. This has been the position taken by the government and has been acknowledged both by Israel and the Arab countries. The company that is trading is, thus, assuming its own risks in trading with any of the parties (Italics ADL). To reiterate our position, the Japanese Government has never intervened in any of its companies in the choice of trading partners. The Government thinks that there should be amicable relations with both of the parties concerned. In other words, the Government is completely neutral and wishes to promote friendly relations with both parties.

The contradiction in the foregoing is that while the Government of Japan seems to advocate free trade principles and seems to want to encourage trade with Israel, it steadfastly maintains the position that it can do nothing about the boycott situation. It equates neutrality with passivity.

It is the contention of the League that the failure thus far of the Japanese government to implement what is said is a policy of economic "neutrality" in the Arab-Israeli conflict amounts to acquiescence by omission in the Arab boycott. (Abraham H. Foxman, director, Middle East Department.)

## A NEW ROLE FOR PRIVATE INDUSTRY

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 5, 1969

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, during the last few years I have been encouraged by the new efforts of private industry to meet the job needs of special groups in our society. Job opportunities in the business section—JOBS—and other new manpower programs have shown that the resources of the private industry can be used effectively for social as well as economic purposes.

In a speech to the National Rehabilitation Association, Dr. Paul M. Ellwood, Jr., director of the American Rehabilitation Foundation, has presented a useful analysis of the new role that private enterprise can play in the vocational rehabilitation process. I want to take this opportunity to insert Dr. Ellwood's speech in the RECORD:

THE REHABILITATION-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX  
(Donald K. Dabelstein Memorial Lecture presented by Paul M. Ellwood, Jr., M.D., executive director American Rehabilitation Foundation, before the annual meeting of the National Rehabilitation Association, New Orleans, La., October 22, 1968)

The choice of a title for this address may seem an unfortunate one. Much has been made of the alarming specter of a military-industrial complex—generals and armament industries joined in a coalition for amassing power and profits. The term "rehabilitation-industrial complex" may evoke unfavorable connotations. Yet, government is turning with increasing frequency to the private sector to undertake peaceful and socially desirable public enterprises—low-cost housing, education, and even management of the Post Office. If the profit-seeking free enterprise system is capable of delivering the mail, perhaps it may also be capable of delivering vocational rehabilitation. If the rulers of the "new industrial state" can be put to work performing high-level rehabilitation for more people, then, by all means,

let's form a coalition. If they can do the job, then what this country needs is a mighty rehabilitation-industrial complex!

These remarks will outline a plan which calls for the creation of a new market for rehabilitation candidates. It involves evaluation of individual vocational rehabilitation candidates by the public agency—establishing financial incentives for potential employers at a sufficiently high level to induce many of them to seek to hire the candidate, plus additional incentives to employers for providing training and prolonged employment.

This concept regards jobs in private industry not only as an end, that is, the culmination of the vocational rehabilitation process, but as a means of more efficiently performing this process. Carrying on vocational rehabilitation in the real-work setting could be expected to result in more realistic measures to adapt the man to the job and the job to the man and to provide training of direct relevance to job requirements.

Two points should be emphasized in defining the scope of these remarks:

First, they deal with the full range of causes of unemployment where government intervention is required for remediation. References to "clients" and "vocational rehabilitation candidates" should be understood to mean all who are classified as unemployed and dependent, from whatever cause, not just the physically disabled. Included in this definition are the socially deprived, school drop-outs, and the technologically unemployed.

Second, what I have to say is predicated on the assumption that medical and psychotherapeutic services will be purchased and financed separately; the program outlined here is directed exclusively toward providing employment.

It is possible to identify certain special attributes of private industry that may well be utilized—exploited, if you will—to advance the goals of vocational rehabilitation.

These special attributes have been described by Walter Heller, a leading architect of the New Economics. He credits private enterprise with three major strengths—first, its cybernetics—the "incredible capacity to receive and generate information and to respond to it"; second, its hardheadedness and technical efficiency; and third, its contribution to political democracy by keeping economic decisions free and decentralized.

Taking these three specialized capabilities, how might each be placed in the service of vocational rehabilitation? It is not enough to say that private enterprise has the potential to advance the goals of vocational rehabilitation. A strategy must be devised which will release this potential and channel it along lines that directly parallel the objectives of rehabilitation.

The critical question is how to activate, for vocational rehabilitation, the unique drives and skills of the business machine. What really turns industry on?

The answer, of course, is profit. This is the motive power behind private industry's hardheadedness and efficiency, its drive for high productivity and quality at the lowest possible cost.

It is essential to construct a "vocational rehabilitation market" which reproduces, insofar as possible, the conditions which normally "turn on" the profit-seeking, private enterprise system. The uneven results of many of the business-sponsored social programs of recent months are perhaps traceable in large part to the tendency to place too much reliance on the social conscience of the private sector.

A recent discussion of private enterprise and public programs in the *Harvard Business Review* made the point eloquently:

"If we all understood the basic ground rules of private enterprise a little better, we would realize that the large corporation is not a rain god, and that no amount of prayer

and incantation will unleash its power. The spectacle of otherwise sophisticated people going on bended knee to companies and pleading with them to have the kind of conscience and moral sensibilities only rarely found in individuals is nothing less than laughable. . . . Fundamentally, a corporation is like a computer in that it is programmed in the language of dollars and cents."

In a "rehabilitation-industrial" market, profits must provide incentives to accomplish the true objectives of vocational rehabilitation. In other words, profits must induce industry to perform functions directly aligned to the public interest. In vocational rehabilitation, the public interest may be defined as the goal of securing stable, remunerative employment in private industry for the greatest possible number of clients.

Economists speak of "efficient incentives". In order to align the interests of employers with the objectives of vocational rehabilitation, it is necessary to provide efficient incentives which will induce the employer to:

1. Hire the client in the first place.
2. Continue to employ him over a significant period of time.
3. Develop and upgrade his job skills.
4. Increase his earning power.

This calls for a plan which offers the employer an opportunity to realize a profit for advancing each of these objectives.

A fairly simple system might be constructed along the following lines:

1. Offer an initial subsidy for hiring and training the client. The level of the subsidy would be based on the relative ease or difficulty of bringing the employee's performance up to a normal level of productivity. This subsidy would cover a relatively short period of time.

2. An additional bonus payment would be offered as an incentive to prolong the period of employment. A period of eighteen months is suggested, based on evidence that a relatively extended period of employment is an indicator of continued job stability.

3. Finally, a formula of incentives based on the employee's progress measured in terms of increased job skills, responsibility and earning power would be necessary. The employer would receive incentive payments scaled in proportion to the employee's earnings. This schedule of incentives should be sustained over a prolonged period, perhaps as long as five years. The original employer should be eligible for these payments even if the employee moves to another job. This could have two possible effects. It would lessen the possibility of restricting the employee's freedom to move to another job. In addition, it could encourage employers to establish large-scale vocational rehabilitation programs for the purpose of earning revenues by placing large numbers of employees in companies other than their own.

The profit potential lies in the employer's ability to bring employees to performance levels which pay off in productivity at less cost than the subsidies and bonuses he receives.

Under this plan, the public agencies' vocational counselor would, in effect, act as the agent for the job candidate. He would perform the key role in the screening, evaluation and placement process. It would be his responsibility to establish the schedule of incentives necessary to secure an adequate number of job opportunities.

But while the rehabilitation agency and the employer are negotiating their agreements, what happens to the client? Does he become a mere chattel to be bargained for? Naturally, any plan of this type must safeguard the individual, according full recognition to his rights of freedom of choice, self-determination, and equality of opportunity. Rehabilitation has traditionally placed paramount emphasis on the individual. As a result of this orientation to the individual, the

school for basic enlisted men, located across the Thames River in Groton, Conn. The activities of this school were described recently in the New London Day by staff writer Carol Miller. The article points out that this is the only school of its kind in the country.

I am sure my colleagues will find this item of particular interest because of the description it provides of the fine training given the men who operate our nuclear submarine fleet. The article reads as follows:

**SUBMARINE SCHOOL IS ONLY ONE OF ITS  
KIND IN UNITED STATES**  
(By Carol Miller)

GROTON.—Sixty-three hundred young men a year are entering the only school of its kind in the country.

About three-fourths of them will make it through the eight-week curriculum that comprises the Submarine School for basic enlisted men at the Submarine Base.

This course is just one of about 200 offered at the Base. But it is by far the largest, involving about one fourth of the persons assigned to the Base. Only by completing the course can an enlisted man become a submariner and go on to qualify and win his silver dolphins.

**CELEBRITY GRADUATES**

Through the school have passed the men of the ill-fated Thresher and Scorpion, as well as celebrities such as Glenn Ford and Tony Curtis.

A great deal is crammed into eight weeks. With no time for repetition, information is a "one-time shot," says the school's director, Lt. John P. McGovern.

The rate of failure is high, particularly among direct imports from the civilian community, he says, because the school takes a different approach to teaching. Theory is stressed. In addition to nonrepetition, the learning material is so highly classified that none can be removed from the classroom.

**FAILURE RATE UP**

Basic acceptable intelligence is about equal to that of the civilian college level, McGovern says. Courses are being "tightened." The failure rate last year was only 11.8 per cent as compared to this year's 25.6.

"We want the cream," says McGovern. "We're not carrying students on our back."

It has been found, he says, that if poor students are graduated they fail at their duties on the subs. So, they might as well be flunked by the school.

Enrollment is running just about at maximum. Years ago most of the men were prepared for diesel subs. Later it was fast attack. Now the demand is for fleet ballistic missile nuclear. The FBMS require twice as many men in their crews as older types. The school's output has had to double to keep up, says McGovern, and the courses have become more sophisticated with the subs.

**HERE'S TYPICAL STUDENT**

A typical student is Seaman Apprentice Martin Kozerefski of Norwich. Nineteen-years-old, he's been in the Navy since June and at the Submarine School for five weeks.

"I was always most interested in the Sub Base down here," he says, "but I hadn't really given it much thought."

But during basic training when he was asked to note preferences, he indicated submarine work.

If he successfully completes the school, he hopes to go to a higher school as about 15 per cent of the graduates do. Otherwise if passed, he'll be stationed aboard a sub.

Home is so close that Kozerefski can find social life there, but he doesn't have much spare time. "You can slack off," he says, "but that will reflect on your marks."

**NIGHT SCHOOL WISE**

With tests and quizzes every week, going to night school is wise. It is open for individual study. Persons falling behind are especially urged to attend.

Grading is on the 4.0 system, with a 2.5 required to pass. Average, says Kozerefski, is about 3.0, or a B in civilian schooling.

Besides school, Kozerefski, like all students, stands duty once every four days. That means acting as security guard, standing watch in barracks or being on a work detail.

Other days he's at liberty to go anywhere within a 50-mile radius, which usually means home. Sometimes he takes advantage of the base's recreation facilities: the enlisted men's club, theater or bowling alley. "It's rather nice," he says.

Kozerefski's goal in the Navy is to get his silver dolphins, which he refers to as "the status symbol."

They make for an easier life, a little more respect. "Once you qualify, people sort of look up to you."

**LOOKS FORWARD TO DUTY**

Kozerefski is looking forward to submarine duty, although he's never been out on one. In fact, if he had not taken a tour through one on his own time, he would never have been on a real sub.

The entire eight weeks of training is land-based. The course calls for two one-day cruises, says McGovern, but none ever go out any more because of "commitments." There just aren't enough submarines, he says.

Classroom teaching is supplemented by trainers, which simulate conditions aboard a sub.

On some, students can learn to dive and resurface. The diesel sub trainer is composed of wheels, dials and gauges within a large suspended three-sided box. The box takes on a see-saw motion as two students at a time operate it from within.

An instructor handles other mechanisms outside and shouts commands such as "One degree down bubble," which is answered by "One degree down bubble, aye, aye sir." A mistake in the trainer is only embarrassing; in a submarine it could be fatal.

The men learn how to fight fires and are tested to withstand atmospheric pressure. The USS Firefish is a smoke tank on the base. Through it climb students learning to breathe through oxygen masks connected to tanks strapped on their backs.

In wet trainers, submarine pipes are simulated—with leaks. The instructor can control ruptures. The tank is quiet, then suddenly water bursts from a hole in a pipe or sometimes from several holes and the students rush to use tools or their own clothing to stop the leaks. It's a frenzied, wet, dirty procedure; but it's demanded training in case of a real casualty at sea.

A new class starts every two weeks, so four classes are always in residence. Each class averages 225 students.

(Officers go through a similar school. Besides the one in Groton, there is another at Pearl Harbor. Their course lasts six months during which they go to sea twice. A new officers' class starts every three months. Officers eventually try to qualify for gold dolphins.)

McGovern's assistant, Warrant Officer William Anderson, calls the enlisted men's school, the "naval university for submariners." All volunteers from the regular Navy, students first pass additional medical tests and investigation into their community backgrounds. All have graduated from boot camp so there are no marching classes or obstacle courses. No person is indiscriminately flunked. Each in danger of failing goes before an academic review board, where a slackard doesn't get a second chance.

"I consider it a challenge," says Kozerefski. "Everything in the Navy so far has been a challenge."

**ASSISTANCE TO DAY CARE  
CENTERS**

**HON. JACOB H. GILBERT**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 4, 1969

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, I have re-introduced my bill to provide educational assistance to children in public and private, nonprofit day care centers.

I am compelled, Mr. Speaker, by the utter reasonableness of this proposal. One of the great problems in the administration of our social welfare programs is assembling the people who might potentially benefit from them. In the nonprofit day care centers we have, so to speak, a captive audience. The children are there, being cared for, usually in a fashion designed to achieve nothing more than the passage of time until a mother returns from work. This bill will provide the means for making this time worthwhile for these youngsters. It is a Headstart program, built into the lives of the children who can most benefit from it. I see this bill not as a social experiment but, on the contrary, as a sure means of helping children who are ready and waiting to be helped.

My bill, entitled "Preschool Centers Supplementary Education Act," would authorize for fiscal 1970 and for each succeeding fiscal year a sum of \$300,000,000 for grants to be administered by the States. The bill provides that the States, to receive these funds, must meet certain standards. I regard this as an excellent, high-return program to meet the problems of our times.

**ME**  
**CONDEMNATION OF MASS EXECUTIONS BY UNITED STATES ESSENTIAL IF MIDDLE EAST WAR IS TO BE AVERTED**

**HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 4, 1969

Mr. CRAMER, Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of Secretary of State Rogers' condemnation of the mass executions of Jews by the Iraqi Government.

I think it is incumbent upon all of us who abhor this odious event to publicly and vigorously condemn it. History has taught us that silence can too easily be interpreted as indifference and this is true unfortunately, too often, even relating to the most inhumane and barbaric acts.

Secret trials followed by mass executions have no place in a civilized society. Indeed, their continuation can possibly lead to another Middle East confrontation with dire consequences for the entire world.

I call upon the Iraqi Government to halt these unconscionable murders and I commend our Secretary of State for his forthright condemnation when he, on January 27, 1969, said:

The spectacle of mass executions is repugnant to the conscience of the world.



February 5, 1969

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — Extensions of Remarks

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Sidney Grossman and Alex Holstein together with Norman Edell, Director of the Syracuse Jewish Welfare Federation, then enlisted the aid of the Syracuse Jewish Welfare Federation which enthusiastically agreed to become a co-sponsor of the project. Mr. Gaskins at the same time secured the assistance of the Small Business Administration. It should be indicated here that Mr. Gaskins' Central City Business Association had been doing this work all along; however, having a group of white business men with experience in many types of business to assist and counsel the new entrepreneurs was of course most readily welcomed by Mr. Gaskins and his group. In addition, ADL Executive Committee member Alex Holstein being a member of the Board of the Syracuse Chamber of Commerce was able to enlist the assistance of the Syracuse Chamber of Commerce in the project just as Jack Bunis, ADL Buffalo Executive Committee member who is President of the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce had enlisted the assistance of the Buffalo Chamber in this project.

A number of important strands weave themselves throughout both the Buffalo and Syracuse projects. For example, the many businessmen involved in both projects in addition to others in the white community have seen that the stereotype of black people "not wanting to work" is not only a stereotype but a falsehood. They have seen that black people are like any other people whether they be white, green, yellow or purple—for every person who doesn't want to work there are countless numbers who do.

Another lesson we learned is that the stories we hear about black people not wanting white help are a myth. The numbers of black people that have appeared before our committees in both Buffalo and Syracuse were not only anxious for help from wherever it came but without being "Uncle Toms", were demonstrative in their appreciation of the assistance, thus making us realize that for every black partisan of violence as a means of Negroes attaining a place in society, there are countless others who have the initiative and drive to realize that one way to beat the obvious discriminations which do exist, is for them to get into a position where through either education, acquiring a skill, or acquiring economic independence, prejudice against blacks might still exist, but just as was done by so many in the Jewish community discrimination itself will at least not be able to "keep them down".

A third lesson brought home to us is the unique role that B'nai B'rith and ADL members can play in this aspect of the urban crisis. In view of the many types of business and profession which our constituents are in, every large Jewish community in the United States has among its members virtually every conceivable type of business or professional experience which can be made available on a volunteer basis to members of the black community. In addition, contact of our Board members with other community leadership such as is found in Chambers of Commerce, the Small Business Administration, Bank Institutions and other business related organizations is of course invaluable.

Lester Gross in commenting on how his suggestion had expanded into two of New York State's major cities (with a third program under way, by way of assistance to the Business Opportunities Corporation in Rochester, New York) remarked—"let's face it. The black community understandably, and it is important, is asking for black ownership. We as Jews have seen the values and independence that can come from self-employment, as difficult as the struggle is to attain self-employment. ADL has spent years in assisting black people, as well as others, to get into the mainstream of American life. Certainly one of the avenues lead-

ing into the mainstream is through business ownership."

The error of the myth that people in depressed groups aren't working "because they don't want to work" was brought home to us in another respect.

In 1964 a committee of the Buffalo ADL Executive Committee through the good offices of ADL board member Philip Kaye, President of Watson Can Company in Buffalo invited Charles Light, Executive Director of the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce to a luncheon meeting at Buffalo's Montefiore Club. Our ADL Committee discussed with Mr. Light the tremendous role which, in our opinion, the Chamber of Commerce could conceivably play in employment opportunities for the black community, since, after all, the Chamber of Commerce "is the place where the jobs are". Mr. Light was most receptive to the idea and suggested that we ought to discuss this with some of our board members active in the Chamber of Commerce so as to give impetus to the program. As a result, we did discuss this with ADL Executive Committee member Jack Bunis, mentioned previously. Jack Bunis happens also to be president of The Sample, a Buffalo department store chain; he since that time has been elected and is now serving as president of the Chamber of Commerce. He was enthusiastic about the possibilities. As a result, he got together with other leadership in the Chamber of Commerce. At the same time, members of our ADL Executive Committee held a meeting with representatives of the Buffalo Council of Churches to get the Council of Churches' backing for our proposal. As a result of the first two meetings, a third meeting was held at what was then the Hotel Buffalo. One of the community leadership at the Hotel Buffalo meeting was George Goodyear, a Buffalo financier acquainted with Chamber of Commerce leadership. Mr. Goodyear, a friend of the ADL office, agreed to get together with Jack Bunis to see what might be done to get a program actually formalized by the Chamber.

The result was that a Job Opportunities Council was organized by the Chamber of Commerce.

The Chamber and its Job Opportunities Council then seized the ball and did what can only be called as slightly less than a miraculous job and what the Urban Action Clearing House of the United States Chamber of Commerce has since described as having "enabled hundreds of unemployed men to move into meaningful jobs". The Clearing House report goes on to say "Buffalo leaders have proved something even more important in the long term. They have dispelled cliché antagonisms, broken historic barriers to change, and have firmly established a teamwork philosophy among many elements of the area".

Among the many major and, at that time unprecedented steps taken by the Buffalo Chamber were a complete involvement of organizations and grass roots representatives in the black community in the establishment of a non-profit corporation called the Opportunities Development Corporation, with a full time Executive Director.

The Opportunity Development Corporation (ODC) had three objectives: finding jobs, training jobless, and gathering information.

The ODC in turn set up project JET (Jobs, education, training) and with \$40,000 (grown to \$100,000 over a three year period) which was provided by the Chamber of Commerce for the first year of operation, the program was on its way.

Since that time in 1964, due again to the initiative and aggressiveness of Chamber of Commerce and ODC officers, committee, and staff—the program has been funded by a number of federal grants, including among others a \$514,000 grant from the United States Department of Transportation and a \$114,000 grant from the United States Department of Labor.

Among the many involved and complex aspects of this program, other phases of the program were developed such as, to mention only a few, a special training program for the ODC training staff, as a result of which in one summer along 200 prospective tutors were trained at the State University College at Buffalo.

Meanwhile the Job Development staff of the JET project began a canvass of employers which during the first year of operation alone resulted in over 10,000 personal contacts with over 2,000 employers.

At the same time, a "Reach-Out" program started to make contacts with potential trainees, using such methods as house to house visits, businesses in the CORE area of the city, church, social, recreation groups, etc.

What have the results been?

Through Project JET more than 1200 heads of households have been placed in jobs. Of this number, 390 were previously on welfare. The Buffalo Chamber of Commerce can be extremely proud that JET was the first program of its type in the United States.

As a result of JET, JOTT (Job Opportunities Through Transportation) was formed and funded by the Department of Transportation to give access to jobs for hundreds of residents in Buffalo's black community who couldn't reach available jobs due to lack of transportation.

Another project of ODC has been project JUSTICE (Journeymen Under Specific Training In Construction Employment) the purpose of which has been to train minority group men to become journeymen mechanics in construction trades. We are informed by the Chamber of Commerce that this is also the first program of its type in the United States.

What is the sum total of all this? For one thing, we in the Western New York ADL feel tremendous pride in the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce not only for its foresightedness in responding to our original suggestion, but we also can have nothing but admiration for the thousands of hours put in by Chamber members to say nothing of the dollars themselves expended by the Chamber, in addition to the organizing skills, the endless contacts that had to be made with all manner of governmental agencies, the countless frustrations that have to enter into such an undertaking, and the travail of the hundreds of meetings represented by all manner of differing views and attitudes.

In addition, however, we learned a fourth lesson which can be added to the three mentioned earlier. That is, that ADL can play one of its most meaningful roles towards dynamic community change by way of being a catalyst in bringing the right idea together with the right people at the right time.

#### THE ONLY SUBMARINE SCHOOL IN THE UNITED STATES

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 4, 1969

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, New London, Conn., located in my congressional district, is known as the submarine capital of the world. This title has been earned by the fact that New London is the home of our largest submarine base, the site of important training and research facilities, and a center for the construction of submarines.

An essential part of the training at the base is performed by the submarine

Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, p. 163 (chart).

\* Comus, Louis F., Jr. *Use of Computers and Other Automated Processes by the Courts*. Geneva, World Association of Judges and the World Peace Through Law Center, 1967. 41 p.

\* Pound, Roscoe. *The Causes of Popular Dissatisfaction with the Administration of Justice*. In reports of the American Bar Association, v. 29, 1906, p. 181.

\* Ellenbogen, Henry. *EDP: Last Hope for the Jury System*. In Proceedings of the Conference on EDP Systems for State and Local Governments, New York City, September 30-October 2, 1964, p. 28.

## MEN OF THE YEAR IN SERVICE TO AGRICULTURE

### HON. BILL NICHOLS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 4, 1969

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, each year the Progressive Farmer magazine honors a "Man of the Year in Service to Agriculture" in each of the States in which the magazine is distributed. The most recent recipient of the award in Alabama is our State commissioner of agriculture and industries, Commissioner Richard Beard. In receiving this award, Commissioner Beard joins such distinguished Alabamians as the late Senator John H. Bankhead, Senator Lister Hill, who just recently left the Senate, and our senior Senator JOHN SPARKMAN.

At this point, I would like to insert in the RECORD the citation which appeared in the January 1969 Progressive Farmer announcing that Commissioner Richard Beard had been named "Man of the Year":

#### MEN OF THE YEAR IN SERVICE TO AGRICULTURE

He's honest. He does the best job he knows how to do. He's able. Put them all together and you have an unusual public servant. These words from a career employee of Alabama's Department of Agriculture and Industries aptly describe the head of the department, Commissioner Beard.

More farmer than politician, Richard Beard has done such a remarkable job of getting maximum production and income from the 275-acre farm he developed that more than 15,000 farmers and businessmen have visited his farm during the past few years. But he's been a full-time public servant since taking office in 1967.

Even before then he joined with members of the State Board of Agriculture in urging the Alabama legislature to appropriate funds for a study of his department. He later was instrumental in bringing about a reorganization based on recommendations of the study group. These changes have enabled members of the department to function more efficiently and to give greater service to the people of Alabama.

The following comparisons of last year's activities to those of other years are used as examples of their increased efficiencies.

Collected and analyzed 3,500 samples of feed—a 19% increase over 1967 and a 150% increase over 1966.

Inspected 18,037 scales, 18,237 gasoline pumps, and 97,109 packages during the first 10 months of 1968 resulting in 33,863 condemnations as compared to 12,943 two years ago.

## INADEQUATE INDIVIDUAL TAX EXEMPTION

### HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 4, 1969

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, in 1947, nearly 22 years ago, Congress established a \$600 per person exemption for individuals before determining the tax due to the Federal Government.

During these 22 years, we have established and funded a massive Marshall plan which has revitalized war ravaged Europe, it has seen a time when we have funded programs to go to the moon and return, we have largely financed the Korean war and the Vietnam conflict, we have witnessed a remaking of the world map since 1947, and we have also experienced a great change from the decision of Congress at that time that "\$600 was determined to be the minimum amount needed for maintaining a decent standard of living."

The consumer price index in 1947 was 77.8 percent of the 100 percent base of the 1957-59 period. In November 1968, this index was at the record level of 123.4 percent, or an increase of 56.6 percent since 1947. This reflects a portion of the astronomical increases in interest rates, service charges, college educational costs, housing, and so forth. It is high time that major improvements and revision be made on our income tax laws and regulations to close the loopholes and to become realistic in the exemptions authorized per person. My bill changes this to \$1,200 from the present inadequate level of \$600.

The effect of this change would be to leave nearly \$17.3 billion in the hands of those who earned it, and thus permit them to more nearly meet and accomplish their life's goals.

I have received hundreds of letters from honest, hardworking parents who tell of their individual problems of coping with the higher costs foisted on them through continued Government deficit spending, and who plead for the need of increasing the personal exemption to a level more nearly consistent with today's costs and prices.

The adoption of this change will help over 100 million taxpayers in 1 year, and this matter of only \$50 a month increase will avoid the time-wasting efforts of filing their reports and then having them scrutinized by the Federal Government of nearly 19 million taxpayers.

I am not advocating that we should have a deficit, or that an unbalanced budget will develop because I want to leave over \$17 billion back in the deposits of 19 million people. This revenue can easily be made up by the plugging of loopholes now in the laws so that as much as \$50 billion in taxes are not paid. If all this were to be collected, then the individual exemption might well be increased to nearly \$2,000, and still provide over \$30 billion in new Federal revenue.

## A PLAN TO EVACUATE THE JEWS FROM IRAQ

ME

### HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 4, 1969

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed proper to mourn for the 14 human souls, Jewish and non-Jewish, who were so notoriously mass murdered by hanging in the streets of Baghdad, Iraq. Civilization cries out against this return to the barbarity of the German Nazis by the government of Iraq.

But we must do more than merely cry out. We must embark on an action plan to save the survivors. The remaining estimated 2,500 Jews in Iraq are all under virtual house arrest. They face restrictions modeled after the Nazi Nuremberg laws. They may not emigrate from the country. Scores are in jail. Many are now facing phony trials. Such as the so-called trials conducted by the Gestapo judges of Nazi Germany. We fear more mass executions from day to day in this campaign of genocide.

The government of the United States can do little because Iraq broke off diplomatic relations with Washington during the 6-day war of 1967. The fanatical generals and colonels who act as military dictators of Iraq have voiced public contempt for anything the U.S. government might say.

Indeed, the State Department has indicated that it might even be counterproductive for Washington to intercede directly. One of the charges against those held in Baghdad jails, including even an American gentile citizen, is that they are spies for the United States.

Therefore, I am proposing to our Secretary of State an action plan to save the surviving Jews in Iraq.

The government of India is the government with the most influence with Iraq. Indeed, India may be Iraq's closest friend. Iraq chose India to represent Iraqi diplomatic interests in Washington after the Iraqi embassy was closed.

I propose that the United States enlist the offices of India, a country that has received as much as a billion dollars a year in various forms of loans and economic assistance from the United States which reflects the humanitarianism of the American people. I will suggest that India show a special measure of compassion for the Jewish victims of Iraq just as we have shown compassion for the hungry masses of India.

India can do this through her special status as diplomatic representatives of Iraq in the United States. Specifically India can propose to Iraq whom she represents and with which she is on such good terms, that Air India provide an emergency air lift, a flying carpet of compassion, to remove the Jews from Iraq.

The estimated 2,500 Jews of Iraq could be flown out by Air India in less than a week. Other airlines could rush to lend planes to Air India just as the airline

States: Charles S. Rhyne, President of the World Peace Through Law Center, has been

instrumental in forming a World Association of Judges, which includes among its goals the

use of modern techniques, such as computerized records, by the international judiciary.

## SYSTEM SIZE AND COURT CASELOAD RANGE

Annual dollar cost	Computers			Punched card (50,000—20,000)	Manual
	Medium (Above 225,000)	(225,000—150,000)	Small (130,000—75,000)		
Cases per year:					
Criminal:					
Felonies.....	Above 5,000	6,000—2,000	4,000—1,500	2,000—400	Under 400.
Minor crimes.....	Above 30,000	32,000—11,000	21,000—6,000	10,000—2,000	Under 2,000.
Civil:					
General civil.....	Above 7,000	7,500—2,500	5,000—1,500	2,000—500	Under 500.
Divorce, nonsupport and probate.....	Above 30,000	30,000—10,000	20,000—6,000	10,000—2,000	Under 2,000.
Small civil actions.....	Above 75,000	75,000—25,000	50,000—15,000	20,000—5,000	Under 5,000.
City-county population.....	Above 1,500,000	500,000—1,500,000	300,000—1,000,000	100,000—300,000	Under 100,000.
Number of city-counties in each size group.....	10	(15) ← Overlap → (85)	(200)	2,700	

## STATE AND LOCAL USE OF ADP

Although the potential of the electronic computer and associated devices for judicial users still is incompletely understood, there is a growing number of state, county, and municipal court systems where ADP is used regularly. Among the decisions which must be made by the would-be user of ADP is whether such equipment actually expedites data handling, and if cost-effectiveness can be achieved. There have been instances of smaller courts becoming enamored of the flashing lights and spinning tape reels, and embarking upon a course of equipment use which was neither truly helpful nor within the established budget. An excellent comparison of manual versus punched card versus computer (both small and medium) systems was prepared by Norbert A. Halloran, and appears above.<sup>6</sup>

New machine-supported systems are going into operation in all sections of the country. The Secretariat of the National Conference of Court Administrators distributed a questionnaire in 1965 which provided an initial listing of those states, counties, municipalities, and territories which have installed some form of automatic data processing equipment for use in court operations. This information, together with later status indicators,<sup>7</sup> provides an overview of the scope of activity:

Alaska*	Massachusetts: Boston
Arizona*	Minnesota: Hennepin County
California: 10 counties, 12 municipalities	Missouri: Clayton County
Colorado*: 2 counties, Denver	New Jersey*: Hudson County
Connecticut*: East Hartford	New York*: Suffolk and Dutchess Counties, New York City
District of Columbia	Ohio: Summit County
Georgia: Fulton County	Oregon: 5 counties
Hawaii*	Pennsylvania: Allegheny County and Philadelphia
Illinois: Cook County	Puerto Rico
Indiana*	Texas: Dallas and Houston Counties
Iowa: Polk County	
Kansas*	
Louisiana: New Orleans	
Maryland: 2 counties	

\* State systems.

The willingness of the leadership of these court systems to try out new devices, programs, and procedures reflects the priority which has been assigned to improving court administration.

For example, the application of ADP equipment and techniques to selected operations in the Los Angeles County courts has been carried out in an evolutionary fashion, commencing with a study begun in 1961 by the System Development Corporation. Three Su-

perior Court functions were earmarked for analysis: processing of civil files, preparation of statistical reports, and an analysis of records in the Conciliation Court. Following this scrutiny of system activities emphasizing document origin, flow, content, and impact on the overall system, a second phase effort treating the entire court was undertaken. Today, ongoing activity in the Superior Court area resulting from the recommendations of the Special Committee on Data Processing includes: random juror selection, the issuance of jury summons, and statistical data on case activity.

With the creation of the Court and Law Enforcement Data Center in 1965, a series of new systems improvement activities were started. Municipal and Superior Court, as well as the Sheriff's Department and County Clerk's operations, were selected for ADP servicing—for example, the handling of prior offenders' records, prisoner movement, historical records of traffic offenders (both in the Municipal and Superior Courts), and a calendaring system for the Superior Court—with extensive use of disk files and peripheral access devices. Subsequent effort is to be expended in the District Attorney's and Public Defender's Offices. Projected equipment support features an IBM 360/40 with nearly 200 keyboard and video screen terminals, to begin January 1, 1969.

The development of such long term projects requires sustained management determination to expend precious resources and the patience to await meaningful results.

The trend throughout the United States is for judges and court administrators to study new ways and means of alleviating existing problems such as congestion and delay. While the many electronic processing devices have been part of the modern scene for nearly two decades, many persons still view the new technology with distrust and apprehension. Perhaps the most essential consideration for each person or group who is thinking about using ADP is this: precisely how and to what extent can a machine-centered information handling system improve the current operation? All too often this "moment of truth" is postponed, with subsequent problems for all.

In the realm of judicial administration, as in all other areas where information handling is so vital, man must work continually to expand the horizons of his thinking and his day-to-day performance. Dean Roscoe Pound in 1906 urged his colleagues to move with the times, apply new techniques, and introduce those procedural reforms which would help society:

"The public seldom realizes how much it is interested in maintaining the highest scientific standard in the administration of justice."<sup>8</sup>

The pressures upon those who are charged with dispensing justice and ensuring due process are, today, often many degrees of magnitude greater than those of only a

generation ago. Those who comprise the contemporary judiciary now may view the advantages which may be derived from applying scientific problem solving techniques and man-machine procedures to those problems which have become virtually inherent in the court operational environment. Technology has its place, however, and man must monitor carefully his use of the innovative mechanisms:

"Mechanical devices and electronic wizardry will handle the routine procedures of the court very nicely but justice will always be dependent upon the decisions of conscientious and dedicated students of the law. The wisdom and compassion displayed by our trained judiciary can never be duplicated by any machine."<sup>9</sup>

In the years to come, the effects of population growth and the intensification of human existence caused by megalopolitan living may bring new threats to individual freedom and the survival of collective rights. The judiciary of the nation will have to assess ever more accurately their efforts in terms of the welfare of the people. Justice under law, a heritage priceless to all Americans, will become more than an accepted right. It will stand as the most cherished possession of mankind.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Warren, Earl. Address delivered at the annual meeting of the American Law Institute, Washington, D.C., May 18, 1966, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Navarro, Joseph A. and Jean G. Taylor, *Data Analyses and Simulation of a Court System for the Processing of Criminal Cases*. Reproduced from the Task Force Report: Science and Technology, a report to the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. Prepared by the Institute for Defense Analyses, Arlington, Virginia, June, 1967, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on the Judiciary. Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery. Deficiencies in judicial administration. Hearings before the Subcommittee, 90th Congress, 1st session, April 18-19, June 27, July 20, 1967. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1968, 470 p.

<sup>4</sup> Chartrand, Robert L. *The Role of Automatic Data Processing in Improving Judicial Administration*. A presentation before the National College of State Trial Judges, the University of Nevada, Reno, Nevada, August 15, 1967, 14 p.

<sup>5</sup> Adams, Eldridge. *A Study of Data Processing in the Los Angeles Superior Court*. Conducted for the Court's Special Committee on Data Processing. Santa Monica, System Development Corporation, November 1, 1963, 98 p.

<sup>6</sup> Halloran, Norbert A. "Modernized Court Administration." In *Task Force Report: The Courts*, Appendix E. Published by President's

Footnotes at end of article.



of the world sped to the assistance of the Arab airlines after the Israeli action at Beirut. At Beirut not a single life was taken. But at Baghdad human beings are being liquidated in naked genocide.

The government of India would be compensated for the special expenses including air fares, by appropriate philanthropies. Special visas could be issued by the U.S. Government under the immigration provisions providing emergency sanctuary for refugees from religious or political persecution.

I believe that the Government of India should make the rescue of the Jewish community in Iraq a matter of utmost priority. Pending before the subcommittee on international finance of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, a subcommittee on which I happen to serve as the ranking Republican member, is a bill crucial to India.

It is a bill authorizing a 4-year commitment to the International Development Association. The largest single beneficiary of this bill is the Government of India. Indeed, some have argued that India is receiving a disproportionately large amount of aid and there is some opposition to the bill. However, I am mindful of the human plight of India's millions of underprivileged and am taking this into account as I form my own opinion.

But I would be less than frank if I did not state my belief that a country like India, which receives massive U.S. food-for-peace grants, U.S. Government loans and assistance of all kinds, both directly and indirectly, should show a little compassion for the helpless Jews of Iraq. It would be in keeping with the finest traditions of Mahatma Gandhi who so eloquently denounced Adolf Hitler's persecution of the Jews.

Last Saturday, President Nixon devoted the entire session of the U.S. National Security Council, his top advisers on diplomatic, military, and security matters, to the crisis in the Middle East. Indeed, this was the only subject taken up in many hours of White House discussions. The conclusions, of course, have not been publicly announced.

But I am now confident on the basis of my own information that the President will not rush headlong into any deals which would involve a sellout of Israel. I can also reassure you today that the President expressed concern about the situation of the Jews in Iraq at yesterday's meeting.

The President is convinced that the most important threat to world peace exists in the Middle East. But he is not pushing the panic button. He is avoiding possible missteps that might compromise Israel's right to peace and security.

I can assure you today that the President has resisted various pressures for a headlong surrender to pressures for a so-called imposed settlement injurious to Israel. He is acting cautiously and with a cool determination to preserve the peace and security of all the countries of the region.

While the outlines of the new American policy are not yet clear—indeed, the

President has not yet made up his mind on basic options—one thing is certain. It is that he understands that the Russians are exaggerating the crisis in a self-serving manner in a bid to help their Arab friends and to further penetrate the region. I am confident President Nixon recognizes that the threat to Israel is also a grave threat to the national security interests of the United States.

#### USE IMPORT DUTIES TO ASSIST RURAL CITIES AND VILLAGES THAT ARE HURT BY IMPORTS

### HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 4, 1969

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, there has been a great erosion of business activity in our smaller rural cities and villages. This is due largely to the loss of family farms and lower farm net income.

The fall of farm prices to their present level of 72 percent of parity is due to many factors at work in our changing economy, but one of the contributing factors has been the steady increase of imports of competing agricultural products.

Another has been the increased cost of farming. Our Nation has changed from a largely agricultural country to a highly industrialized one. Each remaining farmer has had the increased responsibility of more mouths to feed and that has meant greater investments in machinery, fertilizer, herbicides, as well as in more sophisticated feed supplements for livestock.

Faced with these mounting costs, farmers have been forced to shop harder for the products they buy and this has cut into the business volume of the small towns.

It has been said that one business in the country villages dies with the loss of four farm units. It is foolish to allow the continuation of this trend. Our farmers and our small towns both need our help.

There is a way to help these small towns without placing an extra burden on the taxpayers. Under my bill, their adversaries would in fact become their benefactors.

I propose using the pool of funds accumulated by the assessment of duties on our imports to help our rural communities. Besides the uses specified in section 22 of the Import Act of 1935, a fourth use would be specified for these funds.

This fourth use, as proposed in my bill, provides that \$300 million would be available from the import duty fund under the 1935 act, for loans or grants to rural communities to be used for the installation or expansion of public services such as water and sewer systems and other facilities needed for the location of new industries in these areas.

This action is needed as a step toward the revitalization of our countryside.

#### THE LITTLEST PRINTING SHOP THRIVES AMONG THE GIANTS

### HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 4, 1969

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, in the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin on Monday, January 13, 1969, appears a column by writer James Smart concerning David Snyder, who resides at 6003 Castor Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa., in the Fourth Congressional District.

It is my pleasure to know this gentleman, a distinguished citizen of our community, who is active in many civic, fraternal, and religious affairs.

I should like to share Mr. Smart's column with my colleagues and so, his column follows:

#### THE LITTLEST PRINTING SHOP THRIVES AMONG THE GIANTS (By James Smart)

Among the printers who belong to the Graphic Arts Council of the Delaware Valley are Curtis Publishing Co. and Cuneo Eastern Press and David Snyder.

Curtis prints things like Holiday and Ladies Home Journal. Cuneo prints things like Life and Time. Snyder prints things like stationery and bar mitzvah announcements.

Snyder has the only one-man print shop in the council.

He has his shop in the basement of his row house on Castor av. above Comly, just off Oxford Circle.

Because this is Printing Week, I stopped in to ask Snyder what it's like to be the smallest member of a giant printing industry organization.

"There are not too many shops like mine around," said Snyder. "And most little shops don't seem to want to join the council."

"For one thing, I don't think some of them realize that the dues you pay depend on the size of the shop."

He said he gets the advantage of group Blue Cross rates from his membership, and can use the council's debt collection service. Once the council office spent two years collecting a debt of \$35 for him.

But, he admitted, he doesn't bother attending council seminars on labor relations.

He was hand-setting type for a business letter for a local automobile salesman.

In the low basement room were cabinets of type, two job presses, boxes of envelopes, stacks of paper and jars of ink. Inky rollers hung from an overhead water pipe on loops of string.

"Many printers won't do business cards or envelopes any more," he said. "Some small printers found they could work in bigger shops and get \$5 an hour plus benefits."

"But I do all right. I've been busy ever since I got here."

Snyder went to work for \$5 a week in a print shop after graduation from Northeast High School in 1933. After three years, he got a chance for a better paying job in the Post Office.

He was in the Army later, and then worked for the Veterans Administration.

"Printing was my hobby," he said. "I had a press in the basement of my house."

In 1950, he started his one-man shop. He sets and prints almost everything himself, although he farms out some typesetting, offset printing and wedding invitation work.

"My son, Alan, used to help me when he was going to Northeast," Snyder said. "He had to work two hours a day. I taught him to set type, run the press. He went to Penn."

Now he's a big CPA with the SEC down in Washington.

"My daughter Barbara's a senior at Kent State in Ohio. She's going to be married in June. The only problem I don't have is the invitations."

His wife, Frances, came down the cellar steps with a stack of printed forms 3,000 each of pink, white and yellow, that she had been collating in the living room.

"She's the delivery driver and the wedding invitation consultant," Snyder said.

He began setting type again, deftly picking the metal letters from the little wooden compartments in a flat tray.

The phone rang, and he answered.

"I'm working on your letter now," he said. "You can pick it up on your way home from work . . . Lunch time? . . . Sure, you can get it then."

He finished setting the type for the letter, talking while doing it, telling about his equipment.

"I'm proud of my collection of type," he said as he locked the type in a galley. "I've got Brush up to 48 point, and I have Coronet . . ."

He placed the job on the press with wooden blocks, put in paper, and pulled a lever. The Heidelberg 10x15 job press started flailing its windmill arms, and a stack of printed letters began to appear.

Curtis or Cuneo could hardly have done it better.

#### TRIBUTE TO AVERELL HARRIMAN

#### HON. WILLIAM T. MURPHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 29, 1969

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in paying tribute to one of the world's greatest statesmen, W. Averell Harriman.

Mr. Harriman, who just a few weeks ago returned from the Paris peace talks where he served as our chief negotiator, originally came to Washington in 1934 to serve as Administrator of the National Recovery Administration. During the next 35 years, he served his country in such positions as Special White House Representative, Ambassador to Russia, Britain and NATO, Director of the Mutual Security Agency, Secretary of Commerce, Governor of New York, and successively Assistant and Under Secretary of State. During this period, he dealt with every prominent world leader from Stalin and Churchill to Nehru, Tito, Mossadegh, Tshombe, and Nasser. He has had more different Government positions than any American since John Quincy Adams and no man has served longer in higher and more diverse posts.

During the course of my work on the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, I came to know Governor Harriman well. I found him to be a patient, persistent, and pragmatic man; one not obsessed by shibboleths. He brought to each endeavor a capacity for zealous application, an insatiable appetite for work, and a curiosity that few half his age could match.

I could extoll Ambassador Harriman's abilities at length, but I can pay no greater tribute than to express my sincere conviction that our country is infinitely richer because he has served it. He will always occupy a high rank in the his-

tory of this country. His character, his many achievements, and his faithful service will be an inspiration to many for generations to come.

#### LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM, 1969, AFFILIATED YOUNG DEMOCRATS OF NEW YORK STATE

#### HON. LEONARD FARBSTAIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 4, 1969

Mr. FARBSTAIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am pleased to submit for the information of my colleagues the legislative program adopted by the Affiliated Young Democrats of New York State for the year 1969:

AFFILIATED YOUNG DEMOCRATS, INC., OF NEW YORK STATE ADOPT STATE LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR 1969 ON JANUARY 23, AT THE HOTEL PICCADILLY, 227 WEST 45TH STREET, NEW YORK, CITY

The State Legislative Committee of the Affiliated Young Democrats at a meeting held Thursday evening, January 23rd at the Hotel Piccadilly, 227 West 45th Street, New York City, unanimously endorsed their State Legislative Program for 1969; which will be introduced by their members in the State Assembly and Senate.

#### LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR 1969

1. Greater protection and preservation of our natural resources.
  - A. Continue fight against pollution; clean water and shores.
2. Lower voting age to 19 years.
3. Liberalize Abortion Law.
4. Strengthen our Divorce Laws.
5. Require State Legislature to keep transcripts of all proceedings, and open to public.
6. Mandatory free education to all State and City Universities and Community Colleges.
7. Change Penal Law to allow tenants and property owners to protect their property.
8. Strengthen Laws as to prison terms for Narcotic sellers.
9. Tighten laws to enforce Compulsory Auto Insurance Law.
10. Create State Recreation Department.
11. Stronger Code of Ethics.
12. Bonus for Korean and Vietnam Veterans.
13. Raise drinking age to 21 years.
14. Raise Minimum Wage to \$1.75 an hour.
15. Strengthen Taylor Law against strikes.
16. Law to enforce sale or purchase of Cigarettes, tobacco and cigars to anyone under 18 years of age.
17. Raise the Juvenile Jurisdiction of the Courts from 16 to 18 years; all youthful offenders should be put in different Institutions than adults.
18. More incentive Scholarships to assist needy students to go to college.
19. Permanent Personal Registration be changed in New York City to do away with less congestion.
  - A. Do not have to Register if person moves in the same County of New York City, only mail to Board of Elections notarized change of address.
  - B. Do not have to re-register, unless a person fails to vote in two consecutive National Elections.
20. Cost of Campaign for election of all Political Offices in the State should be mandatory by law, after a study as to a reasonable cost.

June T. Shaw and Kenneth A. Banks are Co-chairman of the State Legislative Committee of the Affiliated Young Democrats.

#### RAY MARTIN WRITES ON HEALTH AND SAFETY IN THE COAL MINES

#### HON. KEN HECHLER

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 4, 1969

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, national attention is focused on coal mine health and safety whenever there is a disaster in the coal mines. Since the November 20 disaster at Farmington, W. Va., which resulted in the deaths of 78 miners, many questions have been raised as to what can and should be done to protect the lives and safety of the men who work in these dangerous conditions.

Ray Martin of the Morgantown (W. Va.) Dominion-News, a member of the National Conference of Editorial Writers, has examined this subject in depth in a series of articles which should be carefully read by all those interested in taking constructive action to clean up the mines and make them safer for those who work in them. These articles should provide a sound basis for action in this vital and complex area.

There follows a biography of the author of these articles, Ray Martin, and the text of the articles during the period from December 4, 1968, through January 31, 1969:

#### BIOGRAPHY OF RAY MARTIN

Born at Baltimore, Maryland, on March 19, 1924. Married. No children. Army veteran of World War II.

Educated in the public schools of Baltimore City, Baltimore City College, University of Maryland, Johns Hopkins University, and Armstrong State College, Savannah, Ga.

Cited for coverage of state government affairs in a historic joint resolution of the Connecticut General Assembly. Holds citations from the Baltimore and Westminster, Md., City Councils. Awarded Certificate of Distinguished Citizenship by the State of Maryland. Holder of the Gold Quill, a journalism award granted by the National Council, Boy Scouts of America. Cited by the Glen Burnie (Md.) Lions Club and the Chambers of Commerce of Glen Burnie and Westminster for outstanding community service. Recipient of the first citizenship award of the Student Senate of the Willimantic State College. Nominated for four Pulitzer Prizes. Awarded special commendation for editorial writing by the Maryland Press Association. Won balloting in "Man of Year" poll conducted by Educational Television Network in Connecticut for 1967.

Member of Sigma Delta Chi, National Conference of Editorial Writers. Listed in Who's Who in the East, Member of American Academy of Political and Social Science and the Academy of Political Science.

Former vice president of the Savannah and Anne Arundel County Press Clubs.

#### Professional Background:

From June, 1968, until the present time, city editor of The Dominion-News, Morgantown, West Virginia.

Prior to coming to Morgantown, served as editor of the Willimantic (Conn.) Daily Chronicle.

Previous to that served as editorial page editor, Savannah News-Press, Savannah, Ga.; editorial page editor, The Knickerbocker News, Albany, N.Y.; managing editor, The Anne Arundel Star, Glen Burnie, Md.; editor, Carroll County Times, Westminster, Md.; Hudson Dispatch, Union City, N.J.

Since starting with the Baltimore (Md.)

and Social Council. This is the third major appointment of a woman by the Nixon administration. In this post, Mrs. Hauser will follow such great and dedicated women as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Mrs. Mary Lord, and Mrs. Marietta Tree.

Mrs. Hauser is particularly interested in the ratification by the U.S. Senate of the United Nations Human Rights Convention, and Conventions on Genocide and the Status of Women. She has promptly called for the Senate, this body, to ratify them. In keeping with this, one of her first duties will be to attend the 5-week meeting of the Human Rights Commission in Geneva beginning on February 14. If some people mistakenly think that the Human Rights Commission is a general theoretical group of do-gooders, let me point out that the first subject on the Commission's agenda will be the grave event of the Iraqi hanging of the nine Iraqi Jews and five others.

Mrs. Hauser is exceptionally well qualified for this post both for her admirable academic background—she has four college degrees including a doctorate in political economy from the University of Strasbourg—and for her dedicated and sincere concern for human rights. I should like to take this opportunity to wish her well in this post.

ME

#### PUBLIC HANGINGS IN IRAQ

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, the civilized world has reacted with revulsion to the spectacle of the public hangings in Baghdad.

It is not our intention to comment on the judicial process in other countries, but it is patent from the reports from Iraq that the executions gave expression to violent anti-Jewish hatred, and it is also clear that the 3,000 Jews who still survive in Iraq are in grave danger.

I am glad to see that our Secretary of State, Mr. William P. Rogers, has filed a strong protest with the United Nations' Security Council.

All of us share his view:

The manner in which these executions and the trials which preceded them were conducted scarcely conform to normally accepted standards of respect for human rights and human dignity.

Mr. Rogers noted:

The spectacular way in which they were carried out seems to have been designed to arouse emotions and to intensify the very explosive atmosphere of the suspicions and hostility in the Middle East.

And, he continued:

Repetition of the recent tragic event would be bound to make more difficult efforts within and outside the United Nations toward the goals of peace, tolerance and human understanding among nations and people in the Middle East and throughout the world.

It seems to me that this situation calls for more than protest.

Our existing immigration laws will permit the immigration of Jews from Iraq into this country.

I am sure that many other countries would open their doors to members of the Jewish population of Iraq.

I believe that our Government, in concert with other Governments of the world, should do all it can to facilitate the exodus of these people.

If, as has been clearly stated by the Government of Iraq, the members of the Jewish community are distrusted, it would seem that Iraqi officials would have no objections to the Jewish population leaving at the earliest possible moment.

The United Nations could well play a role, either directly or through utilization of its good offices, in working out a feasible departure plan for those Jews in Iraq who wish to leave.

From the actions and statements of the Government of Iraq, the immigration of these 3,000 people should not be a matter of opposition, but rather an opportunity to eliminate a source of tension and disruption.

#### BAIL REFORM ACT OF 1966

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a statement which I made earlier today before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary, with reference to amendments to the Bail Reform Act of 1966.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY U.S. SENATOR ROBERT C. BYRD BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS, COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, U.S. SENATE

STATEMENT RELATING TO AMENDMENTS TO THE 1966 BAIL REFORM ACT

As a result of hearings held before me, as Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee for the District of Columbia, in 1967, relating to the costs and problems of mounting crime, I became so concerned about the need for doing something about it that I prepared two amendments to the 1966 Bail Reform Act which I was prepared to submit as amendments to the Safe Streets bill when it was under consideration on the floor of the Senate last fall. However, at the last moment, I agreed to hold these amendments and submit them to the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights where they could receive more deliberate consideration. With the matter of bail reform presently before the Judiciary Subcommittee, I feel that it is important to speak out on this matter.

I had proposed these amendments because I was convinced that the comparatively new Bail Reform Act of 1966—particularly as it has been operating in conjunction with the also relatively new Criminal Justice Act—gives an insupportable advantage to the criminal who makes a business of violent and serious crime. It places the victims of such crimes—and the public—unfairly at the mercy of such criminals, and it places a tremendous and unnecessary additional burden on already over-burdened courts and related law enforcement agencies to a point which threatens a breakdown of the whole federal law enforcement system.

In proposing these amendments, I wish to make it clear that, generally, I am in accord with the objectives of the Bail Reform Act, particularly insofar as it provides a means for the quick and equitable release, pending trial, of the majority of persons, charged with a wide range of miscellaneous offenses, who are not really a part of the criminal element—in other words, those who are not chronic criminals or virtual professionals in the art of violent crime. I believe that if certain changes are made in the law, and if necessary refinements in its administration can be accomplished, it could result in a very substantial forward step in the administra-

tion of justice. I am also quite mindful of the fact that the Bail Reform Act of 1966, or the manner in which it has been operating, is certainly not the sole reason for the sharply rising crime rate and the increase in lawlessness. But, when under the 1966 Bail Reform Act—regardless of the gravity and circumstances of the crime, the weight of the evidence, or the past history and dangerous character of the accused—the arraigning magistrate is forced to regularly release back to the streets, on nominal or relatively low bail or on personal recognizance or other seemingly ineffective conditions, perpetrators of the most vicious crimes, to continue preying on the public until trial—often at some far future date—because the prime consideration in setting the amount of bail has become the defendant's visible ability to make the bond—then I believe it is time to amend the law and without further delay. I submit that there has now been sufficient experience under the 1966 law to demonstrate certain of its weaknesses and the fact that it is proving a windfall to the chronic, violent criminal. I feel that the law, as it now stands, may be of more benefit to the habitual criminal than it is to those whom it was designed to benefit, and that it is turning into something of a catastrophe for the victims of this criminal element and for the law-abiding public.

The first of my proposed amendments would amend that part of the 1966 Bail Reform Act which relates to "Release in non-capital cases prior to trial" (subsections (a) and (b) of Section 3146, Title 18, United States Code). In substance, the amendment would give the court, or the arraigning magistrate, in the fixing of bail or other conditions of release of an accused in this class of cases, the discretion to take into consideration the danger which the accused poses to another person or to the community. In other words, in addition to the factor of a reasonable assurance that the defendant will appear in court, the court, in exercising its discretion as to the reasonableness of bail or other conditions of release pending trial or other disposition of a case, could also consider facts relating to the danger which the accused poses to society or to other persons. It would give the judge, or magistrate, in a particular case where the evidence demonstrates that the accused in a non-capital offense has displayed a penchant for violence, greater discretion than is presently afforded in the fixing of bail or other conditions of release. Apart from this one change, this amendment leaves the present legislation intact, including the right of 24-hour review, appeal to a higher court, etc.

The second proposed amendment is to Section 3148(1), Title 18, U.S. Code, which is the section of the Bail Reform Act relating to "Release in capital cases or after conviction." This amendment is confined to cases involving persons accused of "crimes of violence" who have outstanding convictions for crimes of violence. It would give the judge, the court, or the arraigning magistrate, discretion in such a case to detain the accused without bail pending trial, if, under the particular circumstances, there was reason to believe that no one or more conditions of release under present law would adequately protect the interests and the safety of the public.

This amendment defines "crimes of violence" to mean "voluntary manslaughter, murder, rape, mayhem, kidnapping, robbery, burglary, housebreaking, extortion accompanied by threats of violence, assault with a dangerous weapon, assault with intent to commit any felony, arson punishable as a felony, or an attempt to commit any of the foregoing.

Of course, Section 3148 of the present Bail Reform Act already provides that in an offense (1) punishable by death or (2) where there has been a conviction in the lower court and the defendant is awaiting sentence



February 4, 1969

or has filed an appeal—the judge, or court, may deny bail and detain the defendant if he poses a danger to any other person or to the community. My amendment would merely extend this discretion, the facts of the particular case warranting, to a third class of cases involving persons accused of a crime of violence, as described therein, who had previously been convicted of a crime of violence.

In discussing why I believe it is not only most urgent but highly appropriate that the present law be amended, I make no pretense of giving an erudite exposition of the history of the law as it applies to bail or pretrial or other release in criminal matters. In fact, it would be presumptuous for me to do so. I simply wish to point out some facts regarding the background and evolution of federal criminal law in this area, which, in my opinion, have been lost sight of and which, if I am correct, make it incumbent upon the Congress to change the bail law without delay.

These proposed amendments obviously bring into issue the right of Congress, by legislation to (1) enumerate elements which a judge or court may consider in the exercise of his or its discretion in fixing bail or other conditions of release, and (2) define the classes of cases in which bail shall be allowed in this country. They also, of course, bring into issue the question of the need for a change in the present law.

Although the right of Congress to enact such legislation seems basic, if I seem overly obvious at times, it is because I feel there is much cloud cover [—if not fog—] surrounding many of the issues involved.

At the outset, I think everyone will agree that the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution deals solely with "excessive" bail and fines and with "cruel and unusual punishment," and that there is no prohibition in the Constitution against detaining without bail persons charged with crimes punishable by death. It is quite important, it would seem, to keep this in mind. The Eighth Amendment merely states: "Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted."

Now, the very same U.S. Congress which promulgated the Eighth Amendment in 1789, at the same time also enacted a bail statute. Congress made a distinction between capital and non-capital federal crimes and provided for bail at some level in all but capital offenses. The pertinent portion reads:

And upon all arrests in criminal cases, bail shall be admitted, except where the punishment may be death, in which cases it shall not be admitted but by the supreme or a circuit court, or by a justice of the supreme court, or a judge of a district court, who shall exercise their discretion therein, regarding the nature and circumstances of the offense, and of the evidence, and the usages of law. . . . (1 Stat. 91, Sec. 33)

It was this act of Congress, rather than the Constitution itself, which gave the right to bail in non-capital cases.

But let us look at the Eighth Amendment of the Bill of Rights and this original bail act in the light of history and the conditions of the times in which they were promulgated and enacted.

In this connection, it should suffice merely to point out that at the time the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution was ratified, practically all of the more serious crimes carried the death penalty, and there was an all too recent history of instances of burning people at the stake, breaking them on the wheel, and all sorts of other inhuman treatment, which forms of punishment were inherited from English law although practiced to a lesser degree in the colonies.

As for the severity of the old English law from which our own legal system was derived, it may be said that apparently believing a reign of terror was the most effi-

cient method of keeping the criminal elements under constraint, legislators in those early days inflicted the death penalty indiscriminately upon all classes of offenders. Many of the offenses for which persons were executed were little more than what we know now as misdemeanors. Execution seemed the solution for all crimes.

America inherited this attitude of severity, which continued long after the United States had become a nation. Harsh repression was the primary policy toward crime in the newly-created States.

The same Congress which enacted the original bail law in 1789 also enacted a Crimes Act and prescribed the death penalty for all the more serious crimes over which the federal government had jurisdiction. Accordingly, persons accused of such crimes did not have the right to bail. These crimes under the then rather limited jurisdiction of the federal government included: (1) Murder, (2) treason, (3) robbery, (4) stealing a ship, (5) a seaman laying violent hands on the commander of a ship, (6) revolt on a ship, (7) piracy or robbery under false colors, (8) accessory before the fact of piracy or robbery assisting, counseling, aiding, and advising, and even (9) forgery, counterfeiting or uttering of a public U.S. security. Larceny did not carry the death penalty, but it was provided that those found guilty should be fined not more than four times the value of the property stolen and publicly whipped not more than 39 stripes. (The Crimes Act of 1790, 1 Stat. 112)

At about the time the original U.S. bail law was enacted, the English law, from which our bail provision and Constitutional Bill of Rights admittedly stemmed, listed 240-some offenses which were subject to the death penalty.

Even one hundred years later, in 1891, according to House of Representatives Report No. 108, 54th Congress, 1st Session, 1896, there were 60 crimes punishable under U.S. federal law which carried the death penalty. Eighteen of these offenses for which the penalty of death could be inflicted were in the civil code under the jurisdiction of the federal courts of the United States (as distinguished from military and naval codes).

The history of the law in the respective states more or less paralleled the federal law in the severity of the punishment meted out for most serious criminal offenses, and even well into the present century, the laws of many states still provided for the death penalty in a number of the more serious crimes, such as murder, robbery, rape, treason, arson, burglary, kidnaping, etc. The point is that this first U.S. Congress, which in 1789 promulgated the Bill of Rights to our Constitution—including the Eighth Amendment, regarding excessive bail and inhuman punishment, and the Fifth Amendment relating, among other things, to due process—and which, at the same time, enacted the first bail law, did so under a far different set of conditions and circumstances than those which exist today.

When that early Congress provided, by legislation, that all crimes which were not punishable by death should be subject to bail—in reality it provided that only relatively minor offenses should be subject to bail and it excluded from mandatory bail provisions most of the serious offenses by making such crimes capital offenses. It would therefore follow—not only as a practical matter, but literally—that in the federal law—from the beginning and continuing for a century or more—there was no right to bail for those accused of the more serious crimes, and the courts, or judges, in arraigning persons accused of all such serious crimes, could exercise discretion "regarding the nature and circumstances of the offense, and of the evidence, and the usages of law,"<sup>1</sup> as to whether

the accused should be detained pending trial. The result, a harsh reality, was that many of these grievous offenders never had the opportunity to again become a danger to society—for, until their trial, they were detained, and, if found guilty, were hanged. Further, it would seem apparent that the Congress which authored the Bill of Rights and enacted the first bail statute did not consider then that it was infringing upon the rights of those accused in these many serious crimes by denying them the right to bail pending trial.

Another fact which goes to the very crux of the bail issue, but which seemingly is too often completely overlooked, is that Congress from the outset had, and exercised, the authority to determine the penalties for particular crimes, including those offenses for which the penalty of death should or could be inflicted, and had—and exercised—the authority to determine the classes of cases in which bail should or should not be allowed. This is inherent in the very language of the first Bail Act of 1789 and the Crimes Act of 1790, and there has been no change to the present day. This authority perhaps may best be stated in the language of the 1952 Supreme Court decision in *Carlson vs. Landon*, 352 U.S. 524, at page 545, in which it was stated:

"The bail clause was lifted with slight changes from the English Bill of Rights Act. In England, that clause has never been thought to accord a right to bail in all cases, but merely to provide that bail shall not be excessive in those cases where it is proper to grant bail. When this clause was carried over into our Bill of Rights, nothing was said that indicated any different concept. The Eighth Amendment has not prevented Congress from defining the classes of cases in which bail shall be allowed in this country. Thus, in criminal cases bail is not compulsory where the punishment may be death."

No reasonable interpretation of the language of the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution, or the original bail law, could seem to lead to any other conclusion but that there is no Constitutional right to bail or pretrial release except within the context of the language of Congressional enactment, particularly as it applies to more serious crimes. It would also seem to logically follow that, in spite of frequent references in modern day case law and in legal treatises to the "traditional right to bail," or "Constitutional right to bail," Congress has the right to legislate such conditions as are warranted with respect to pretrial detention, bail, or release of the accused, in serious crimes, who poses a danger to society. And, of course, this is my basic premise in proposing these two amendments.

With the passage of time, much of the harsh, repressive attitude towards crime, which was inherited from the English law but continued long after the United States became a nation, fortunately was swept away by growing humanitarian sentiment, and this eventually resulted in more humane forms of punishment and more compassionate prison methods and the use of such corrective methods as probation, parole, etc. The number of capital offenses was gradually reduced by legislative changes in the statutes to a few of the gravest crimes. However, as previously indicated, it was not until 1892, that the number of capital offenses in the U.S. Civil Code was reduced substantially.

At the time Congress enacted laws reducing the penalties for many of the more serious crimes from death to imprisonment, there was no change made in the law with respect to bail nor would it appear that any legislative consideration was given to bail aspects at the time, the major issue being what effect the removal of the death penalty would have as a deterrent to crime. At least in retrospect, it might even be said that this was a matter of inadvertence. It followed, of course, in accordance with the language of

<sup>1</sup> 1 Stat. 91, Sec. 33.

Dale Kieffer of Borden Chemical Co.; George Kneass of Foote Mineral Co., and John S. Lagarius, President of Resource Research Inc. in Reston, Va.

"Sometimes I get this feeling of helplessness," says A. B. Caul, chairman of the Alleghany Crusade, as he drives by the vast Westvaco mill.

Thick smoke is rifling out of the stacks and flattening a little higher up, forming a giant gray pancake over Covington. "Did you ever read the novel *Hawaii*? Remember the fort? The great impregnable fort?"

One man who definitely does not feel any sense of impotence about the present pollution controversy is Virginia House Delegate Lewis McMurrin of Newport News, chairman of the State Air Pollution Control Board. After the Crusade's letter to the Governor, McMurrin told the Associated Press, "Our job is to clean up the air in Virginia, not to drive out or close down the state's industries."

He also stated that the technical advisory committee was made up of professional engineers and that the state was lucky to have their advice. He said that the State board, not the advisory committee, made the decisions and that State law required that no member of the board "may be connected with any industry that would be subject to air pollution control regulation."

In a sense, part of the uproar over air pollution is the fault of the geography of the place which creates "inversions" which in turn keep the smoke spread out over the town. Mill experts say this happens 150 to 200 days a year. Also the company points out that it has spent \$5 million on air pollution control, \$3 million since 1966.

This does not satisfy the hardcore local critics. They point to the sixty-odd years in which Westvaco spent only 2 million. Further, the critics charge that Westvaco is acting more from self-interest than benevolence in setting up recovery units, since the material recovered is lucrative. Allan Lindsey, a mill supervisor specializing in pollution problems, says that the control devices in the carbon section of the plant are now nearly able to pay for the process itself. But as Doug Luke, a young Westvaco official and a relative of the founder of the company, puts it: "We have nothing to be ashamed of. We are making substantial progress."

For the small percentage of the vocally disgruntled among Covington's residents, progress is not coming fast enough. Spend two hours with a group of the Crusaders and you witness displays of outrage, gallows humor, a little irrelevancy and a sense of frustrated righteousness.

A letter in the Covington Virginian last March replying to a Crusade member has typified, to the despair of the crusaders, the attitude of many townspeople who feel that their jobs might be hurt by any change in the status quo of the mill. The letter read: "Dear Sir: May I make a suggestion to our so unhappy new citizen of Covington, J. I. Bernhardt? Why don't (sic) he find a place more suitable to live in that will meet his needs? I am sure we are not holding him here. If it wasn't for the 'Gold Dust' falling around him he would have to leave anyhow. (Signed) W. Wallace Harris, Covington, Va."

#### AN UNFAIR CAPITAL LEVY

**HON. JAMES B. UTT**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 4, 1969

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, last week I reintroduced my bill to reduce the capital gains tax, and I received an immediate response from the president of the Investors League, Inc., of New York City,

Mr. William Jackman. I would like to include Mr. Jackman's letter in the Extensions of Remarks, as follows:

INVESTORS LEAGUE, INC.,  
New York, N.Y., January 31, 1969.

Congressman JAMES B. UTT,  
House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN UTT: The millions of stockholders and home owners of America indeed owe you a debt of gratitude for introducing H.R. 5575, your bill to cut the maximum long-term capital gains rate from 25% to 12½%. We are conducting a national survey of investors which so far indicates that the U.S. Treasury revenue from this tax would be five times higher than present revenue.

When the government needs more revenue and can get it from a tax decrease, why shouldn't they do so?

#### AN UNFAIR CAPITAL LEVY

Non-partisan eminent tax economists feel that the economic principle that appreciation or increases in the value of capital is not income. So long as capital is held by the owner, scarcely anyone would assert that appreciation in its value is income. When the capital is sold, the sale does not produce income, since the money or other valuable consideration received in exchange is presumably of no greater value than the capital sold. In other words, the taxpayer is clearly no better off after the sale than he was immediately before. When there has been inflation, the so-called "capital gain" may not be even a real gain in capital. For example, if the owner of a capital asset sells it today for twice as many of today's dollars as the number of dollars he paid for it in 1940, he is not one bit better off, since today's dollar is worth in purchasing power less than half as much as the 1940 dollar. When the government takes one-fourth of such fictitious appreciation, it is clearly imposing a capital levy, not an income tax at all. Since the inflation was caused by the government itself, the tax is particularly unfair.

This is not a tax on income at all, but a capital levy creating a penalty for selling a stock in direct proportion to the rise in quotations. This capital levy was one of the weapons by which it was proposed to "soak the rich" at a time when "redistribution of wealth" was one of the prime objectives of the administration in power. Few Americans realize how drastic an impost this is for it exists in no other major capitalistic country. Certainly at a time when our government can actually gain revenue by the process, we should at least cut the tax in half as another step back toward economic sanity and freedom—freedom to determine without penalty just where we want our savings invested at any time of our choice.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM JACKMAN,  
President.

#### THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

**HON. HUGH SCOTT**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 4, 1969

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, it was my pleasure to arrange for representatives of the Pennsylvania Jewish community to meet with Rodger P. Davies, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, to convey their concern over the current situation in the Middle East. Deputy Assistant Secretary Davies works primarily on Middle East matters.

I ask unanimous consent that the resolution to Secretary of State William Rogers, that was presented at the January 30 meeting, and the Secretary of State's response be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### RESOLUTION TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE

This delegation of Rabbis representing more than 1000 rabbis serving the Jews of the Eastern seaboard from New York to Washington present the following resolution to the Secretary of State, the Hon. William Rogers, for his serious consideration.

WHEREAS the State of Israel has been forced into 3 wars during the 21 years of its existence despite its continuous efforts to seek and to offer peace.

WHEREAS a consistent stream of vicious acts of terrorism has flowed from the Arab lands surrounding Israel before and since the War of June 1967.

WHEREAS ruthless and useless acts of murder have been committed over and over again exacting the lives of children on a summer tour, shoppers in a Jerusalem market, passengers at a Tel Aviv bus depot, travelers in an Athens airport, and many others.

WHEREAS the government of Iraq has catered to the lowest animalistic instincts of their citizens by lynching 14 people, 9 of whom were Jews, as a spectacle for gleeful, cheering, frenzied mobs.

WHEREAS the Russian and French governments have seen fit to further encourage and inflame the Arabs in their openly declared aim of annihilating the State of Israel and by so doing wiping out America's only reliable friend in the Mideast.

WHEREAS from a political, moral, and spiritual standpoint it is the duty of this country to stand up for the basic rights of life and liberty.

Therefore, we the rabbis of these States applaud the Secretary of State's recent response to such inhuman acts. However, being fearful of the dreadful signs which forebode a continuation of such murders, we ask the United States government to make the most weighty representations to the United Nations and to those countries which maintain relations with Iraq, that they utilize every diplomatic, humanitarian, and moral means to dissuade the government of Iraq from continuing its barbarous course so alien to the highest concepts of humanity and justice.

We hope and pray to Almighty God that the thousands of Jews still under Arab domination will not be added to the 6,000,000 Jews already plaguing the world's conscience because of its hesitation to act in their behalf.

BALTIMORE BOARD OF RABBIS.  
BOARD OF RABBIS OF GREATER  
PHILADELPHIA.

ESSEX COUNTY BOARD OF RABBIS.  
NEW YORK BOARD OF RABBIS.  
TRI-COUNTY BOARD OF RABBIS.  
WASHINGTON BOARD OF RABBIS.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,  
Washington, February 3, 1969.

Rabbi LEO LANDSMAN,  
President, the Board of Rabbis of Greater  
Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR RABBI LANDSMAN: Mr. Davies has given me the Resolution you handed him on January 30 and has told me of his conversation with you and the other representatives of Eastern Rabbis.

I understand completely your reaction to the recent events in the Middle East and can assure you that I and my colleagues in the Department of State share your deeply-felt concern. We shall do everything we possibly can to alleviate the plight of Jews and other minorities in the Middle East. As President

Nixon has pledged, we shall direct the influence of this Government in support of a reduction of tensions in the Middle East and the achievement of a lasting peace settlement.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Senator Hugh Scott.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM P. ROGERS.

CONGRESSIONAL MEDAL OF HONOR  
AWARDED TO TWO NATIVES OF  
NEWMAN, GA.

HON. BILL NICHOLS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 4, 1969

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson recently presented the Congressional Medal of Honor to two officers who were natives of the same hometown of Newman, Ga. In making the presentation, the President commented that this was the first time two men from the same small town were honored with the Nation's highest military award.

I have received a letter from Legionnaire Charles R. Forman of Post 107 of the American Legion at Leeds, Ala., pointing out that two members of that post have been awarded the Medal of Honor. Leeds, with some 6,500 residents, certainly qualifies as a small town. Both men were born in Leeds, and at last account, both were still in the service. To set the record straight, I would like at this point to insert in the Record the citations of William R. Lawley, Jr., and Alford L. McLaughlin:

LAWLEY, WILLIAM R., JR.

Rank and organization: First Lieutenant, United States Army Air Corps. Place and date: Over Europe, 20 February 1944. Entered service at: Birmingham, Ala. Birth: Leeds, Ala. G.O. No.: 64, 8 August 1944. Citation: For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action above and beyond the call of duty, 20 February 1944, while serving as pilot of a B-17 aircraft on a heavy bombardment mission over enemy-occupied continental Europe. Coming off the target he was attacked by approximately 20 enemy fighters, shot out of formation, and his plane severely crippled. Eight crewmembers were wounded, the copilot was killed by a 20-mm. shell. One engine was on fire, the controls shot away, and Lieutenant Lawley seriously and painfully wounded about the face. Forcing the copilot's body off the controls, he brought the plane out of a steep dive, flying with his left hand only. Blood covered the instruments and windshield and visibility was impossible. With a full bomb load the plane was difficult to maneuver and bombs could not be released because the racks were frozen. After the order to bail out had been given, one of the waist gunners informed the pilot that two crewmembers were so severely wounded that it would be impossible for them to bail out. With the fire in the engine spreading, the danger of an explosion was imminent. Because of the helpless condition of his wounded crewmembers Lieutenant Lawley elected to remain with the ship and bring them to safety if it was humanly possible, giving the other crewmembers the option of bailing out. Enemy fighters again attacked but by using masterful evasive action he managed to lose them. One engine again caught on fire and was extinguished by skillful flying. Lieutenant Lawley remained at his post, refusing first aid until he collapsed from sheer exhaustion caused by loss of

blood, shock, and the energy he had expended in keeping control of his plane. He was revived by the bombardier and again took over the controls. Coming over the English coast one engine ran out of gasoline and had to be feathered. Another engine started to burn and continued to do so until a successful crash landing was made on a small fighter base. Through his heroism and exceptional flying skill Lieutenant Lawley rendered outstanding distinguished and valorous service to our Nation.

Colonel Lawley is presently assigned to duty at Maxwell Air Force Base, Ala.

McLAUGHLIN, ALFORD L.

Rank and organization: Private First Class, United States Marine Corps, Company L, 3d Battalion, 5th Marines, 1st Marine Division (Reinforced). Place and date: Korea, 4 and 5 September 1952. Entered service at: Leeds, Ala. Birth: Leeds, Ala. Citation: For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty while serving as a machinegunner of Company L, 3d Battalion, 5th Marines, 1st Marine Division (Reinforced), in action against enemy aggressor forces in Korea on the night of 4-5 September 1952. Volunteering for his second continuous tour of duty on a strategic combat outpost far in advance of the main line of resistance, Private First Class McLaughlin, although operating under a barrage of enemy artillery and mortar fire, set up plans for the defense of his position which proved decisive in the successful defense of the outpost. When hostile forces attacked in battalion strength during the night, he maintained a constant flow of devastating fire upon the enemy, alternately employing two machineguns, a carbine, and hand grenades. Although painfully wounded, he bravely fired the machineguns from the hip until his hands became blistered by the extreme heat from the weapons and, placing the guns on the ground to allow them to cool, continued to defend the position with his carbine and grenades. Standing up in full view, he shouted words of encouragement to his comrades above the din of battle and, throughout a series of fanatical enemy attacks, sprayed the surrounding area with deadly fire, accounting for an estimated 150 enemy dead and 50 wounded. By his indomitable courage, superb leadership, and valiant fighting spirit in the face of overwhelming odds, Private First Class McLaughlin served to inspire his fellow marines in their gallant stand against the enemy and was directly instrumental in preventing the vital outpost from falling into the hands of a determined and numerically superior hostile force. His outstanding heroism and unwavering devotion to duty reflect the highest credit upon himself and enhance the finest traditions of the United States naval service.

Staff Sergeant McLaughlin is presently assigned to active duty with the Marine Corps.

REPORT TO THE FIFTH DISTRICT  
OF GEORGIA

HON. FLETCHER THOMPSON

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 4, 1969

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, in order that my colleagues and those who receive the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will have access to the report I am sending to the people of the Fifth District of Georgia, I include the attached report, in full, in the Extensions of Remarks section of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

DEAR FRIEND: A new Congress: The 91st Congress has convened, and I must express

my deep appreciation to the voters of the Fifth District for the opportunity of continued service to you in the House of Representatives. I am truly grateful to all of you for your support. If there is any way in which I can serve you, please let me know. My address is U.S. Congress, Washington, D.C. 20515, telephone 225-3801 (Area Code 202). My Atlanta District Office is at 327 Old Post Office Building, telephone 524-1275.

Looking forward: Now that Richard M. Nixon is the President everyone is asking what will his administration be like, what does the future hold, will we be able to move forward together, as his slogan suggested?

Presidential honeymoon: Nixon is the first President in over 120 years who faces a Congress controlled by the opposition party. Both the House and the Senate are controlled by Democrats. How successful the Nixon administration will be in achieving its objectives will be due in large part to the attitude taken by the Congress. The Nixon programs will have to be sold on their merits. Presidential arm-twisting such as that practiced by the Johnson administration will be a thing of the past. Expect the Congressional leaders of the Democratic Party to be cooperative with the Nixon administration for the first few months with future cooperation yet undecided.

You can expect: Nixon as President will be calm, competent, careful and cautious. Do not expect him to make promises to the poor and other groups which he knows cannot be fulfilled. Do expect his administration to be more candid. An effort will be made to eliminate the credibility gap of the Johnson administration. Nixon has given orders that the truth is not to be twisted in an effort to obtain political support with promises which cannot be expected to be kept.

Problems ahead: Some of the problems inherited by the Nixon administration . . . eliminating poverty . . . aiding the poor. Expect the Nixon approach to be one designed to enable the poor to help themselves, obtain a stake in America. Emphasis will be placed more on home ownership, than government housing; helping people to enter into business and train for job security, than on hand-outs . . . educating the entire population so that they can all make a contribution to our country through the use of their talents and labor.

Peace prospects: In the inaugural address, one message overshadowed all others . . . peace. President Nixon is determined to conclude the war in Vietnam through honorable means just as did President Eisenhower in Korea when he took office. Probably no problem will receive as much of the President's attention in the early days of his administration than ending the war in Vietnam and bringing about peace throughout the world.

Social security: Last session, we tried unsuccessfully to provide automatic increases in Social Security when the cost of living goes up and removing the limit on the amount of money a person drawing Social Security may earn when he has to work after age 65. I will reintroduce both bills in the 91st Congress. Expect the Nixon Administration to support automatic cost of living increases in Social Security.

Taxes: Last year I opposed the 10% income tax surcharge, because I maintained it would be inflationary and make businesses increase their prices due to their increased overhead. This proved to be true. Now, talk is of renewing the tax surcharge beyond June 30. I will have to be convinced that any renewal will actually reduce inflation before it will get my vote. As your Congressman, I cannot support any additional taxes unless there is a dire need, and I feel that first priority should be given to cutting down government spending.

Protecting moral standards: The moral fiber of America is under attack by profiteers who peddle dope and smut material, not just to adults but to high school and teen-age



tiveness that the modern world demands? How do we train the skilled workers and the scarce but vital entrepreneurs and managers that a modern technological world demands?

The Panel recommends the creation of an International Foundation for Education supported by private and governmental funds and directed multi-nationally. This project could lead the way in setting up mutually agreeable trans-national standards that would allow students and faculty to move more freely from country to country; in sponsoring both educational research and the development and assessment of international educational levels; in pooling the knowledge of the educational process into a "World Bank" of knowledge; and by energetically supporting a greatly expanded international scholarship program—one which might indeed emphasize environmental studies.<sup>3</sup>

If we are to build a meaningful Atlantic Community in the modern context, it must be rooted firmly in a genuine community of objectives—not just military and economic objectives—but one based on common aspirations to improve the quality of human life in a world where things tend to become more important than people.

Mr. Speaker, the panel consisted of the following:

Theodore C. Sorensen, chairman, partner, Paul, Weiss, Goldberg, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison.

Walker L. Cisler, chairman of the board, the Detroit Edison Co.

Oscar A. de Lima, chairman of the board, Roger Smith Hotels, Inc.

Thomas K. Finletter, partner, Coudert Bros.

Richard N. Gardner, Henry L. Moses professor of law and international organization, Columbia University.

Ernest A. Gross, partner, Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt & Mosle.

Edwin Huddleson, Jr., partner, Cooley, Crowley, Gaither, Godward, Castro & Huddleson.

James N. Hyde, lawyer, consultant to Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

Peter G. Peterson, vice chairman, chairman of the board, Bell & Howell Co.

Joseph D. Keenan, international secretary, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Henry A. Kissinger, professor of government, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University. Dr. Kissinger served as a member of the panel until his selection by the President-elect as his special assistant for National Security Affairs. He did not participate in the drafting of the final report.

Robert Kleiman, editorial board of the New York Times.

Philip M. Klutznick, senior partner, Urban Investment & Development Co.

Col. Laurence J. Legere, Institute for Defense Analyses.

John J. McCloy, Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy.

James S. McDonnell, chairman of the board, McDonnell-Douglas Corp.

G. William Miller, president, Textron, Inc.

Emanuel R. Piore, vice president and chief scientist, International Business Machines Corp.

Thomas C. Schelling, professor of economics, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.

Gen. Cortland V. R. Schuyler, commissioner of general services, executive department, State of New York.

Marshall D. Shulman, director, Russian Institute, Columbia University.

Joseph E. Slater, president, Salk Institute for Biological Studies.

Mrs. Robert J. Stuart, former president, League of Women Voters of the U.S.A.

#### FOREIGN RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT ON ROADS AND ROAD TRANSPORT

### HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, a recently completed survey of current research and development on roads and road transport in 40 countries outside the United States discloses the fact that over 5,000 research projects in those countries are currently active, have recently been completed, or are planned for the immediate future. The results of this survey have just been released in a report prepared for the Federal Highway Administration, Bureau of Public Roads, by the International Road Federation of Washington, D.C., under a cost sharing, cooperative contract entered into between FHWA and IRF.

The report contains brief information on each of the 5,000-plus projects which comprise the broadest possible coverage of specific areas of concern from highway planning and design to the psychology of drivers and the causes of accidents. The rapid increase in the volume of such research, the diversity of subjects directly or indirectly affecting roads and road transport and the utilization of modern technology therein, especially during recent years, has made it impossible for an individual involved in research to maintain, from his own perusal of research reports and technical publications, an awareness of the research activity going on even in his own specialized field of competence. The report itself illustrates the extent to which research projects have been undertaken on the same subject in many different countries and even by numerous research organizations in some individual countries.

It has become a matter of prime concern and immediate urgency that a system be developed through which information on specific research projects can be collected from research organizations wherever they are, stored in a computerized or other type type of storage and retrieval system, and made available to researchers on request as "file searches" by manual or computer retrieval, printouts of information stored on single projects, or as lists of references on particular subjects. A computerized storage and retrieval system has been developed by the Highway Research Information Service of the Highway Research Board here in the United States and a partially computerized system by the Road Research Laboratory in the United Kingdom. A somewhat different system has been developed and is being used by the

International Road Research Documentation Scheme of the OECD in Paris. Utilization of these storage and retrieval services permits a researcher to determine, with a minimum of time and effort, what is going on in a chosen field of interest. He can determine the ground already covered by research, which may make unnecessary, or restrict the scope of, a project which is being considered or planned, with a resultant saving of funds. The information can be of great help to organizations in the planning of their own research programs, and it can also serve as a stimulus to further research efforts.

Research budgets and research personnel are both too limited to afford the luxury of unnecessary and wasteful duplication and overlapping of effort. Both funds and personnel must be used in such a way that optimum utilization of both will be achieved.

It was recently discovered that in Germany and Australia, as well as in some other countries, studies were being made of the visual comprehension of motor vehicle drivers. Studies have been made in many countries, including the United States, to determine the relation between alcohol and/or drug consumption by drivers and the rate of involvement in accidents. In certain countries this has led to the adoption of stringent regulations affecting drivers and their use of alcohol or drugs. High mast lighting of road intersections and interchanges, the IRF reports, has been the subject of research in the United Kingdom, France, and Holland as well as in the United States.

The survey report by IRF, the information facilities of HRIS and the similar facilities of IRRD are sources of information available to researchers not only in the United States but throughout the world. Some 2,000 copies of the report prepared by IRF will be distributed free of charge to research organizations and researchers in all of the countries contributing to it as well as in the United States.

Many hundreds, probably thousands, of highway administrators and researchers in the countries surveyed have cooperated with the International Road Federation by furnishing assistance to the professional surveyors sent out by IRF and by supplying the information requested. Their knowledge of and interest in the current research activities reported will be augmented as a result. The survey will be continued on an annual basis by IRF under its contract with BPR, thus keeping the fund of information on current research and development activities as nearly current as possible.

ME

#### IRAQI HANGINGS: A BRUTAL SPECTACLE

### HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, on January 27, 1969, it appeared the world was swept back to the dark ages by the inhuman and intemperate acts that tran-

<sup>3</sup> For reservation by James N. Hyde, see page 34.

States' relationships with Europe during the past decade. Such European consultation should lead to the Europeans strengthening their joint decision-making on matters of defense and military procurement.

Should the impetus to improve NATO force levels, generated by the repositioning of Soviet forces, result in larger and more effective contributions by the European members, questions of command and control may well arise. The United States should make it clear that in principle, it would support an appointment of a European Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, provided an American remains in a position to fulfill U.S. statutory requirements on the control of nuclear weapons.

The Nuclear Planning Group of NATO and the Defense Planning Committee have now become a part of the Alliance structure. The deliberations in these bodies seem to have satisfied some of the needs for allied consultation about Europe's nuclear defense that gave rise to the ill-fated Multilateral Force (MLF) proposal. The concept of a European caucus would be appropriate in these bodies. The caucus might want at some point to consider movement toward a European defense community within the Atlantic Alliance.

#### ATLANTIC FINANCIAL AND TRADE POLICY: A NEW "NIXON ROUND"

We have referred earlier to the strains in Atlantic relationships based on financial and monetary instability and balance of payment problems. While these sets of problems are not the primary concern of this report, they cannot be avoided in our considerations.

Strengthened international cooperation in the financial field will be essential to assure the continued growth and stability of the economies of the North Atlantic nations and of the less-developed countries as well. To assure an adequate supply of liquidity to finance a growing volume of trade, it is essential that the new facility for Special Drawing Rights in the International Monetary Fund be quickly activated, in sufficient amounts to assure an orderly growth in the total reserves over the years.

Even if the problems of liquidity are dealt with successfully, there will still remain the difficult problems of confidence and of improving the balance of payments adjustment process. Intensified efforts should be made through the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the IMF and the Group of Ten, supplemented by central bank cooperation, to encourage surplus and deficit nations to assume their fair share of responsibility for adjustment. Surplus countries like Germany can do more by accelerating their economic growth and enlarging their contributions to cooperative aid and military programs, but the U.S. must also do a better job than it has in the past in managing its domestic economy in the direction of non-inflationary economic growth in order to reduce its payments deficit and maintain confidence in the dollar.

One of the destabilizing elements in the present situation is the uncertainty over whether and when Britain will be accepted into the Common Market. This is a major inhibition to orderly planning by British, and indeed by Western business and commercial enterprise. It is a principal source of instability for the pound. The Common Market is more than an economic union. With its supra-national character it constitutes an important political force in Western Europe—one which would be greatly strengthened with British membership.

Further explorations might be undertaken of the advantages and disadvantages of an Atlantic free trade area which would be opened, but which might be composed initially of the United States, United Kingdom and Canada. But this would not be an

adequate substitute for British entry into the Common Market.

The Panel urges, therefore, that the new Administration shape its new European policy in ways which would favor and not impede British entry—although Europe itself must take the initiative in this field. This may mean interim steps prior to full British membership.

One of the unexpected developments in Atlantic relationships was the speed with which United States business interests jumped the tariff walls of the Common Market and established operations in Europe—at times aided by the new instrument of the multinational corporation. A substantial number of national barriers still exist which inhibit West Europeans from doing more efficient business in neighboring Common Market countries. One approach to stimulate more U.S.-West European business competition within the Atlantic area would be the development of multinational corporations whose stock ownership as well as whose management are more equally distributed among Atlantic Alliance countries. This will require a study of the extent to which changes in domestic legislation, in the U.S. and Western Europe are needed to permit the lowering of a wide variety of national barriers in such areas as taxes, patents, payments restraints and corporation charter restrictions.

A concerted new effort is required to free trade from present nontariff restrictions, such as import surcharges, export rebates, and border taxes. Governmental price support policies are in many cases in need of review.

The Panel recommends that the new Administration propose at the earliest date a "Nixon Round" of negotiation on non-tariff barriers to trade.

#### COMMON APPROACHES TO COMMON PROBLEMS

It is not enough for the countries of the Atlantic Alliance to join together in the defense of their countries, of their currencies, or of their balance of payments.

If such defenses are to mean something beyond a shelter against the future, the Western Alliance must join together in more far-reaching approaches to the common problems we share in national life. It is imperative that our technology and our affluence become invested with more meaning to people. A more humanistic approach, the Panel believes, is required by the contemporary setting.

Current ratios comparing our national effort on measures of national security to our efforts to cope with the problems of our urban ghettos and the pollution of our environment are causing increasing uneasiness and concern.

Urban Life: We might best begin by saying to Europeans that they have made their cities more habitable, more human, than ours. We might find them saying their cities are not habitable enough.

The Panel believes the United States should encourage the Europeans to set up an International Urban Institute either in Europe, or wherever our allies would prefer, in which the U.S. would participate.<sup>1</sup>

Such an Institute would bring together the leading urban practitioners, scholars, builders, and most certainly students to look at our urban crisis, and to consider and propose new and more adequate approaches. These approaches need not only the discipline of scholars, and the rules of pragmatism, but the utopian impulse of our youth—endowed with a new sense of common international purpose.

The Institute would coalesce the piecemeal efforts of individual disciplines. It could mount a concerted attack on the pollution of air and water, the irony of poverty

and joblessness in the midst of affluence, the paradox of supersonic speeds in the air and slow crowded commuting on the ground, and congested housing for the poor.

Some important work in these areas is currently underway within the United Nations system, in UNESCO and the UN regional Economic Commission for Europe. The International Urban Institute would need to draw on the work of appropriate UN bodies and commissions. At its most recent session, the 23rd, the General Assembly, on the initiative of Sweden, decided to convene in 1972 a UN Conference on Human Environment. Atlantic Alliance countries, whose technologies are responsible for so much of the changes in the planet's environment, should make every effort to assist the UN Conference in identifying those aspects of the problem that can best be handled through international cooperation and agreement.

The urban crisis, however, is more than a physical disarrangement in our societies—on both side of all "curtains". Our young people believe that at the same time as we proclaim the morals of personal welfare and individual liberty, our political and social systems tend to become more massive, more rigid, more insensitive, more monolithic and impersonal, and less human. In an era of constant technological innovation we continue to rely on unchanged political processes and establishments. Thus the International Urban Institute needs to do more than develop systems for coping with the physical disarrangements of our time; it needs to address itself to this wider set of social relationships.

Technological Partnership: Technological exploration should not remain another area of U.S. domination and superiority. Upsetting the "balance of science", like upsetting the balance of payments, can be divisive and destructive. As we have pointed out, technological development knows no national boundaries. To make it a national pursuit is not consistent with the goal of making the Western Alliance a contemporary and common adventure. For example, the Panel strongly supports action now going forward in the NATO Science Council to create a European Institute for computer programming.

We would recommend that the Nixon Administration take immediate steps to invite our allies to join in a space program, to join us on the moon and beyond. Our allies need to see and feel a new spirit of common adventure and an Atlantic astronaut could do much to symbolize this to the man on the street.

The Soviet Union should be offered the opportunity to decide if it would join in a more cooperative international space program.<sup>2</sup>

Education: We have moved, in the Atlantic area, toward freer trade in commodities by tariff reduction and a common market. We have moved to internationalize money through convertible currencies.

The time is now at hand to explore ways in which the ultimate "commodity" in the modern world—education—can be more firmly established on an international base.

An "educational common market" should be devised—a program of "free trade" of students and faculty between countries—beginning in the Atlantic area. Multi-national educational institutions, faculty, and students should become commonplace in a contemporary world. We again need to call upon our humility to recognize and admit that we know little about some of the seminal educational questions we should be asking.

What are the best ways to educate the very young? How can we reach the culturally disadvantaged, to remotivate their flagging aspirations? How can we develop the innova-

<sup>1</sup> For reservation by James N. Hyde, see page 34.

<sup>2</sup> For comment by Richard N. Gardner, see page 34.

February 3, 1969

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—Extensions of Remarks

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spired in the main square of the city of Baghdad. Civilized man, for all his progress and sensitivity to the well-being of his fellows, was given a rude view of just how far we may have come, and a shocking realization that there were still people on this earth who had not yet cast off the savagery of primitive man. Not since Hitler has the world of civilized men witnessed such insane behavior, and the parallel is an appropriate one, for the reasons that drove the Iraqi generals were the same reasons spouted by the murderer of Europe three decades ago.

It is inconceivable that today men should die because of their religious faith, but that was the case in Iraq. It is inconceivable that the world should again see the return of Nazi racism, but it lives in Iraq. It is inconceivable that law should be corrupted by the forced lending of its name to the so-called trial that condemned to death nine Jews in Iraq, but the kangaroo court did just that. It is inconceivable that the screams of anguish from respectable people in nations around the globe should not shatter the night, but too few have raised the voice of protest against the hangings in Baghdad. All humanity stood with those nine men on the scaffolds of tyranny, and all humanity suffers for their loss.

The immediate repercussions of the mass execution in Iraq will be an increase in the already electric atmosphere of the Middle East, where an embattled Israel awaits another thrust at its borders. Israel's defensive measures in the past have drawn strong protest from many governments and world leaders, but as Israeli officials have noted, not to answer could only be considered a sign of weakness in the Arab capitals. So long as the United Nations and the diplomats can find no solution and can gain no cooperation from the intransigent few, the only course open to Israel is to maintain its strength and fight fire with fire. The thousands of appeals for peace that have come from Israel have been met with thousands of acts of terrorism and violence.

The possibilities of another war in the Middle East are great and the chance that another war could entangle the United States and the Soviet Union in a nuclear confrontation is particularly frightening. President Johnson referred to the "fires of hostility" in the Middle East and President Nixon has said those fires could set off the "powder keg." The task of extinguishing those fires and defusing that powder keg was made all the more difficult by the Iraqis and their death penalty to the 14 supposed spies. It is up to the statesmen to dissuade the Iraqis from pursuing their course of political folly and inhumanity.

Mr. Speaker, I shall not recall the many times I have stood in this House to reaffirm my support for Israel, the record is clear and I am proud of that record. It was satisfying to me that the United States and Israel have concluded the preliminary discussions for the sale of the F-4 Phantom jet aircraft so vitally necessary for the defense of Israel. It would be even more satisfying if the other suggestions for mutual defense and

a firm commitment of support were also enacted. It is saddening, however, to hear the rebukes cast at the Israelis for the defensive measures they have taken to protect themselves. After the public execution of 14 men in Baghdad, nine of whom were apparently killed because of their religious faith, I wonder if perhaps some of those who castigated Israel can now see the necessity for self-preservation that motivates the Israeli defense policy.

#### SOVIET ECONOMIC BLOC STALLED BY TWO KEY PROBLEMS

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, continually there is a barrage of Soviet propaganda boasting of the tremendous economic progress that they are making. Apparently, these boasts are aimed principally at the uncommitted nations of the world to convince them that the communistic economic system is the wave of the future, as well as to indict our own economic system.

Because these Soviet claims are really their own Alice in Wonderland edition of economics, I thought the following news story, which appeared in the Sunday, February 2, 1969, edition of the New York Times, describes the true state of affairs in their economy, and would be of interest to the Members. In all events, I think the news story shows that they are not telling it like it is.

The article follows:

[From the New York Times, Feb. 2, 1969]

#### SOVIET ECONOMIC BLOC STALLED BY TWO KEY PROBLEMS

(By Tad Szulc)

VIENNA, January 31.—After 20 years of existence, Comecon, the Soviet-bloc Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, finds itself at a crossroads and bogged down in controversies and disagreements.

Public speeches and articles in Communist capitals as Comecon was celebrating its twentieth anniversary on Jan. 25 in East Berlin reflected the organization's shortcomings.

Trade statistics show that most of Comecon's eight members—the Soviet Union, East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Mongolia—run deficits with the West and even with underdeveloped nations because of their inability to gain solid export markets and compete with Western producers.

Within the bloc, Poland, for example, buys from East Germany almost twice as much as she is capable of selling the Germans. Czechoslovakia is owed by the Soviet Union perhaps as much as \$1-billion for credits and the delivery of industrial goods, although precise amounts cannot be calculated because of the complexity of artificial exchange rates within Comecon.

#### DEVELOPMENT GAP WIDENS

Open criticism in the European Communist countries shows concern not only that Comecon is lagging in foreign trade, but also that the gap in economic development between Eastern and Western Europe is steadily widening.

The Comecon countries recognize that they have not come to grips with the modern tech-

nical-scientific revolution, ranging from adequate use of computers to quality control in production.

When individual countries have attempted to remedy these problems, Communist ideological considerations dictated from Moscow and the weight of tradition and bureaucracy have interfered.

Czechoslovakia's plans to reform and modernize the economy to make it competitive were halted by the Soviet-led invasion last Aug. 20-21. Hungary is proceeding slowly and cautiously with her economical reform. Bulgaria, in grave economic trouble, has mapped but not yet begun a "new economic mode."

#### RUMANIA TESTS REFORMS

Rumania, still something of a maverick in the Communist system despite the Soviet example in Czechoslovakia, has been experimenting for a year with an economic reform. This emphasizes decentralization, self-management in industry and "intensive," rather than "extensive" industrialization.

Rumania has broken with Soviet dogma in de-emphasizing "extensive" development, spreading all through a country's industries in favor of "intensive" development of specific industries in selected areas.

The two key problems facing Comecon are possible economic integration—advocated by the Soviet Union, which launched Comecon in 1949—and appeals for the creation of a multilateral convertible currency to make trade more realistic.

The Comecon council session in East Berlin pointed up the disagreements within the bloc on these two points. Aside from Poland, Bulgaria and Mongolia, the other Comecon countries oppose integration because they think it will damage their economies.

The Soviet Union is against a "hard" bloc currency presumably because this would deprive it of control over Comecon trade through the manipulation of the others' artificial currency rates.

#### EARLY MEETING WAS FORESEEN

Since late last year, the expectation was that the top Communist party and Government leaders of the eight countries would convene early this spring to debate the problems of both economic integration within Comecon and greater military integration under the Warsaw Pact military alliance.

Indications that the economic integration problem had not been resolved in East Berlin were given by Horst Maurer, writing last Sunday in Neuer Weg, a German-language daily published in Rumania. Because the Rumanians staunchly oppose economic integration in Comecon and all other forms of communist "supra-national" arrangements? Mr. Maurer remarked, integration would have to be discussed at a "fuller meeting" of Comecon members and Government leaders.

Sentiments on integration vary sharply from country to country, according to individual economic positions.

#### SOVIET WANTS INTEGRATION

The Soviet Union advocates integration, with a meshing of national economic plans, joint investment policies and a controlled division of industrial production. The Soviet stand reflects annoyance over the country's position as a supplier of raw materials to Comecon partners.

Soviet statistics published last month show that in the last 16 years the Soviet Union was the only Comecon country where the percentage share of national income derived from industry had fallen.

Economists attribute this situation to new Soviet concentration on agriculture and to trade patterns in Comecon.

To combat this trend, Soviet publications indicate, Moscow would like to raise the prices of raw materials sold to Comecon partners in the 1970-75 period and to encourage industrial investments by them in the Soviet Union. Neither possibility appears to have produced much enthusiasm in Com-



econ, many of whose members are heavy exporters of industrial goods to the Russians. Poland strongly favors integration because of concern that without it East Germany's trade links with the West will be further strengthened. Poland has a deficit in trade with the East Germans.

The East Germans are perhaps the closest to Moscow in ideology, but they nonetheless oppose Comecon integration because of advantages of their mounting trade with West Germany. The East Germans' relatively high living standards likewise make the thought of integration with less-developed Communist countries unattractive.

For this reason, presumably, a member of the Polish Communist leadership, Zenon Kliszko emphasized in a speech last week that political as well as economic considerations must be weighed in Comecon integration.

Rumania opposes integration for political reasons, contending that under integration smaller nations would be penalized.

#### COMPULSORY INTEGRATION BARRED

The East Berlin communiqué stressed this point, too, recognizing in effect that integration could not be compulsory. Under Comecon statutes, all decisions must be unanimous and this gives opponents of Soviet policies a veto right.

Hungary, to judge from recent public comments, pays lip service to integration. But as the country's economic reform progresses, Hungary's interest is in practical measures such as the agreement, resisted by Moscow, on convertible currency.

Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria have not taken public positions on integration. Mongolia favors it.

COLUMN BY JOSEPH ALSOP APPEARS TO SUPPORT POSITION TAKEN BY THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

#### HON. DEL CLAWSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. DEL CLAWSON. Mr. Speaker, in recent days it has been encouraging to note the editorial recognition granted by the Washington Post to the festering crime situation in the District of Columbia and the dawning realization by the Post that the problem may even be of the exact proportions outlined by the President during the campaign. Perhaps similar sanguine emotions are also to be invoked by a column in this morning's Post by Joseph Alsop which would appear to support the position taken by the House Committee on Un-American Activities that there are subversive forces at work in much of the strife in our educational system. Mr. Alsop should be warned that such a point of view automatically makes him eligible for dismissal as a mere "red-baiter" and "alarmist" in some quarters, as committee members individually and as groups have discovered. Whether Mr. Alsop is willing to assume the titles which go to those who furnish reports like his, or whether those of us who have been so labelled are now to be publicly absolved is still not clear. Hopefully, as in the fight against District of Columbia crime we will go "forward together" to cope with the problem, with the editorial policy of the Post lagging only slightly be-

hind. Under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the column by Joseph Alsop is included:

FBI SEES NEW YORK SCHOOL CRISIS AS SIGN OF NATIONAL SUBVERSION

(By Joseph Alsop)

NEW YORK.—Anyone who wants to measure the real depth and danger of the race problem in America, has only to come to this worried city, endlessly strife-torn by an endless school crisis. The FBI reached the same conclusion as early as mid-October, and has been on the job ever since.

J. Edgar Hoover was shrewd enough, apparently, to spot something that almost everyone else has rather unaccountably missed. The New York school crisis, which is really a horrendous racial confrontation, has been generally treated as a dire but strictly local mess. Instead, it is a national portent.

Obviously, the school crisis, in and of itself, has no interest for the FBI. But if one may judge by the questions FBI agents have been asking large numbers of persons, notably including the able city school superintendent, Dr. Bernard Donovan, the FBI has developed a lively interest in a good many individuals and organizations with major roles in the school crisis.

Nor is this so very surprising, if you think about it. It is normal, to begin with, for the FBI to interest itself in the Revolutionary Action Movement, RAM, as it is better known, openly professes allegiance to Robert Williams, Mao Tse-Tung's Peking-based house Negro; and RAM has equally openly sought to recruit "black guards"—junior guerrillas modelled on China's Red Guards.

The RAM leader, Herman Ferguson, recently convicted of conspiracy to murder the two black moderates, Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young, has played a considerable role in both the "demonstration school districts" where the present devil's brew first boiled up in the New York schools. But Ferguson is an old story. What is new is the suggestion, now rather widely heard, that Ferguson's peculiar affiliations are far from unique among the black extremists.

If that were all, however, the whole matter could be left to the FBI. Unfortunately, it is by no means all. Consider, for instance, the just published, truly despairing report on student dissent in New York's High Schools by the city's High School Principals Association. The report remarks pointedly:

"Evidence strongly suggest that outside groups and individuals are providing encouragement, leadership and legal advice to students involved in these campaigns (of disruption)."

Abraham Lass, of Abraham Lincoln High School, Brooklyn, chairman of the committee that wrote the report, was asked the real meaning of the foregoing fairly ominous statement. He replied that "kids all over the city don't do the same thing in the same way at the same time without some organization somewhere; and that organization seems to us to be of a highly professional character."

He had some details to add, such as the existence of the well printed, widely circulated High School Free Press, bristling with incitements to violence. "Somebody's paying for it, and the kids certainly aren't," he said.

He would name no names, but it is commonly believed that elements in the Students for Democratic Action and the African-American Teachers Association are among the "outside groups" mentioned in the principals' report. The African-American teachers, incidentally, are headed by Albert Vann, now under charges for vicious anti-semitism.

A week hardly passes in New York without bringing news that violent student dissent and outbursts of race hatred have forced the closing of this or that high school, or have required police action to keep the

school open. Here again, is something very new.

In former, happier times, the Board of Education would not permit plain clothes policemen to enter any New York school, even in cases of suspected dope-peddling to the school's pupils. Today, uniformed policemen are on regular duty at 165 of the city's 900 schools, by the Board of Education's own request.

What is going on, in plain truth, is nothing more nor less than an attempt to take over the New York schools by very far out extremists, both black and white. Their tools are hot-headed kids—in most schools, a small minority—and those people in "the black community," again a small minority, whom the black extremists can lead by the nose.

"Community control" is the slogan. Extremists' control is the aim, and behind this aim is the larger purpose of using the schools for propaganda and indoctrination, including black racist propaganda that might embarrass the Ku Klux Klan. And if all this goes on and gets worse, as seems likely, some very hard choices will unavoidably have to be made.

WHAT A LAYMAN EXPECTS OF HIS MINISTER

#### HON. WILMER MIZELL

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 3, 1969

Mr. MIZELL. Mr. Speaker, while in Davidson County in my district in North Carolina this past week, a talk by Mr. Sim DeLapp before the Civitan Club on Monday came to my attention. Mr. DeLapp is a lifelong resident of Davidson County, and is an outstanding leader and Sunday school teacher in his church.

A copy of his lay speech was handed to me and I was very much impressed by it. How we could all benefit from the challenges offered by Mr. DeLapp. I feel that his message could not only apply to the ministers of our country, but to all laymen of our churches as well.

One generation's Christian experiences will not suffice for another, but each generation must have its own personal experience with the Person of Christ. What a tragedy it would be if the ministers of today should fail this generation. Or will they respond to the commandment the Lord gave to Peter: "Feed my sheep!"

With permission given, I place Mr. DeLapp's speech at this point in the Record, thinking that my colleagues would like the opportunity of reading it:

WHAT A LAYMAN EXPECTS OF HIS MINISTER

Please be assured that only the specific request of the members of this Civitan Club that I speak briefly to the ministers of Davidson County was sufficient to persuade me to brave the dangers incident to my speaking here today on the subject, "What a Layman Expects of the Minister". It was only when your president promised me the security of a rear, escape door that I finally came.

One of the simple, but essential things that the layman expects of his minister is that he be a devout, godly man. Of course, he does not expect perfection, but he expects the minister to be a better man than he is. The minister must have a clearer, more direct line to the Almighty. He must be more like Him, more like His Son, Jesus Christ. The blind can never lead the blind.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

# VACATING PROCEEDINGS ON AND RECONSIDERATION OF HOUSE RESOLUTION 176

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to vacate the proceedings whereby the House agreed to House Resolution 176 on January 29, and ask for its immediate consideration with an amendment which I send to the desk.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

## H. RES. 176

*Resolved*, That the following-named Members be, and they are hereby, elected members of the following standing committees of the House of Representatives:

COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE: Page Belcher, Oklahoma; Charles M. Teague, California; Catherine May, Washington; William C. Wampler, Virginia; George A. Goodling, Pennsylvania; Clarence E. Miller, Ohio; Robert B. Mathias, California; Wiley Mayne, Iowa; John Zwach, Minnesota; Thomas S. Kleppe, North Dakota; Robert D. Price, Texas; John T. Myers, Indiana; Keith G. Sebelius, Kansas; Martin B. McKneally, New York; Wilmer D. Mizell, North Carolina.

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS: Jack Edwards, Alabama.

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES: William H. Bates, Massachusetts; Leslie C. Arends, Illinois; Alvin E. O'Konski, Wisconsin; William G. Bray, Indiana; Bob Wilson, California; Charles S. Gubser, California; Charles E. Chamberlain, Michigan; Alexander Pirnie, New York; Durward G. Hall, Missouri; Donald D. Clancy, Ohio; Robert T. Stafford, Vermont; Carleton J. King, New York; William L. Dickinson, Alabama; Charles W. Whalen, Jr., Ohio; Ed Foreman, New Mexico; John E. Hunt, New Jersey; G. William Whitehurst, Virginia.

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY: William B. Widnall, New Jersey; Florence P. Dwyer, New Jersey; Seymour Halpern, New York; W. E. (Bill) Brock, Tennessee; Del Clawson, California; Albert W. Johnson, Pennsylvania; J. William Stanton, Ohio; Chester L. Mize, Kansas; Benjamin B. Blackburn, Georgia; Garry E. Brown, Michigan; Lawrence G. Williams, Pennsylvania; Chalmers P. Wylie, Ohio; Margaret M. Heckler, Massachusetts; William O. Cowger, Kentucky; J. Glenn Beall, Jr., Maryland.

COMMITTEE ON THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: Ancher Nelsen, Minnesota; William L. Springer, Illinois; Alvin E. O'Konski, Wisconsin; William H. Harsha, Ohio; Frank Horton, New York; Joel T. Broyhill, Virginia; Larry Winn, Jr., Kansas; Gilbert Gude, Maryland; Sam Steiger, Arizona; Catherine May, Washington; Lawrence J. Hogan, Maryland.

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR: William H. Ayres, Ohio; Albert H. Quie, Minnesota; John M. Ashbrook, Ohio; Alphonzo Bell, California; Ogden R. Reid, New York; John N. Erlenborn, Illinois; William J. Scherle, Iowa; John R. Dellenbach, Oregon; Marvin L. Esch, Michigan; Edwin D. Eshleman, Pennsylvania; William A. Steiger, Wisconsin; James M. Collins, Texas; Earl F. Landgrebe, Indiana; Orval Hansen, Idaho; Earl B. Ruth, North Carolina.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS: E. Ross Adair, Indiana; William S. Mailliard, California; Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen, New Jersey; William S. Broomfield, Michigan; J. Irving Whalley, Pennsylvania; H. R. Gross, Iowa; E. Y. Berry, South Dakota; Edward J. Derwinski, Illinois; F. Bradford Morse, Massa-

chusetts; Vernon W. Thomson, Wisconsin; James G. Fulton, Pennsylvania; Paul Findley, Illinois; John H. Buchanan, Jr., Alabama; Robert Taft, Jr., Ohio; Sherman P. Lloyd, Utah; J. Herbert Burke, Florida; William V. Roth, Jr., Delaware.

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS: Florence P. Dwyer, New Jersey; Ogden R. Reid, New York; Frank Horton, New York; Donald Rumsfeld, Illinois; John N. Erlenborn, Illinois; John W. Wylder, New York; Clarence J. Brown, Jr., Ohio; Guy Vander Jagt, Michigan; John T. Myers, Indiana; William O. Cowger, Kentucky; Gilbert Gude, Maryland; Paul N. McCloskey, Jr., California; Paul Findley, Illinois; John H. Buchanan, Jr., Alabama; Lowell P. Weicker, Jr., Connecticut.

COMMITTEE ON HOUSE ADMINISTRATION: James Harvey, Michigan.

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS: John P. Saylor, Pennsylvania; E. Y. Berry, South Dakota; Craig Hosmer, California; Joe Skubitz, Kansas; Laurence J. Burton, Utah; John Kyl, Iowa; Sam Steiger, Arizona; Howard W. Pollock, Alaska; James A. McClure, Idaho; Don H. Clausen, California; Philip E. Ruppe, Michigan; John Wold, Wyoming; John N. Happy Camp, Oklahoma; Manuel Lujan, New Mexico.

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE: William L. Springer, Illinois; Samuel L. Devine, Ohio; Ancher Nelsen, Minnesota; Hastings Keith, Massachusetts; Glenn Cunningham, Nebraska; James T. Broyhill, North Carolina; James Harvey, Michigan; Albert W. Watson, South Carolina; Tim Lee Carter, Kentucky; G. Robert Watkins, Pennsylvania; Donald G. Brotsman, Colorado; Clarence J. Brown, Jr., Ohio; Dan Kuykendall, Tennessee; Joe Skubitz, Kansas; Fletcher Thompson, Georgia; James F. Hastings, New York.

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY: William M. McCulloch, Ohio; Richard H. Poff, Virginia; William T. Cahill, New Jersey; Clark MacGregor, Minnesota; Edward Hutchinson, Michigan; Robert McClory, Illinois; Henry P. Smith III, New York; Thomas J. Meskill, Connecticut; Charles W. Sandman, Jr., New Jersey; Thomas F. Rallsback, Illinois; Edward G. Biester, Jr., Pennsylvania; Charles E. Wiggins, California; David W. Dennis, Indiana; Hamilton Fish, Jr., New York; R. Lawrence Coughlin, Pennsylvania.

COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES: William S. Mailliard, California; Thomas M. Pelly, Washington; Charles A. Mosher, Ohio; James R. Grover, Jr., New York; Hastings Keith, Massachusetts; G. Robert Watkins, Pennsylvania; Henry C. Schadeberg, Wisconsin; John R. Dellenbach, Oregon; Howard W. Pollock, Alaska; Philip E. Ruppe, Michigan; Daniel E. Button, New York; George A. Goodling, Pennsylvania; William C. Bray, Indiana; Paul N. McCloskey, Jr., California; Louis Frey, Jr., Florida.

COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE: Robert J. Corbett, Pennsylvania; H. R. Gross, Iowa; Glenn Cunningham, Nebraska; Edward J. Derwinski, Illinois; Albert W. Johnson, Pennsylvania; Daniel E. Button, New York; William L. Scott, Virginia; James A. McClure, Idaho; Thomas J. Meskill, Connecticut; Donald E. Lukens, Ohio; Lawrence J. Hogan, Maryland.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS: William C. Cramer, Florida; William H. Harsha, Ohio; James R. Grover, Jr., New York; James C. Cleveland, New Hampshire; Don H. Clausen, California; Robert C. McEwen, New York; John J. Duncan, Tennessee; Fred Schwengel, Iowa; Henry C. Schadeberg, Wisconsin; M. G. (Gene) Snyder, Kentucky; Robert V. Denney, Nebraska; Roger H. Zion, Indiana; Jack H. McDonald, Michigan; John Paul Hammerschmidt, Arkansas; Clarence E. Miller, Ohio.

COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE AND ASTRONAUTICS: James G. Fulton, Pennsylvania; Charles A. Mosher, Ohio; Richard L. Roudebush, Indiana; Alphonzo Bell, California; Thomas M. Pelly, Washington; Donald Rumsfeld, Illi-

nois; John W. Wylder, New York; Guy Vander Jagt, Michigan; Larry Winn, Jr., Kansas; Jerry L. Pettis, California; Donald E. Lukens, Ohio; Robert Price, Texas; Lowell P. Weicker, Jr., Connecticut; Louis Frey, Jr., Florida.

COMMITTEE ON STANDARDS OF OFFICIAL CONDUCT: Leslie C. Arends, Illinois; Jackson E. Betts, Ohio; Robert T. Stafford, Vermont; James H. Quillen, Tennessee; Lawrence G. Williams, Pennsylvania; Edward Hutchinson, Michigan.

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES: John M. Ashbrook, Ohio; Del Clawson, California; Richard L. Roudebush, Indiana; Albert W. Watson, South Carolina.

COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS: Charles M. Teague, California; E. Ross Adair, Indiana; William H. Ayres, Ohio; John P. Saylor, Pennsylvania; Seymour Halpern, New York; John J. Duncan, Tennessee; John Paul Hammerschmidt, Arkansas; William L. Scott, Virginia; Margaret M. Heckler, Massachusetts; John M. Zwach, Minnesota; Robert V. Denney, Nebraska.

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS: Rogers C. B. Morton, Maryland.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. GERALD R. FORD

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. GERALD R. FORD: On page 7, lines 5 and 6, strike out "E. Ross Adair, Indiana; William H. Ayres, Ohio;" and insert: "William H. Ayres, Ohio; E. Ross Adair, Indiana;"

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, my amendment, which has just been read by the Clerk, will correct the seniority standing of the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. AYRES) on the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

The amendment was agreed to.

The resolution as amended was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

## MIDDLE EAST REPORT

(Mr. BROWN of California asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues another in the series of articles which Carol Stevens Kovner, managing editor of Kovner Publications in Los Angeles, has written on the Middle East situation.

In this article, Miss Kovner points up the determination of Israel to defend her borders from aggression and the loneliness which the Jews feel in this battle. The article follows:

ABBA EBAN DEPLORES STEREOTYPE OF PASSIVE VICTIMS OF VIOLENCE

(By Carol Stevens Kovner)

In an interview with Time Magazine in their January 10 issue, Abba Eban, articulate Foreign Minister of Israel, said there is a stereotype of Jews as the passive victims of others violence.

In Israel the Jews resist. They do not suffer passively. But the world, personified by the government leaders and news media who speak for the world community, has not fully absorbed this change in the Jewish picture.

Mr. Eban said, "I have no other explanation for the fact that the Soviet Union, which invaded Czechoslovakia, can condemn alleged Israeli 'aggression' at the UN . . . without the public gallery bursting into laughter."

"If someone could prove that we could survive by giving Arab violence a free rein, then we would do so. But nobody has proved this."



United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 91<sup>st</sup> CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 115

WASHINGTON, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1969

No. 22

## Senate

The Senate was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Tuesday, February 4, 1969, at 12 o'clock meridian.

## House of Representatives

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1969

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.  
The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:  
*Our sufficiency is from God.*—2 Corinthians 3: 5.

Eternal Father of our spirits, whose grace makes us sufficient for every task and whose strength holds us steady as we live through troubled times, speak Thy word to us this day and make known Thy will that we may now and always walk along the paths of righteousness and justice and love.

Unite us as a nation that we may continue to seek the release of the captives, give light to those who sit in darkness, bridge the gulf which separates our people, and support every endeavor which creates and maintains understanding and good will in our national life.

In the spirit of Christ we offer this our morning prayer. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, January 30, 1969, was read and approved.

### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed a bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 17. An act to amend the Communications Satellite Act of 1962 with respect to the election of the board of the Communications Satellite Corp.

The message also announced that the Vice President, pursuant to Public Law 90-448, appointed Mr. SPARKMAN and Mr. HOLLINGS as members, on the part of the Senate, of the National Advisory Commission on Low Income Housing.

### APPOINTMENT AS MEMBERS OF JOINT COMMITTEE ON ATOMIC ENERGY

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of title 42, United States Code, section 2251, the Chair appoints as members of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy the following members on the part of the House: Mr. HOLIFIELD, Mr. PRICE of Illinois, Mr. ASPINALL, Mr. YOUNG, Mr. EDMONDSON, Mr. HOSMER, Mr. BATES, Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois, and Mr. McCULLOCH.

### APPOINTMENT AS MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE NONESSENTIAL FEDERAL EXPENDITURES

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of section 801, title 6, Public Law 250, 77th Congress, the Chair appoints as members of the Committee To Investigate Nonesential Federal Expenditures the following members of the Committee on Ways and Means: Mr. MILLS, Mr. BOGGS, Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin; and the following members of the Committee on Appropriations: Mr. MAHON, Mr. KIRWAN, and Mr. BOW.

### APPOINTMENT AS MEMBERS OF NATIONAL HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS COMMISSION

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of title 44, United States Code, section 2501, the Chair appoints as a member of the National Historical Publications Commission, the gentleman from California (Mr. MILLER).

### VACATING PROCEEDINGS ON AND RECONSIDERATION OF HOUSE RESOLUTION 177

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to vacate the pro-

ceedings whereby the House agreed to House Resolution 177 on January 29, and ask for its immediate reconsideration with an amendment which I send to the desk.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

Mr. GROSS. Well, Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, what is the resolution and what is sought to be done?

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. Yes, I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. ALBERT. The resolution was the regular resolution assigning the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico to various committees and there was merely a technical error contained therein.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 177

*Resolved*, That Jorge Luis Córdova-Díaz, the Resident Commissioner to the United States from Puerto Rico, be, and he is hereby, elected an additional member of the following standing committees of the House of Representatives: Committee on Agriculture, Committee on Armed Services, and Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. ALBERT

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ALBERT: Strike out all of line 1, after the word "*Resolved*," and insert: "That Jorge L. Córdova, the Resident".

The amendment was agreed to.

The resolution as amended was agreed to.

H 639



The Pope's sympathetic message to Lebanon's president "deploring violent acts" and asking Lebanon to refrain from taking countermeasures was astonishing, because this was in the context of not uttering a single word of protest when 13 Jewish and Arab shoppers were killed by a terrorist bomb in a Jerusalem marketplace, in the same geographical area.

Was the Pope's message to Lebanon, where there was no loss of life involved, an act of unbiased justice at a delicate moment in history? With his deep interest in the Middle East and the Holy Land, why not speak when Jewish children were being terrorized in Israeli northern villages with unrelenting bombardment in December by Iraqi trained army regulars. Or even when the Israeli engineer, ironically on his way to a UN help mission, was shot to death in Athens by trained-in-Lebanon terrorists.

But when Israel, defending her small population from guerrilla bands, even eventually from Lebanon, finally after some months of terrorism, struck in warning to the Arab nations that they must control the terrorists or suffer the consequences and destroy 13 aircraft in Beirut—not a drop of blood was spilled.

Yet this "metal and wire and upholstery" as Israeli Ambassador to the UN Yosef Tekoah called it, this is what brought the Pope to speak out. Not in protest to the copious blood spilled by Israeli civilians in Jerusalem, not the innocent life of a Jew on a mercy mission for the UN, but the mere destruction of material objects.

"Are we to hear that the scrap iron of airplanes is worth more than Jewish blood?" Tekoah asked in the UN, his voice angry and heartsore, as he stood before the UN Security Council after a decision which never mentioned in the unanimous condemnation a single act of the terrorists from Arab countries, but only Israeli response to the acts of the terrorists.

Abba Eban deplored, "Those who were silent in the face of 13 mangled bodies in Mahane Yehuda market now cry with choking voices over 13 steel skeletons that never breathed life . . . there was an angry outcry only over property that was destroyed—and is insured."

There are six countries sitting on the Security Council which have no diplomatic ties with Israel.

There is the Soviet Union with Czechoslovakian hopes for a freer life crushed under Soviet invading tanks. Continuous anti-Semitic campaigns ricochet to other countries from her shores and the Soviet Union presumes to judge a Jewish country.

There is Britain, still enamored of her personal romantic myth of the Arab riding in the clean open desert (with an Englishman by his side), holding a grudge against Israel for not strangling during the years after World War II, when she did her level best to throttle the emerging country.

There is France, in the grip of an ancient autocrat who suddenly announced a complete arms embargo after the Beirut raid on Israel with no return of \$160 million paid in advance by Israel. Israelis met his announcement with resigned dismay, realizing this was the logical conclusion to the courtship of de Gaulle and the Arabs, with the Russians providing much of his wooing words.

And there is the United States, too, who joined this frivolous and irresponsible farce at the UN, condemning a small country for what we have done ourselves unscathed and uncensored by the UN . . . in the effort to be more "evenhanded."

There has been much talk in the last two weeks of an imposed settlement by the Big Four, France, Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States. Given their present attitudes, the Russian and French newly sealed trade agreement and support of every Arab

move politically, the British psychological antipathy of Israel, and the US's new, weighted evenhandedness, what kind of Great Power intervention would be proposed?

The new Soviet formula going the rounds of diplomatic circles looks similar to the Arab demands for a return to the May 1967 situation. France has proposed putting Great Power troops into all countries involved, but de Gaulle's arms embargo has ruled France out as a future mediator in the Middle East because of his one-sided stand.

Like the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse, once the Big Four got rolling together, could they stop short of erasing Israel and the Jewish people off the globe, as their self-imposed silence nearly did in World War II?

(Mr. BROWN of California asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. BROWN of California's remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

#### ALEXANDER PIRNIE'S TERM AS IPU PRESIDENT

(Mr. MONAGAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, last Wednesday our colleague, the gentleman from New York (Mr. PIRNIE) completed his term as President of the Interparliamentary Union and he did this without fanfare or celebration, but it does seem to me that this occasion should not be allowed to pass by the House without some notice of the achievement of ALEXANDER PIRNIE and some expression of appreciation on the part of the House for his work on that august body which was performed essentially as a Representative of the House of Representatives.

ALEXANDER PIRNIE was elected to the Presidency of the Interparliamentary Union in 1968 and served from that time to the present. As a member of that group, I am familiar with his work and with the outstanding contribution that he made not only to the successful functioning of that historic international organization but also in fostering the image of the United States and improving relations between the people of our country and the people of innumerable other countries throughout the world.

Representative PIRNIE capped his service with his election as chairman of a committee composed of members from five countries to study the question of universality and he served in this capacity at the next to the last meeting of the union at Dakar, Senegal.

Mr. PIRNIE performed magnificently at the formal sessions of the Interparliamentary Union. He took an active part in the deliberations of the Union's most active committee, as well as in its ruling council, and in these areas he staunchly defended the record and policies of the United States and proved himself to be a worthy foe of those who attacked our country. In addition to his formal activities and in some ways

more importantly, Mr. PIRNIE devoted himself tirelessly to the extraofficial activities of the various conferences. It is an accepted fact that in these extracurricular contacts parliamentarians are able to achieve more for their countries than in the formal exchanges of the scheduled sessions and ALEXANDER PIRNIE performed superbly in this department. I am confident that he was responsible for greatly improving the understanding of many of our policies on the part of delegates to the conference who would otherwise have based their judgment of policy on insufficient information.

In addition to this performance, I must also pay tribute to Representative PIRNIE personally as I praise his qualities as a delegation leader. His tact, his courtesy, his thoughtfulness, and his gentle but firm scheduling and performance of delegation responsibilities made it a particular pleasure to serve with him.

I am pleased to bring this brief report to the House today and I am confident that all Members will agree that Representative PIRNIE's service should be a source of great pride and satisfaction to this body. In the name of my colleagues, I thank Mr. PIRNIE for his outstanding service.

#### LT. COL. WILLIAM ST. JOHN

(Mr. MONAGAN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, one of Connecticut's most distinguished military officers has announced his retirement from the National Guard after 42 years of service. He is Lt. Col. William St. John, who for this period approaching half a century has contributed his efforts to the successful operation of our Military Establishment. I have known Colonel St. John for the greatest part of his life and I am personally familiar with his outstanding record that he has compiled.

He has not only been interested in military affairs, but he has always taken an active part in political party activities and civic affairs in our hometown in Waterbury where he was at one time a formidable and popular candidate for mayor.

Not only has he been a friend of mine for many years, but he acted as my campaign manager in my first successful campaign for Congress in 1958.

Colonel St. John is not the only military member of his family. His son, Capt. Richard L. St. John, whom I was proud to designate is a graduate of the U.S. Military Academy, a soldier with a distinguished record in Vietnam and at present a professor of military science at Lafayette College in Easton, Pa.

The Hartford Courant recently carried a complete and interesting account of Colonel St. John's career and I think it only fitting at this juncture in the life of one who has served the United States so well to make this account a part of the Record, as follows:

#### OFFICER ENDS COLORFUL CAREER

(By Theodore Driscoll)

It was July 6, 1944, and the Chinese 36th Division had been thrown back by a surprise

Japanese counter-attack that drove them to the Solween River. The river was wide and swift. There could be no retreating across it.

Lt. Col. William St. John, then commander of the American combat section with the Chinese unit, listened with his men to the nightly BBC news broadcast.

There had been a tragic circus fire in Hartford, Conn., 168 were dead, 500 others injured. For St. John it was one of the saddest days he would ever know.

It would be several weeks before he could be sure that his wife and his five-year-old son in Waterbury, his life-long home, had not been at the circus that day.

Half a world away in the jungles of Southwest China this gnawed at St. John, a constant worry, until he got a letter from his wife five weeks after she sent it. They were safe.

#### NOW RETIRING

St. John sat in his office at the State Armory on Broad Street one day last week reminiscing about this and other things. He had just announced that he was retiring from the National Guard after 42 years of service.

On his desk was a letter to Gov. Dempsey with the latest accounting of the \$25,156,592 worth of state-owned property used by the Connecticut National Guard.

St. John is a kind of overseer for this property. He is the state military property and procurement officer and will continue in this position after his retirement from the National Guard.

His boyhood was spent in Waterbury, at St. Thomas School and Crosby High School and later Brooklyn Polytechnical Institute in New York. He joined the National Guard when he was in high school. That was 1926.

St. John tried and almost got into West Point. He was very proud when his son, Richard, tried and made it. Capt. Richard L. St. John just returned from Vietnam with the Purple Heart and the Silver Star. Now, he is a professor of military science at Lafayette College in Easton, Pa.

St. John and his wife, Mary, have three other sons, William St. John Jr., who is with Travelers Insurance Cos., and a student at Suffolk Law School in Boston; Mark J. St. John, a senior at Sacred Heart College in Bridgeport, and Gregory G. St. John, a sophomore at Boston College.

The Connecticut National Guard was activated shortly after Pearl Harbor. St. John went to the South Pacific where he spent 37 months of the war.

#### INTELLIGENCE OFFICER

He was an intelligence officer with the Bobcat Task Force and was later assigned to the 20th Route Army of the Chinese National Army. Then he was with the Chinese 36th Division which fought its way through southwest China, over "the Hump" and finally opened the Burma Road.

Chinese soldiers could classify anything growing as edible or inedible, St. John said, and they ate things no one else would.

"The 36th was the damndest dog-loving outfit you ever saw." When St. John joined them, at least half the Chinese soldiers had dogs.

"Ever had dog stew. It's good—tastes like rabbit," that's what the dogs were for and in those circumstances, St. John said it made an "elegant stew."

Memories came to St. John in spurts, as they do after 20 years. Some came alone, some were tied to other memories with no apparent design or reason. Food kept popping up.

"Once we went 21 days without food—real food—we ate blades of grass and things like that. And when finally there was an air drop. Everyone stuffed himself and got sick."

This was St. John's rag-tag army. Army

issue clothes soon rotted away and after than they took what they could get. For most that meant Indian Army overalls, size 48 to 50, so the sleeves had to be rolled up and the crotch fell to the knees, St. John said.

St. John commanded about 900 Americans attached to the 36th Division. He was a combination soldier and horsetrader.

When he wanted the Chinese to carry out a particular operation he would bargain with them, "You want rifles . . . then we'll do things this way." The rifles were coming anyway but the Chinese didn't know that. Only St. John did.

#### A HORSETRADER

The 35-year-old commander of the Chinese understood horsetrading and he understood St. John, who said he would have made an excellent general in any army.

Some things confused the Chinese commander. Why, for instance, did the president of the United States get only \$75,000 while some industrialists got \$100,000.

St. John said the commander asked the question, then answered it himself. His eyes lit up and he said, "Ah, but the kun-cha."

Kun-cha means graft. And St. John said it might not be spelled like that but that is the way it is pronounced.

The commander understood horsetrading. So did the Japanese.

For several weeks the 36th and the Japanese each occupied half a small city in southwest China. Wednesday was market day and there was tacit agreement that the men of the 36th could go to the Japanese-held marketplace safely.

Orders were put in for the following week. St. John remembers bargaining for tangerines and paying extra because the merchant had to bribe the Japanese to get tangerines through their lines.

"You ever hear my famous pigeon story?" St. John asked, letting it become known that just about everyone around the armory had.

One of the things St. John's underfed and under-equipped army didn't need was carrier pigeons. At least that's what his men were saying as they carted eight of the big breasted birds along, feeding them every day while they themselves went hungry.

"Those pigeons served a very useful purpose," St. John said. They ate them.

Not all St. John's food stories were like that. Some of them were gruesome.

For instance, there was a Canadian priest who was freed when the 36th liberated a prisoner-of-war camp who explained how he, a thin man, had survived while a fatter colleague starved to death.

"He was squeamish" the priest told St. John.

"I would turn over a rock and eat whatever I found. He wouldn't," St. John recalled the priest saying.

And there was the impressment of women and children to carry supplies over the hump. It was a brutal system, St. John said—"It was theirs not ours."

The impressed citizens carried equipment, as did mules, to heights of 16,000 feet over the Himalayas. "The bones of most of them, people and mules, are still up there," St. John said.

St. John remembered the POW camps and how, toward the end of things, they liberated one after another in Burma. Sometimes there were just a dozen men, sometimes there were a thousand.

Some were only starving. Others had completely lost their minds and St. John said that was the saddest thing of all. He remembered one POW, eyes sunken, gaunt and filthy, who stumbled up to him and said, "Hey Saint."

He could not recognize the man by his looks. He remembered the name. The man

had come to the South Pacific with St. John three years before.

Not all the memories of war were pleasant. St. John said it was good to have such things behind him, but he would not like to go through them again.

The 36th Division secured the Burma Road and the supplies that had been flown over the "hump" from India to China could then go by land.

In the spring of 1945 St. John went to eastern China where he and others plotted an attack on Canton, still held by the Japanese.

But in July the plotting ended. The word was out, but only in rumors, that the end was near. St. John returned to the United States at the end of the month. He was at Ft. Gordon, Ga., on V-J Day, Aug. 14.

For most of America's 12-million fighting men that was the end. For St. John it was really only the middle. He would spend another 24 years in the National Guard.

#### MORE ON LEGALIZED USURY AND PROPOSED UNIFORM CONSUMER CREDIT CODE

Mr. PATMAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, on January 23, 1969, I placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a statement concerning the dangers of the proposed Uniform Consumer Credit Code, which was prepared under the auspices of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws and financed in major part by the American Bankers Association and other segments of the credit industry. This code, calling as it does for interest rates as high as 36 percent on installment sales and loans, would be a great travesty on the American public if enacted. It has many other anticonsumer and public provisions which will be the subject of subsequent analysis. What few beneficial provisions it contains simply are not worth the great detriment to be suffered by consumers if the code is enacted in the States.

Unfortunately, the sponsors of the code have ordered full speed ahead and are mounting a heavy pressure campaign to secure its earliest possible adoption in the State legislatures. The bill is now before the State Legislature of Massachusetts and other State legislatures. Apparently Massachusetts, one of the first States to adopt strong truth-lending and other consumer protection laws, is a prime target for adoption of the code. Fortunately, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts has an experienced and effective Consumers Council. The council appeared before the judiciary committee of the State senate, recommending against hasty action on the code and its referral to the Consumers Council for detailed analysis.

Prof. William F. Willier of the Boston College Law School presented the council's position. His statement is an eloquent argument against the code, pointing out the great harm it threatens to progressive consumer legislation in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Professor Willier's statement and the accompanying press release from the Consumers Council follow:

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be considered prior to the expiration of 6 days of their receipt in the Senate.

### LOVE WHICH TRANSCENDS EMOTIONS

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, Mrs. Virginia Kelly, a Washington columnist, wrote an inspiring and elevating editorial entitled "Love Which Transcends Emotions," which appeared in the December 25, 1968, edition of the newspaper Independent and Press-Telegram, Long Beach, Calif., and other newspapers. This editorial not only reflects the true meaning of Christmas, but challenges the serious-minded person, and in order to share both its spirit and thought, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be inserted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### LOVE WHICH TRANSCENDS EMOTIONS (By Virginia Kelly)

Jesus, whose birth we celebrate, said, "Except a man be born of water and the spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God."

Spiritual rebirth is urgently needed in this era of violence, war and alienation of races, age groups and nations. Only citizens of superior moral character can preserve our Republic which is founded on noble concepts.

Rebirth requires God's Grace, self-analysis and lifelong commitment. Jesus gave directions for rebirth and eternal life basic to the Judeo-Christian faiths: You shall love the Lord with all your heart, soul and mind, and your neighbor as yourself.

In "Anti-Memories," Andre Malraux wrote "Christianity's genius is that the path to the deepest mystery is love which transcends men's emotions like the soul of the world, more powerful than death and justice."

Jesus gave wonderful gifts when he said "God is love" and "The Kingdom of God is within you." Judaism and Christianity teach that one aspect of heaven is the consciousness of perfect love.

St. Paul said that love encompasses patience, kindness, humility, generosity, forgiveness, modesty, innocence, endurance and truth.

Our Christmas wish is that you shall radiate love and exemplify St. Paul's promise: "Christ in you, the hope of Glory."

### WILL MOSCOW HELP RESTRAIN IRAQ?

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, the entire civilized world has been horrified by the gruesome public hanging in Iraq a few days ago of 14 alleged Israel agents, of whom nine were Iraq Jews.

These hangings, followed by the announcement that there would be further mass trials, and, obviously, more group hangings, mark a new stage in the terror which the extremist pro-Marxist government in Iraq has been waging against the several thousand Jews who still remain in their country.

The fact that the trials had been conducted in secret has only served to confirm the general suspicion of the world community that the Jewish victims of these hangings were not executed because they were spies but simply because they were Jews.

Apart from the shocking inhumanity of the executions, and the threat of

genocide which now hangs over the Iraqi-Jewish community, the hangings have served to dangerously inflame the entire Mideastern situation and to bring it one step nearer the brink of a general conflagration.

The Iraqi action has already gravely undermined the efforts of the U.N. and of the many concerned governments to promote a peaceful settlement of the Mideast crisis. It has also undercut the efforts of moderate Arab leaders to bring about a compromise with Israel, acceptable to both sides.

Let us hope that the general condemnation of world opinion will serve to restrain the Iraq leaders from indulging in any more public executions of Iraq Jews on the pretense of espionage.

In this situation, the Soviet Government, because of the very great influence it has in Iraq, bears a heavy responsibility.

Since 1959 the Soviets have given Iraq almost \$200 million worth of economic aid, and over the past 5 years alone they have invested in Iraq one quarter of a billion dollars worth of military assistance. Indeed, virtually the entire equipment of the Iraq Armed Forces today was provided to them by the Soviet Government.

The question which remains to be answered is whether Moscow is willing to use the influence which has inevitably accrued to it as a result of its massive military and economic aid, in the cause of urging restraint on its Iraq proteges.

I believe it necessary to emphasize that the action of the extremists in charge of the Iraq Government is not characteristic of the entire Arab world. Indeed, the Iraq actions have horrified more moderate Arabs, as well as moderate elements in the Iraq nation.

Yesterday's Washington Post, for example, carried one article reporting that Iraq's envoy to the U.N. was resigning in protest against his Government's policies, and another article reporting that the Syrian Government had charged the Iraq Government with planning the assassination of a Syrian diplomat in Baghdad.

A third article reported that the Iraq Government was teetering.

It said:

Violence and venom and the wild accusations of Zionist activity, of Central Intelligence Agency maneuvering, of "counter-revolution," are often signs of an Arab regime that feels the skids are under it.

There was one particular significant paragraph in this latter article which I would like to quote in full:

With the public hanging Monday of 14 alleged Israeli spies, nine of them Iraq Jews, the regime has dealt one more blow to the efforts of responsible Arab leaders to convince the world that the conflict between Israel and the Arabs is not one between civilization and reasonableness on the one hand and barbarism on the other.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert into the RECORD at this point the text of the three articles in the Washington Post to which I refer.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Jan. 30, 1969]

#### IRAQ'S U.N. ENVOY SAID TO QUIT (By Robert H. Estabrook)

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., January 29.—Iraq's permanent representative to the United Nations, Ambassador Adnan Pachachi, has resigned in protest against his government's policies, reliable sources said today.

There were unconfirmed reports that Pachachi's deputy, Adnan Raouf, also has resigned separately in the wake of the new spy trials in Iraq that have followed the hanging on Monday of 14 persons accused of spying for Israel. Raouf was not available for comment, but an Arab source doubted he would resign on an issue affecting trials of Jews.

American Ambassador Charles W. Yost, meanwhile, sent a letter to Security Council President Max Jakobson of Finland this afternoon saying that "the spectacular way" in which the previous trials were carried out "seems to have been designed to arouse emotions and to intensify the very explosive atmosphere of suspicion and hostility in the Middle East."

"The United States hopes that the worldwide revulsion aroused by the reports of these trials and executions will induce those responsible to carry out their solemn Charter obligations to promote 'universal respect for observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all,'" the letter said.

One consideration in sending the U.S. note was said to be the report that two American citizens have been arrested with no statement of charges against them.

Secretary General U Thant, who strongly criticized the Iraqi executions, decided to comment today on what steps he is taking in respect to the new trials. Yost discussed the issue in a meeting with him this afternoon that also touched on other Middle East problems.

Thant plans to leave Friday for an official visit to Ethiopia, returning Feb. 6, but some diplomats believed the situation might force him to change his plans.

Pachachi's resignation occurred approximately three weeks ago and was not directly connected with the world uproar over the hangings, the sources said. It appeared to have been related, however, to the government's decision to hold the mass trials that began Jan. 4.

In any event, the resignation takes on special significance because of the 45-year-old Pachachi's ability to survive previous coups and changes of government.

A former foreign minister, he had been Iraqi ambassador to the U.N. from 1959 to 1965 and again since 1967 and is widely respected here.

Pachachi reportedly has been in Switzerland the last two weeks looking for a job. He left New York after Thant called him in on Jan. 13 to stress his anxiety about the explosive effects of the spy trials.

An Iraq diplomat denied today that Pachachi has resigned, contending that he has been in Switzerland on vacation. The diplomat said the ambassador will return to New York after another week of vacation.

This diplomat made available a copy of the English-language Baghdad Observer of Jan. 5 recounting the start of the first mass spy trial.

It said that some of the 19 persons on trial—two in absentia—were accused of using a clandestine radio transmitter in the "Adventist Church" in Basra to transmit information to a foreign consul.

Information about the transmitter was given to the Iraqi government by a foreign steamship which intercepted the broadcasts, the account said.

The statement accused Iraqi Jews of being recruited by Israeli intelligence and said they had been asked to furnish information about



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The settlement of the Biafran conflict will have to be an African settlement, and the prime initiative will have to come from the African states themselves.

Our own diplomacy will have to be used with restraint and delicacy.

But I am certain that it can be used, and that an increasing number of African countries would welcome an American commitment to a cease-fire because events have compelled them to recognize the validity of the statement made almost a year ago by Felix Houphouët-Boigny, the esteemed president of the Ivory Coast. This is what he said:

I want . . . to cry out my indignation in the face of the inexplicable indifference—culpable indifference—of the whole world with respect to the massacres of which Biafra has been the theatre for more than ten months. I rejoice my country, pained, indignant, deeply upset and revolted by the prolongation of this atrocious war which rages in Biafra and which has already cost more than 200,000 human lives, not to count the immeasurable cost in destruction of all kinds, in a country definitely rich but still underdeveloped.

Unity will be the fruit of the common will to live together. It should not be imposed by force by one group upon another.

Insofar as we Africans form a part of the world, we could not but be astonished at how little we are valued; at the indifference with which people treat everything that concerns us.

We must realize this ineluctable fact: even if, as a result of this military superiority in men and materials, Nigeria succeeds in occupying the whole of Biafra, the problem of the secession will not be involved. There will, therefore, be no real peace in Nigeria as long as Biafra fights for its independence.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the full text of my concurrent resolution be printed in the Record at this point.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The concurrent resolution will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the resolution will be printed in the Record.

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 8) was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, as follows:

## S. CON. RES. 8

Whereas the war that has been going on for 18 months now between the government of Nigeria and the breakaway state of Biafra has resulted in a tragic loss of life, including the death by starvation of many hundreds of thousands of women and children; and

Whereas the American people have been deeply moved by this tragedy, in a manner that cuts across all political, racial and religious lines, while Congress has manifested its concern through numerous individual statements in the House and Senate, and most recently through a Senate resolution calling for a greatly enhanced international relief operation to cope with the famine conditions now prevailing in Biafra and certain parts of Nigeria; and

Whereas, despite emergency relief shipments, more than 10,000 people are still dying every day from the mass famine which afflicts Biafra; and

Whereas, according to relief experts working in the area, the coming months are bound to witness a grave intensification of the famine because most of the seed for next year's crop has already been eaten, so that the protein starvation from which the Biafrans are now suffering will soon be compounded by carbohydrate starvation; and

Whereas the famine in Biafra has now grown to such dimensions that without a cease-fire it will be impossible to mount an adequate relief operation; and

Whereas, in addition to resulting in the mass starvation of the civilian population of Biafra, the war is impoverishing and exhausting Nigeria and imperiling its future security because of the machinations of the growing corps of Soviet technicians and advisers; and

Whereas the continuation of this tragic conflict does not serve the interests of the people of Nigeria or the people of Biafra or the peoples of Africa; and

Whereas it is clear from all that has happened that the Biafran people are prepared to fight to the last man rather than submit, and that there can therefore be no military solution to the Nigerian-Biafran conflict: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring),* That it is the sense of the Congress that the United States Government, in the interest of putting an end to the killing and starvation, should lend its good offices and utilize all of its diplomatic resources for the purpose of bringing about an immediate cease-fire between the Nigerian and Biafran forces and to thereafter promote the conclusion of a just and durable settlement of the Biafran conflict; and

*Be it further resolved,* That it is the hope of the Congress that, whatever the political terms of such a settlement, the settlement will at least provide for some form of continuing economic integration because of the manifest advantages of economic unity to the peoples on both sides of this conflict.

#### SENATE RESOLUTION 84—RESOLUTION AUTHORIZING THE COMMITTEE ON THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA TO INVESTIGATE CERTAIN MATTERS WITHIN ITS JURISDICTION—REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

S. RES. 84

Mr. SPONG, from the Committee on the District of Columbia, reported the following original resolution (S. Res. 84); which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration:

*Resolved,* That the Committee on the District of Columbia, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to the District of Columbia, particularly, as rule XXV provides, in the matters of public safety, the municipal and juvenile courts, the municipal code and amendments to the criminal laws.

Sec. 2. For the purpose of this resolution the committee from February 1, 1969, to January 31, 1970, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants; *Provided,* That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$2,400 than the highest rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

Sec. 3. The committee shall report its

findings, together with its recommendations, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1970.

Sec. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$129,400.00 shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

#### NOTICE OF HEARING ON NOMINATIONS TO THE DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I wish to announce that the Committee on Banking and Currency will hold a hearing on Monday, February 3, 1969, on the following nominations to the Department of Housing and Urban Development:

Richard C. Van Duesen, of Michigan, to be Under Secretary;

Floyd H. Hyde, of California, to be Assistant Secretary;

Samuel C. Jackson, of District of Columbia, to be Assistant Secretary;

Samuel J. Simmons, of Michigan, to be Assistant Secretary; and

Sherman Unger, of Ohio, to be general counsel.

The hearing will commence at 10:30 a.m., in room 5302 New Senate Office Building.

#### HEARINGS BY SMALL BUSINESS SUBCOMMITTEE

Mr. MCINTYRE. Mr. President, I wish to announce that the Small Business Subcommittee of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee will hold a hearing to review the Government's disaster loan program. The hearing will be held on Thursday, February 6, 1969, at 10 o'clock in room 5302 of the New Senate Office Building. Anyone wishing to testify should contact Mr. Reginald W. Barnes, assistant counsel, Senate Banking and Currency Committee, 5300 New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510, telephone 225-7391, as soon as possible.

#### NOTICE OF RECEIPT OF NOMINATIONS BY THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, I desire to announce that today the Senate received the following nominations:

Gerard C. Smith, of the District of Columbia, to be Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Albert W. Sherer, Jr., of Illinois, a Foreign Service officer of class 1, now Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Togo, to serve concurrently and without additional compensation as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

In accordance with the committee rule, these pending nominations may not

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Soviet weapons supplied to Iraq. Nine of the 14 persons hanged Monday were Jews.

The situation in Iraq distracted attention from new activities here by U.N. Middle East representative Gunnar Jarring. He met with Yost for an hour this morning and was expected also to have consultations with the Soviet, British and French ambassadors.

An eastern European diplomat said today that the Russians are extremely worried about the possibility of a new flareup in the Middle East and are particularly affronted by the actions in Iraq.

He contended that recently the Soviet Union has reduced arms shipment to Egypt. As a result, he said, the Egyptians are complaining that they are not receiving enough and have begun buying surplus Soviet arms previously sent to Indonesia.

The source expressed concern that the Palestine commando organizations such as El Fatah are getting out of control and may pose a threat not only to a peace settlement but also to some Arab governments themselves.

The Communist source asserted that the Russians also have clamped down on arms going to the guerrilla organizations. This conflicts with American estimates that the Russians are supporting the organizations.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Jan. 30, 1969]

#### SYRIANS ASSAIL BAGHDAD—CLAIM IRAQI SHOT AT ENVOY—TRIAL CONTINUES

The Syrian Foreign Ministry charged yesterday that an Iraqi intelligence officer fired a shot into the automobile of a Syrian political attache in Baghdad.

A Ministry spokesman said the diplomat, Abdul Karim Sabbagh, was unhurt but Syria has lodged an official protest and coupled it with a demand that an inquiry be made immediately into the "disgraceful attack." The date of the shooting was not disclosed.

Syria and Iraq are ruled by separate left-wing factions of Baathist Socialists.

#### TRIAL GOES ON

Iraq was believed to be going ahead with another trial of accused spies despite the furor of international protest which followed the public execution Monday of 14 alleged Israeli agents, including nine Iraqi Jews.

The number of persons being tried and details of the charges were not disclosed. Col. Ali Hadi Witwit, president of the revolutionary court, was quoted Tuesday as saying only that the trial began that day and involved members of a CIA-imperialist network. Baghdad Radio made no mention of the trial today, and no Western news dispatches of any kind were received from Iraq. The charge of CIA involvement was described as "far-fetched" by State Department spokesman Robert J. McCloskey in Washington.

"This sort of allegation about the CIA is constantly made wherever difficulties of this sort, situations like this, arise," McCloskey said.

#### SIXTY-FIVE BEING HELD

Arab and Israeli sources estimate that as many as 65 persons may be facing espionage charges in Baghdad. Several observers believe the six-month-old government of President Ahmed al-Bakr is using the trials to suppress political opposition.

Baghdad Radio said 10,000 persons demonstrated for two hours before the British Embassy in the Iraqi capital in protest over an all-night pro-Jewish demonstration in London on Tuesday.

According to Baghdad Radio, the demonstrators consisted of workers, students and teachers who shouted slogans denouncing "Britain's interference in Iraq's internal affairs and the chaotic attack on the Iraqi Embassy in London."

Britain expressed regret for damage to the Iraqi Embassy during the London demonstration. A onetime Israeli paratrooper was stabbed in a rooftop struggle while he was attempting to hang two Israeli flags from an Embassy parapet.

#### ISRAELI APPEAL

Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban yesterday appealed to "the conscience of civilized mankind" to rescue any Iraqi Jews sentenced to the gallows in the future.

Eban called Monday's execution "persecution of a helpless and defenseless community" and said "the moral abyss revealed by the murders themselves is matched by the public display of the bodies amidst obscene manifestations of official rejoicing."

Abdullah Salloum al Samarra, Iraqi Culture and Information Minister, was quoted by Baghdad Radio as denying that any Iraqi citizen, Jewish or otherwise, was being persecuted. He reportedly invited foreign correspondents to visit Baghdad and follow future trials.

A cautionary word to the Israeli people came from Defense Minister Moshe Dayan, who said Israel must refrain from any move liable to endanger the 3000 Jews living in Iraq.

Dayan said it would be up to other foreign powers as well as international bodies to rescue the Iraqi Jews.

"Israel must refrain from any action that could hamper such attempts or endanger the lives of these Jews," Dayan told youth leaders of his Labor Party.

The Israeli army officially denied Iraq's charge that it was massing troops for an attack on Iraqi military units stationed in Jordan.

The State Department reported that two American citizens, Mr. and Mrs. Paul Bail, had been arrested in Iraq on unspecified charges. Bail was said to have been imprisoned for several weeks while his wife is under "what amounts to a house arrest."

A member of the Belgian mission in Baghdad, which looks after U.S. interests in Iraq, reported that both had told him they are being well-treated. There are about 400 Americans in the country.

In Paris, a statement issued in the name of President de Gaulle called again for efforts by the so-called Big Four—France, the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain—to work out a solution to the Middle East situation.

Canada yesterday added its voice to the international condemnation of the Iraqi executions, saying it was "deeply disturbed."

In Vatican City, Pope Paul, who had appealed for a stay of execution, told his weekly general audience that the Iraqi action "can engender suspicion that racist motives were not extraneous to this episode."

Washington area synagogues plan memorial observances, in their services Friday night and Saturday, for the Jews hanged by Iraq.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Jan. 30, 1969]

#### IRAQ GOVERNMENT TEETERING IN POWER (By Gavin Young)

LONDON, January 29—Iraq's six-month-old government of Gen. Ahmed al-Bakr is already widely unpopular—in other Arab states as well as in Iraq itself—for its violent and erratic ways. Now the left-wing Baathist regime has shown itself as indifferent to the general good name of the Arabs as it seems to be to its own.

With the public hanging Monday of 14 alleged Israeli spies, nine of them Iraqi Jews, the regime has dealt one more blow to the efforts of responsible Arab leaders to convince the world that the conflict between Israel and the Arabs is not one between civilization and reasonableness on the one hand and barbarism on the other.

There are said to be some 65 other Iraqis awaiting trial on charges of espionage. They include Abdul Rahman el-Bazzaz, the widely respected former premier, and a former defense minister, Major Gen. Abdul Aziz el-Ugaili.

Bazzaz held office for only a short time. But he is one of the few Iraqi politicians since the 1958 revolution against the unpopular Hashemite monarchy to attempt to pull the bitterly conflicting political factions together and achieve some form of positive government.

Whoever succeeds in doing this will be owed a massive debt of gratitude by the people of Iraq. For over 10 years they have been obliged to live in confusion, economic stagnation and often fear, though their country is potentially one of the richest in the Arab world.

Bazzaz, accused of spying for Israel, faces the death penalty if the special revolutionary court finds him guilty. Yet he is a well-known and respected nationalist of the middle-of-the-road variety. Imprisoned under the old monarchy, he is neither a leftist extremist nor pro-American. He is a man, many say, whom it is ludicrous to call an Israeli agent.

His only crime may well be that he has no love for the present Baathist rulers as they pursue an authoritarian policy that has increasingly toughened.

Since he returned to Baghdad—against his friends' advice—last November he has been closely watched. According to reports, he has had no opportunity to engage in any political activities, let alone active espionage. But the Baathists recognize in him a dangerously popular opponent.

His friend, Nasir el-Hani, an equally respected moderate diplomat and academic, was found dead in a Baghdad ditch last year, apparently the victim of a strong-arm group of Baathist security men.

Having bloodlessly overthrown the autocratic government of Gen. Abdul Rahman Arif last July, the Baath regime then spent a few months in political fence-mending. But after the initial phase, in which Communists and other non-Baathists seemed to be encouraged to make common cause with Bakr, it swung into an orgy of intolerance and intimidation of political enemies.

The regime is now the isolated center of a latent political storm. Violence and venom, and the wild accusations of Zionist activity, of Central Intelligence Agency maneuvering, of "counter-revolution," are often signs of an Arab regime that feels the skids are under it.

Thus, Iraq, with its oil, its great agricultural potential, its abundant water, its enviable small population of about 8.2 million, its intellectual and technical resources, founders on in the 10-year-old quagmire of political infighting.

And, with Monday's executions, an era of violent repression seems to have settled once more on Iraq. But it may not last long. The Baathists are no more firmly in power than other Iraqi regimes have been, and, in fact, the signs indicate their tenure of office is less firm than most.

#### ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed without regard to the 3-minute limitation for approximately 15 minutes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### CIGARETTE ADVERTISING

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, since coming to the Senate in 1959, I have spon-

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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

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sored or cosponsored one or more bills aimed at reducing the tragic toll caused by cigarette smoking in every Congress. I do not now intend to introduce such legislation this year, not because cigarette smoking is no longer the No. 1 public health problem in this Nation; not because the American people have come to comprehend fully the magnitude of the risk in smoking; not because the cigarette industry has finally faced its responsibilities to the public. I will not introduce such legislation this year because, in my judgment, the forces of health in this country today stand to gain more by stopping legislation designed to bind the hands of the regulatory agencies than by vainly pressing for new regulatory authority.

In mid-1964, the Federal Trade Commission, in perhaps its finest hour, issued a rule scheduled to take effect on January 1, 1965. This rule would have required all cigarette packages and all cigarette advertising to bear a warning that cigarette smoking causes death through lung cancer and other diseases. The rule was stillborn.

Instead, Congress forced the FTC to suspend its rule, and on July 27, 1964, the Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act was signed into law. Most people know that that act required every package of cigarettes manufactured for sale in the United States after January 1, 1966, to bear the warning: "Caution: Cigarette smoking may be hazardous to your health."

Few people realize that the same act prohibited any agency of government, local and State as well as Federal, from requiring a warning in cigarette advertising.

Many Members of Congress sincerely viewed the act as a step forward. In retrospect, it was a tragic step backward.

In urging the President to veto the bill on July 9, 1965, the New York Times said, in part:

The Federal Trade Commission has the legal responsibility to regulate advertising of any substance that may be injurious to health. Eighteen months ago the Surgeon General's Advisory Committee on Smoking and Health unanimously concluded that "cigarette smoking is a health hazard of sufficient importance in the United States to warrant appropriate remedial action."

Acting on this clear medical judgment and pursuant to its duty under the law, the F.T.C. issued regulations for cigarette advertising. But it held up the effective date of the regulations while Congress reviewed the question.

Congress has now virtually completed action on a shocking piece of special interest legislation in this field. The bill forbids not only the F.T.C. but also state and local governments from regulating cigarette advertising in any way for the next four years. As a maneuver to distract attention from this surrender to the tobacco interests, the bill also directs that cigarette packages carry an innocuous warning that smoking "may be hazardous" . . .

The central issue now confronting the President is the integrity and independence of the Federal Trade Commission. What possible objective justification can there be for Congress intervening to strip a regulatory agency of its authority over a particular industry? This bill confers a favor on one industry that all the other industries under

the commission's jurisdiction would naturally like to have.

Sound governmental practice requires a veto of this bill. Otherwise, the President and Congress will be flashing a green signal to the lobbyists that any regulatory agency is open to invasion and emasculation.

On July 16, the Washington Post carried an editorial entitled "Veto in Order" which read:

The bill to regulate the labeling of cigarettes, which Congress has sent to the White House, is itself mislabeled. It would be more appropriately called a bill for relief of the tobacco industry. For its effect will be to revoke an order by the Federal Trade Commission requiring a warning against the health hazards of cigarettes in advertising as well as on the packages. That order was to become effective on July 1. The bill which Congress passed would postpone the effective date so far as advertising is concerned until July 1, 1969.

Representative Moss made the point which seems to us most vital in regard to warning the public about the dangers of smoking. The mild "caution" which Congress would require on all cigarette packages would necessarily be addressed to current smokers—the men and women who are already hooked, as the Congressman put it. His major concern was for the warning of the 4000 young people who start smoking every day. Instead of requiring an effective warning to these young consumers, Congress would strip the FTC of the authority it now has to require a proper relation between cigarette promotion and the health problem.

In these circumstances the best course would be for President Johnson to veto the bill. There is no sound reason for excepting this one industry from supervision by appropriate authority. If every new discovery about substances that are menacing the health of the Nation were to be nullified by legislation, the basic philosophy behind the Food and Drug Act and the Federal Trade Commission Act could be undermined.

In other words, in exchange for 11 words on the side of the cigarette package, Congress had exempted the cigarette industry from the normal regulatory processes of Federal, State, and local regulations.

But Congress now has the opportunity to redeem itself. Thanks to the determined opposition of our former colleague from Oregon, Mrs. Neuberger, and of the Chairman of the Commerce Committee (Mr. MAGNUSON), the prohibition against the regulation of advertising was not made permanent. Senator MAGNUSON and Mrs. Neuberger insisted both in the committee and in conference with the House—which had voted for a permanent ban—that, if the agencies' hands were to be tied, at least the prohibition should be limited in time. And they were successful. Through their efforts, the straitjacket imposed by the act on the regulatory agencies terminates on July 1 of this year.

As of that date, the Federal Trade Commission will be free to move ahead to carry out its responsibilities in restricting cigarette advertising, unless Congress acts to stop them. Last year, a majority of the Commission, in the report to Congress required by the Cigarette Labeling Act, expressed the belief that the only adequate response to the threat posed by cigarette smoking to the American public is a ban on the broadcast advertising of cigarettes. I believe that the FTC can be relied upon to move against

cigarette advertising to the limits of its powers. In addition, the Federal Communications Commission which had long been dormant on the responsibilities of broadcasters relating to cigarette advertising, has taken a significant step by requiring broadcasters who accept cigarette advertising to carry antismoking commercials in significant numbers and at prime times.

If the Cigarette Labeling Act's provisions banning agency regulation of cigarette advertising expire on schedule, I would hope that the FCC would examine its authority to determine if it cannot take even more vigorous steps consonant with the severity of the problem.

Past experience tells us that the cigarette industry will attempt to extend or to make permanent the ban against agency regulation of cigarette advertising. One of the ways in which this might be accomplished, as it was in 1965, is by the passage of legislation seemingly taking a step forward but, in reality, primarily intended to prevent the responsible agencies of Government from carrying out their duties.

It is no secret that the tobacco industry has its friends in Congress. Committee chairmanships in both Houses abound with Representatives of tobacco-growing States. And those Congressmen and Senators who need not be sensitive to the demands of the tobacco industry are too often reluctant to incur the wrath of the broadcasters and other media which derive substantial income from cigarette advertising.

Perhaps we can sympathize with those who defend the economic heartland of their region, serving their own people as they interpret their responsibilities. In fact, I pledge my full support to my colleagues for programs to alleviate the plight of the tobacco farmers. But economic dislocation cannot be permitted to outweigh the health of the Nation.

But to offset such concentrated political and economic power, the public health forces need more than moral outrage and a fistful of proposed new laws. What has been lacking is a realistic legislative strategy. Now, for the first time we have such a strategy. For the first time, the legislative advantage lies with the public. It is the cigarette industry which has the burden of getting Congress to act. If there is no new legislation extending the ban on agency regulation, then the agencies will again be free to act on July 1.

Mr. President, I want to serve notice here and now that I shall do all within my power to see that no such law to continue the ban passes.

Although, as my colleagues know, I have long and steadfastly opposed rules which make it possible for a small group of Senators to prevent the passage of legislation through a filibuster, when it comes to a matter involving the lives and health of millions of Americans, I shall not hesitate to take full advantage of the existing rules, and to enlist the support of my many colleagues of like mind in the Senate—and there are many—to stop the passage of "disabling" legislation.

My general purpose here today—and it has been my general purpose ever since



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(2) He will carefully document the effect of the current selection program on minority applicants and employees.

(3) He will inquire as to whether validation studies have been completed for any tests being used. If the contractor's answer is affirmative, the investigator will obtain copies of the validation studies to include in the report.

(4) With respect to other selection techniques as discussed in section 10, if information suggests the existence of unfair discrimination against minority groups, we will inquire as to whether validation studies have been completed for these techniques. If the contractor's answer is affirmative, the investigator will obtain copies of the validation studies to include in the report. If the answer is negative, he will inquire as to whether such validation studies are being undertaken or, if not, what measures the contractor contemplates to eliminate the conditions suggestive of unfair discrimination.

14. *Effect of this order on other rules and regulations.* (a) All orders, instructions, regulations, and memoranda of the Secretary of Labor, other officials of the Department of Labor and contracting agencies are superseded to the extent that they are inconsistent herewith.

(b) Nothing in this order shall be interpreted to diminish the present contract compliance review and complaint investigation programs.

15. *Authority.* (a) General: Executive Order 11246, dated September 24, 1965, and Secretary's Order No. 26-65, dated October 5, 1965 (31 F.R. 6921).

(b) Specific:

(1) Part II, Subpart C, section 205 of Executive Order 11246.

(2) Part II, Subpart C, section 206(a) and (b) of Executive Order 11246.

(3) Part III, section 301 of Executive Order 11246.

(4) Part III, section 303(a) and (b) of Executive Order 11246.

(5) Part IV, section 403(b) of Executive Order 11246.

16. *Effective date.* This order shall be effective immediately.

Signed at Washington, D.C., this 9th day of September 1968.

WILLARD WIRTZ,  
Secretary of Labor.

[F.R. Doc. 68-11467; Filed, Sept. 23, 1968;  
8:45 a.m.]

ME

## THE LATEST CRISIS IN ISRAEL

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, it has long been my hope that an honorable Arab-Israeli peace would be sought and reached. This goal would benefit the Middle East, the United States, and the entire world. There is great danger of a new war in the Middle East. I must, therefore, express my deep concern over the rapidly deteriorating situation respecting peace in this vital area.

I have always been deeply impressed by Israel. Common historic experience, common devotion to democracy are reinforced in the relations between our two countries; reinforced by strong links which are of the spirit. They are no ordinary people—these people of Israel—whom the American people have so long admired and respected. They have done a remarkable job with their small piece of land. The Israelis have watered the strip of desert allocated to them by the family of nations—the U.N.—made it blossom—defended it—raised their children there, and turned it in 20 short years, into almost an oasis.

For instance, a recent survey stated:

In general, Israel standards of health, education, and nutrition approach or even surpass United States norms.

If given the chance, Israel could share her knowledge—agricultural, medical, and educational—with her neighbors. This is the desire and should be the aim.

Certainly the maintenance of the democratic State of Israel is paramount in importance. Our commitment to the preservation of the national integrity of Israel dates back to President Truman's recognition of this nation as an independent state on May 14, 1948. It took President Truman only 4 minutes to make that decision. This Nation was the first to recognize the independent status of Israel. Explicitly, our commitment dates to the Tripartite Declaration issued by England, France, and the United States. We, the United States, and Israel, must maintain our historical friendship as we move toward the unfulfilled objectives which we hold in common.

In the great peril of war which now confronts the world, a shadow is cast over every peaceful home. It is essential that man devote himself in every way possible to the attainment of peace. For peace must be the No. 1 priority.

On January 6 of this year I joined with a number of my Senate colleagues in condemning the United Nations' censure of Israel. I feel that this type of one-sided decision to censure Israel and ignore Arab terrorism is hardly helpful to the attainment of a genuine peace. Arab violence, terrorism, and violations of the cease-fire agreements have harassed Israel continuously and without reprieve.

President Nasser announced on May 26, 1967:

We have been biding our time until we are perfectly ready and prepared . . . we now feel that we are sufficiently ready and that, in engaging in war with Israel, we can, with God's help, be victorious.

If that statement was not clear enough, the one later that day heard on Radio Cairo was. It stated:

The Arab people is firmly resolved to wipe Israel off the face of the globe.

The 6-day war which ensued proved that the vast Arab countries were no match for the small, yet wholly determined, State of Israel. The Israelis are still fighting for their lives as their Arab neighbors, bolstered by Soviet military and diplomatic support, again openly threaten to obliterate them.

Three days ago, one more heinous atrocity was committed in an Arab state. Fourteen men, nine of whom were Jews, were hanged in front of a cheering mob. To further excite this blood-hungry mob, news was released that more trials will follow. The trial was not only a mockery, but a travesty of justice. It is impossible for a Jew even to lead a normal life in Iraq. The Iraqi Jew is constantly under surveillance by the government. A large number of them have been removed from their jobs. They also suffer the loss of their basic freedoms. Yet social and economic deprivation is not enough—the government now appears to be engaged in a deliberate policy of extermination. The saddest part is that there is no escape for the 2,500 Jews who remain of

a Jewish community once totaling 150,000. They are virtual hostages in a state which will not allow them freedom and peace in other lands. Their only obvious "crime" is that they and the Israelis share the same faith.

But how are we to stop the perpetuation of the persecution of these Jews? What impediments can we throw in front of a nation apparently bent on genocide? If words can be our only answer at the present time, let us at least use them vigorously. I applaud the statements of Ambassador Yost, Secretary Rogers, and Secretary-General U Thant. For certainly no rational nor compassionate man can help but be repulsed by the actions of the Iraqi Government. It remains the collective duty of mankind to exhaust every possible avenue to stop this outrageous, deplorable situation from continuing.

It seems that if we are to approach a time of talk, we must stand firmly by the side of Israel. Our "even-handed" inaction will shortly give the Arab States an advantage. The Soviets have greatly bolstered the Arabs militarily. I was very pleased that our sale of the 50 Phantom jets to Israel was finally consummated. I was disturbed to learn, recently, that Jordanians, Saudi Arabians, and Lebanese are presently being trained by the U.S. military under the AID program. They are then sent back to their countries where they participate in vicious terrorist atrocities on women and children. At the same time, we are supplying weapons to Arab countries. There has to be a limit somewhere. I believe that actions of this nature by our Government must stop.

There is already evidence that the Arab States regard the U.N. as a shelter against the necessity of peace. This is the precise antithesis of the meaning of this organization. The U.N. must be an instrument for ending conflicts, not an arena for waging them. The Security Council must especially not be an obstacle and alibi to prevent the attainment of peace.

The time for settlement must be imminent. Never before in our history has there been a greater need for all forces interested in the rights of all people to bring the full force of reason into our commitment for mutual understanding. Abba Eban, Israel's eloquent Foreign Minister, in his speech before the General Assembly of the United Nations on October 8, 1968, stated to the Arab States:

For you and us alone the Middle East is not a distant concern, or a strategic interest, or a problem of conflict, but the cherished home in which our cultures were born, in which our nationhood was fashioned and in which we and you and all our posterity must henceforth live together in mutuality of interest and respect. The hour is ripe for the creative adventure of peace.

I pray that Mr. Eban is right. The United States and the Soviet Union—indeed the concerned nations of the entire world—must encourage peace talks to begin and, most importantly, to begin between the two sides—the Israelis and the Arabs. The consequences of the alternative are too great for the Middle East and the world.

erally accepted procedures for determining criterion-related validity, such as those described in the American Psychological Association's "Standards for Educational and Psychological Tests and Manuals." (Evidence of content or construct validity may also be appropriate where criterion-related validity is not technically feasible, but it should be accompanied by sufficient information from job analyses to demonstrate the relevance of the content in the case of job knowledge or proficiency tests or the construct in the case of trait measures.) Although any appropriate validation strategy may be used to develop such empirical evidence, the following minimum standards must be met by any approach used so far as applicable:

(1) Where a predictive validity study is conducted, the sample of subjects must be representative of the normal or typical candidate group for the job(s) in question. Where a concurrent validity study is conducted, the sample should be, so far as technically feasible, representative of the minority groups currently included in the candidate population.

(2) Tests must be administered and scored under controlled and standardized conditions, with proper safeguards employed to protect the security of test scores and insure that scores do not enter into any judgments of individual adequacy that are to be used as criterion measures.

(3) The work behaviors or other criteria of employee adequacy which the test is intended to predict or identify must be fully described. Such criteria may include measures other than actual work proficiency, such as training time, supervisory ratings, regularity of attendance, and tenure. In view of the possibility of bias inherent in subjective evaluations, supervisory rating techniques should be developed carefully and the ratings themselves examined closely for evidence of bias. Whatever criteria are used, however, they should represent major or critical work behaviors as revealed by careful job analyses.

(4) Presentations of the results of a validation study must include graphical and statistical representations of the relationships between the test and the criteria, permitting judgments of the test's utility in making predictions of future work behavior.

(5) Data must be generated and results reported separately for minority and non-minority groups wherever technically feasible.

**4. U.S. employment service validation.** Compliance with this order shall be the responsibility of the contractor; however, where testing services of a State Employment Agency are used, the following rules shall apply:

(1) In cases where a contractor uses the testing services of a State Employment Service Office, and the tests used by the State Office have been validated pursuant to the requirements of this order, the employer shall have on file the U.S. Employment Service certification of this fact, which shall be accepted as compliance with this order. (If further tests are required by the contractor, he remains responsible for determination of the validity of such further tests.)

(2) In cases where a contractor uses the testing services of a State Employment Service Office and the tests used by the State Office have not been validated for particular jobs pursuant to the requirements of this order, the contractor shall, as a condition for future use, cooperate with the State Office to effect validation of tests as they relate to job requirements of the contractor.

**5. Use of validity studies.** In cases where the validity of a test cannot be determined pursuant to section 3 above (e.g., the number of subjects is less than that required for a technically adequate validation study, or an appropriate criterion measure cannot be

developed), evidence from validity studies conducted in other organizations, such as that reported in test manuals and professional literature, may be considered acceptable when: (a) The studies pertain to jobs which are comparable (i.e., have basically the same task elements), and (b) there are no major differences in contextual variables or sample composition which are likely to significantly affect validity.

**6. Assumptions of validity.** (a) Under no circumstances will the general reputation of a test, its author or its publisher, or casual reports of test utility be accepted in lieu of evidence of validity. Specifically ruled out are: assumptions of validity based on test names or descriptive labels, all forms of promotional literature, data bearing on the frequency of a test's usage, testimonial statements of sellers or users, and other non-empirically based and anecdotal accounts of testing practices or testing outcomes.

(b) Although professional supervision of testing activities may help greatly to insure technically sound and nondiscriminatory test usage, such involvement alone shall not be regarded as constituting satisfactory evidence of test validity.

**7. Continued use of tests.** Under certain conditions, a contractor may be permitted to continue the use of a test which is not at the moment fully supported by the required evidence of validity. If, for example, evidence of criterion-related validity in a specific setting is technically feasible and required but not yet obtained, the use of the test may continue *provided*: (a) The contractor can cite substantial evidence of validity as described in section 5 above, and (b) he has in progress, validation procedures which are designed to produce, within a reasonable time, the additional data required. It is expected also that the contractor will use cut-off scores which yield score ranges broad enough to permit the identification of criterion-related validity.

**8. Affirmative action.** Nothing in this order shall be interpreted as diminishing a contractor's obligation to undertake affirmative action to ensure that applicants and current employees are treated without regard to race, creed, color or national origin. Specifically, the use of tests which have been validated pursuant to this order does not relieve the contractor of his obligation to take positive and affirmative action in affording employment and training to minority group personnel.

**9. Definition of "test."** For the purpose of this order, "test" is defined as any paper-and-pencil or performance measure used to judge qualifications for hire, transfer or promotion. This definition includes, but is not restricted to, measures of general intelligence, mental ability, and learning ability; specific intellectual abilities; mechanical, clerical and other aptitudes; knowledge and proficiency; occupational and other interests; and personality or temperament.

**10. Other selection techniques.** Selection techniques other than tests may also be improperly used so as to have the effect of discriminating against minority groups. Such techniques include, but are not restricted to, unscored interviews, unscored application forms, and records of educational and work history. Where there are data suggesting that such unfair discrimination exists (e.g., differential rates of rejecting applicants from different ethnic groups or disproportionate representation of some ethnic groups in employment in certain classes of jobs), then the contractor may be called upon to present evidence concerning the validity of his unscored procedures as well as of any tests which may be used, the evidence of validity being of the same types referred to in sections 2 and 3. If the contractor is unable or unwilling to perform such validation studies, he has the option of adjusting employment procedures

so as to eliminate the conditions suggestive of unfair discrimination.

**11. Compliance review.** (a) Contractor practices in the use of employment tests and other selection techniques as qualification standards should be examined carefully for possible noncompliance with the requirements of Executive Order 11246 when:

(1) There is a lack of evidence of test validity, but the contractor continues to use test scores as a basis for personnel decisions; or,

(2) The contractor is unwilling to conduct test validation studies, where such studies are technically feasible, or otherwise provide evidence of validity as a requirement for continued test usage; or,

(3) When other selection techniques are used as identified in section 10 above, and there is information suggesting unfair discrimination in employment of minority groups, and the contractor refuses to validate these techniques or to eliminate the conditions suggestive of unfair discrimination.

(b) A determination on noncompliance pursuant to the provisions of this order shall be grounds for the imposition of sanctions under Executive Order 11246.

(c) The use by a contractor of tests or other selection techniques for which there is evidence of unfair discrimination or differential validity patterns for minority and non-minority groups, and no adjustment has been made for this finding, shall be grounds for the imposition of sanctions under Executive Order 11246.

**12. Exemptions.** (a) Requests for exemptions from this order or any part thereof must be made in writing, with justification, to the Director, Office of Federal Contract Compliance, Washington, D.C., and shall be forwarded through and with the endorsement of the agency head.

(b) The provisions set forth above shall not apply to any contract when the head of the contracting agency determines that such contract is essential to the national security. Upon making such a determination, the agency head will notify the Director, in writing, within 30 days.

**13. Agency implementation program.** (a) Each agency shall, within 90 days of the date of this order, submit a program to implement this order. The program shall include the establishment of priorities for enforcement that meet the following criteria: Reviews of the selection programs of—

(1) Contractors employing 2,500 or more beginning 6 months from the date of this order;

(2) Contractors employing 1,000 or more beginning 1 year from the date of this order;

(3) All other contractors beginning 18 months from the date of this order.

(b) Notwithstanding subsection (a) of this section, each agency shall identify from agency files of compliance reviews or complaints those files which indicate a probability of the use of tests and other selection techniques not in accordance with the provisions of this order.

(c) The agency shall after such identification and consultation with the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, inform the contractor of the possible violation of the order and ask for a written program to be submitted within 30 days that will conform to the order.

(d) Each agency shall assign responsibility for compliance with this order at Headquarters level and furnish the name of the assigned officer to the Office of Federal Contract Compliance.

(e) Each contracting and administering agency shall issue the following instructions to field personnel concerning procedures to be adopted on investigations under this order:

(1) The investigator will make only a determination of facts from the company records and appropriate interviews with management.

leaders to make an honorable withdrawal from the city. First Attorney General Ramsey Clark, then the President himself asked the various government agencies to draw up a list of administrative actions—which would not cost money—which could alleviate some of the difficulties of the poor. A March on Washington by a grand coalition of white, black, brown, and red poor, who would encamp in the federal city, bringing their plight to the attention of the country, had been the idea of Martin Luther King. After Dr. King was assassinated, the leadership of the SCLC under Dr. Ralph Abernathy was in disarray. Goals and tactics became difficult to resolve. Miss Wright, who had moved to Washington, was placed in charge of the Campaign's dealings with the government agencies, and worked exhaustingly for weeks for a semblance of order and progress in the demands and responses. On the advice of Miss Wright and others, the Campaign leaders decided upon hunger as the central, most dramatic issue.

Now the issue was at its highest point of public attention. Most of the government agencies did what they could to respond to the marchers' demands. Agriculture, however, remained defensive. In the end, the Agriculture response consisted of promising to get a food program into each of the thousand counties—which the President had already done nine months earlier; making more commodities available for surplus distribution; regulations to improve the school lunch program; and improved food packages for infants and expectant mothers. Some Administration officials think the poor were not grateful enough.

As it happened, the major reason this response was so paltry was that the White House was preparing one on a grander scale for the President himself to present, probably in the form of a special message to Congress. It would have revised the entire food stamp schedule and perhaps lowered the cost to the very poorest to either nothing or a token amount; it would have expanded the size of the food programs so that many more areas could receive them; and it would have carried a commitment to build the programs over time, to the point where every American could have an adequate diet. The Budget Bureau squandered away some money to go with the message. The thought was that it would be delivered around the time of "Solidarity Day," on June 19, when thousands of others were to come to Washington to join the poor in a climactic march.

A number of reasons have been offered for why the President's Solidarity Day Message was never delivered: the mail in the White House was overwhelmingly against the Poor People's Campaign, and Resurrection City was out of control; Abernathy's final speech was likely to carry a stinging denunciation of the war in Vietnam; and the House of Representatives was going to vote at last on the tax bill the following day, and any move at that point by the President to increase government spending might jeopardize the long-negotiated compromise. The most important reason, however, was that the President simply did not want to be in the position of appearing to "respond to pressure." More startling to many was that after the poor had left town and the tax bill had passed, he still declined to move. He was focusing on the budget cuts that had to be made, annoyed at Freeman for getting out in front of him on the issue, still concerned at appearing to respond to pressure, and convinced that now that some legislation was moving on the Hill, it would be unseemly for him, the President, to appear to be running to catch up.

By this time, things were most uncomfortable for Freeman, and he began to press hard at the White House for help—belatedly, in the opinion of many. His friend Vice President Humphrey tried to help. First

Humphrey offered his services as a mediator with the Poor People's Campaign, but the offer was rejected by the White House. Then the Vice President of the United States tried indirect means of communicating with the President. Humphrey wrote to Mrs. Arthur Krim, wife of the President's chief money raiser: "It is just intolerable to me that there is such a problem of malnutrition and undernourishment in the United States. . . . Through it all, there are ways the President could have helped—in approving some of Orville Freeman's budget requests, in supporting legislation on the Hill, and suggesting administrative change—but he has not. The thought came that you might be the person who could say a word or two to encourage him."

On Capitol Hill, a bill to expand the food stamp program was moving forward. Originally an Administration request to make a minimal expansion of \$20 million (over the \$225 million already authorized), under pressure from urban liberals, who threatened to retaliate against a farm bill that was also in the mill, the bill ultimately authorized the program to grow by \$90 million in the first year and more after that. After endorsing a substantial increase in the program, Freeman was reprimanded by both Poage and the White House, but when an increase seemed probable, the White House joined in. More spending for the school lunch program was approved, and a special Senate committee was established to "study" the food problem, with a view to trying to maneuver the food programs away from Agriculture committees.

In the very last days of the congressional session, with the President about to make a routine request for additional funds for various agencies that had fallen short of funds, the machinery around the government—in the Agriculture Department, in the Budget Bureau, in his own staff—geared up once more for a presidential request for more funds for food stamps and a major statement on the issue. Instead, he simply requested the \$90 million and in the closing rush Congress gave him \$55 million. Wait, it was said, for his farewell messages in 1969.

The failure of the Johnson Administration to make substantial progress toward feeding the poor is viewed by many as its most serious domestic failure. It is the cause of disappointment and even anguish on the part of many people within the government. Orville Freeman, for one, professes himself satisfied: "Everything I suggested from the beginning that should be in Lyndon Johnson's program, or damn near it, I have gotten. If he had gone up to Congress with a big feeding program like a bull in a china shop he'd have been under fire, and what would he have gotten? Some newspaper accolades and plaudits in some liberal magazines and trouble with Congress."

The food issue is an unhappy example of a great deal that can go wrong in Washington. It is also an example, however, of the dangers of the latest fad of "local control." The food programs are examples of programs that are subject to local control—the local governments request, pay for, and run them—with the result that those areas which are least responsive to the needs of the poor can also deny them federally proffered food.

The problem is not nearly so insoluble as the events of the past two years would suggest. First of all, given enough money and flexibility, it is generally agreed the food stamp program is not at all a bad device. Choate, for one, suggests that in addition the program be federalized and computerized, to work as automatically and without continual harassment for the recipient as social security. He and a number of others believe that ultimately the food programs ought to be recognized as income supplements and become part of an income maintenance system. That, however, seems a long way off. When

asked by the space agency, the food companies have found ingenious ways to pack meals for astronauts in Tootsie-Roll-sized bars or toothpaste-sized tubes. The Pentagon seems to have no trouble keeping the troops in the field well nourished. There are problems of tastes and habits to meet, but if the food industry were less apprehensive about change, or did less cohabiting with the farm bloc in that great combine they call "agribusiness," a lot more could be done to feed the poor efficiently and inexpensively. The food companies have lately shown more interest in exploring this field—with government subsidies, of course.

Yet so little was accomplished not because of mechanical or industrial failures, but because of what can happen to men in policy-making positions in Washington. When they stay in a difficult job too long, they can be overwhelmed by the complexity of it all, and they become overly defensive. Man's pride, particularly the pride of a man who can tell himself he has done some good, can overtake his intellectual honesty. Thus, not Southern politicians, not Orville Freeman, not Lyndon Johnson can face the fact when it was pointed out that many people were hungry, that they weren't wearing any clothes. In this they reflected a national trait; it has been easier to stir sustained national concern over hunger in Bihar or Biafra than places at home for which we are more directly responsible. The problems are looked at in terms of the workings of Washington, not in terms of the problems. Decent men could sit and discuss statistical reliability and administrative neatness and the importance of good precedents while people went hungry.

The niceties of consensus politics were more important than the needs of some 10 million people. A new Congress and a new Administration ought to be able to improve on that kind of government.

*ME* \_\_\_\_\_  
THE IRAQI EXECUTIONS

Mr. HARRIS. Last Wednesday, Mr. President, the senior Senator from New York (Mr. JAVITS) presented a statement on behalf of himself and 13 other Senators, denouncing the Iraqi executions which have so stirred public indignation throughout the world.

Through inadvertence, I did not indicate to the Senator my desire to be associated with his remarks. I wish to do so at this time and ask unanimous consent that the statement be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

## SENATORS DENOUNCE IRAQ EXECUTIONS

The show execution before a half million spectators in Baghdad today is not a single incident but the culmination of the bitter persecution of some 2,500 Iraqi Jews, the last small remnant of a once thriving community dating back to Babylon which asks now but to be left alone and live in peace with its neighbors. The concern expressed by Secretary of State Rogers and Secretary U Thant over the mass public executions of Jews and others in Iraq reflect, I believe, the abhorrence felt by the civilized world at such foul deeds. Even now the Iraqi have yet another opportunity to show some human compassion in the eyes of the civilized world by permitting the relatively few remaining Iraqi Jews to emigrate to freedom rather than to remain in a land where their freedom to work, to communicate and to move about is denied and where the very lives of those who remain are so threatened. The people of Iraq must know that the conscience of all mankind cannot be affronted by such bloody deeds with impunity for verylong! The



voices of anguish from within Iraq will be heard.

### NOT DISCRIMINATING BECOMES NOT ENOUGH

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, I have had a continuing interest in the enforcement procedures of our Federal agencies in the field of equal employment opportunity. It has come to my attention that during the last week he was in office Secretary of Labor Wirtz signed an order barring from prime contracts or subcontracts a company which was found innocent by the OFCC of discriminating against either applicants or its employees, but which had failed to "actively seek" minority group job applicants. This matter is the subject of an article entitled "Not Discriminating Becomes Not Enough," published in the January 11 issue of *Business Week*. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article and several related items be printed at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.  
(See exhibits 1, 2, and 3.)

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, I became interested in this matter last summer when a notice of hearing regarding breach of contracts for the Allen-Bradley Co. was printed in the Federal Register. The notice stated that "the allegation on which the Director's proposed action is based are as follows" and, following a rundown of the company's place of business and so forth, the Director states:

In 1960, the City of Milwaukee had a population of 741,324, of whom 62,458 were Negro. The estimated present population of the city of Milwaukee is 776,000, of whom 87,000 are estimated to be Negro. Respondent's present workforce is approximately 6,800 of whom 32 (less than one-half of one percent) are Negro. Respondent's plant is located approximately 2 miles from the nearest Negro residential community. Public transportation is available to the door, and the facility is located near a major bus transfer point.

Mr. President, title VII, section 703 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 states:

No employer shall be required to grant preferential treatment to any individual or to any group because of the race, color, religion, sex, or national origin of such individual or group on account of an imbalance which may exist with respect to the total number or percentage of persons of any race, color, religion, sex, or national origin employed by any employer, referred or classified for employment by any employment agency or labor organization, admitted to membership or classified by any labor organization, or admitted to, or employed in, any apprenticeship or other training program, in comparison with the total number or percentage of persons of such race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in any community, State, section, or other area, or in the available work force in any community, State, section, or other area.

Because of this explicit language in the statute prohibiting the use of quotas or percentages in the determination of employment bias, on July 29 I wrote to the Director of the OFCC asking for clarification. The Director replied in his letter dated September 10, approximately a month and a half later, that the purpose intended in using population ratios

and minority utilization figures in the notice of hearing was "to provide factual information against which specific violations will be considered. Admittedly, statistics are only rough guides to reality, but we do not believe that they can be dismissed as irrelevant and certainly can be used to raise questions which require further investigation."

Mr. President, the best legal minds in this country prohibited by law the use of statistics as a "guide to reality," as Mr. McCready poetically calls employment discrimination.

In addition, the notice included as a violation the utilization of hiring standards "including preemployment tests which have the effect of discriminating"—and I repeat—"the effect of discriminating against Negro applicants for employment because of their race or color."

Again I must refer to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which states in section 703:

It shall not be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to give and to act upon the results of any professionally developed ability test provided that such test, its administration or action upon the results is not designed, intended or used to discriminate because of race, color, etc.

I am familiar with the "rule of thumb" used by the OFCC and other Federal agencies in the area of testing. They reason that if a member of the minority fails an ability or preemployment test, the test discriminates by virtue of its effect—regardless of the employer's intent.

I have not seen Allen-Bradley's preemployment tests, and I am not in a position to comment on them. I have seen, however, the rules for "validation of employment tests by contractors and subcontractors subject to the provisions of Executive Order 11246," which according to the OFCC represents policy guidance for Government agencies and contractors in this area. I will not take the time to read this order to my colleagues except to offer this simple language for minimum validation:

For the purpose of satisfying this order, empirical evidence in support of a test's validity must be based on studies employing generally accepted procedures for determining criterion-related validity, such as those described in the American Psychological Association's "Standards for Education and Psychological Tests and Manuals." (Evidence of content or construct validity may also be appropriate where criterion-related validity is not technically feasible, but it should be accompanied by sufficient information from job analyses to demonstrate the relevance of the content in the case of job knowledge or proficiency tests or the construct in the case of trait measures.)

I am sure that contractors dealing with the Federal Government will find these guidelines a great boon in determining whether or not their tests discriminate. I might also add that the OFCC has promised to issue, and perhaps already has, specific guidelines concerning test usage.

As a result of the hearings in Milwaukee conducted by the OFCC, Allen-Bradley was cleared of the charges of discrimination against either applicants or employees, according to the article in *Business Week*. The panel did find, however, that it was not actively seeking

minority group job applicants and thereupon suggested an "action program" designed to broaden its recruitment base. In so doing, however, the company must, as directed by the panel, "avoid any implication of quota or preferential hiring based on race." Thus, the OFCC may use quotas as its "guide to reality" but it directs the company to "avoid any implication of quota or preferential hiring."

A question also arises as to who will finance this broadened recruitment program where the employer is required to seek out additional ways of entreating minority groups to apply for employment?

Despite the panel's finding that the company has not discriminated against applicants or employees, former Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz signed an order designed to bar the Allen-Bradley Co. from prime contracts or subcontracts with the Federal Government which, according to the article, will run about \$25 or \$30 million a year. As the title of this article indicates—not discriminating becomes not enough.

There can be no doubt, Mr. President, that the OFCC has completely ignored the legislative guidelines established by Congress and has, in fact, flouted the law in its overzealous attempts to fulfill its mission. It is my feeling that this agency should be made to follow the legislation enacted by Congress for this very purpose or be abolished and its functions transferred to another office which can. In this connection, I am considering proposed legislation for this purpose.

#### EXHIBIT 1

[From *Business Week*, Jan. 11, 1969]

#### NOT DISCRIMINATING BECOMES NOT ENOUGH

(NOTE.—Federal panel in case involving Allen-Bradley Co. rules employer with government contracts must actively seek minority workers. Decision should cost millions of dollars in contracts.)

Employers charged with discriminatory hiring are going to have to do more than agree to end bias in employment; they also must try to increase the number of minority group applicants—and so increase nondiscriminatory hiring—by recruitment policies and advertising aimed at minorities.

To enforce this government policy—first laid down in an executive order in September, 1967, and made explicit in regulations adopted last year—the government is on the verge of ordering federal procurement agencies to cancel purchase contracts with the Allen-Bradley Co., Milwaukee, and bar additional orders to the company.

Such a drastic step follows formal hearings held in Milwaukee by a three-man panel which found that Allen-Bradley's "failure to take some affirmative action to broaden its recruitment base and increase the flow of minority applicants was . . . a violation of the 'equal opportunity clause.'"

The panel warned, in effect, that employers can't defend their hiring practices simply by arguing that few minority workers are employed because few apply for jobs.

Allen-Bradley has filed exceptions to the panel findings with the Office of Contract Compliance in Washington. The company contends that the panel erred in concluding that the equal opportunity clause of Executive Order 11246 requires more than "effective nondiscrimination." The company argues that the panel's conclusion that A-B must "take some action designed to broaden its recruitment base" goes beyond the intent and legal force of the order under which the panel must operate.

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EDITORIAL

CARL T. ROWAN

## Arab Gains Keep Shortening Mideast Fuse

Iraq's deplorable execution of nine Jews as "spies" has sent the Middle East boiling upward toward another military showdown.

Even as the Israelis raged in anger and threatened retaliation, President Richard M. Nixon was saying before the whole world that the Middle East is "a powder keg" and that the next Israeli-Arab fracas could turn into a confrontation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

Why would a new President say this publicly? Because Nixon had received information available to few Americans. He knew, for example, that:

- The Russians have in recent months rearmed the Arab countries to the point that each is considerably stronger than it was at the outset of the six-day war in June 1967.

- Even as it talks publicly about its Middle East peace plan, the Soviet Union has been arousing tensions in the area. Russia seems to be foisting on the Arabs some of the same kind of "intelligence" and advice that got the Arabs into the debacle of 1967.

President Nixon also knows what is a most hush-hush matter in the United States and Israel governments:

Israel could have a nuclear device soon, probably within a year and a half, and a missile capable of carrying it 300 miles (far enough to hit any Arab capital except Baghdad, Iraq). This raises the question of the potential military in-

volvement of the Soviet Union in the area and throws a pall of doubt over present discussions of a nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

But I shall report on the matter of nuclear weapons later. The present crisis is for the most part a reflection of the fact that Russia has put more than a billion dollars worth (U.S. prices) of planes, tanks, boats, and other arms in the Arab countries since the latter got clobbered by the Israelis in 1967. The result is that, strictly from a standpoint of hardware, the Arabs are better prepared to fight Israel now than they have ever been.

The United Arab Republic (Egypt) now has more than 430 fighter planes. Since the June war, Russia has sent in more than 100 MIG21s to replace the old MIG15s and 17s that the Israelis destroyed before they could leave the ground in 1967. In addition, Russia has given Egypt more than 80 modern fighter-bombers, the SU7, and 36 IL28 and TU16 bombers.

Interestingly, Egypt moves her bomber force every day, sometimes out of the country, in what is probably a hopeless effort to keep the Israelis from knowing where they are.

The Egyptians also have built revetments this time to protect the fighters from a sudden Israeli attack.

Iraq may have ordered the public executions because that

country, which lost little in the June war, is flexing more muscles than it ever had before. Russia has added 50 MIG21s to the 100 fighters Iraq had in 1967. For the first time Iraq has SU7 fighter-bombers — 34 of them. It has 550 tanks as against 400 in 1967.

In Algeria and other Arab countries, the inflow of Russian sub-chasers, torpedo boats, Osa and Komar class missile boats has served to create anew the belief that, together, the Arabs can push the Israelis into the sea.

One of the first urgencies here was to give Nixon new intelligence estimates as to the likely winner in a new war. The President has been told that Israel is still capable of defeating any or all of the Arab countries, but that the cost to Israel in terms of death and destruction would be far greater in a new war than it was in 1967.

This estimate is based on the fact that Israel has a far superior intelligence operation, using not only well-placed agents but the most modern electronic surveillance. Arab intelligence is haphazard, antiquated, and based largely on hearsay.

No less important is the fact that Arab military forces are still demoralized. President Gamal Abdel Nasser has purged or convicted more than

100 top Egyptian officers since the 1967 debacle.

Russia knows this. The Soviets do not want a repeat of the embarrassing situation where their prized weapons were useless in 1967. So the Russians have doubled the number of military technicians (now about 5,000) in Arab countries trying to ensure that the Arabs develop a reasonably effective capability for using their new, sophisticated weaponry.

Current estimates are that Arab leaders and the Russians know that the time is not yet ripe for an over-all war with Israel. So, barring some gross overprovocation by the Arabs, or some colossal overreaction by Israel, the area will remain a powder keg for some time. But the fuse will grow shorter every day.

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WASHINGTON POST

# Syrians Assail Baghdad

## Claim Iraqi Shot at Envoy; Trial Continues

From News Dispatches

The Syrian Foreign Ministry charged yesterday that an Iraqi intelligence officer fired a shot into the automobile of a Syrian political attache in Baghdad.

A Ministry spokesman said the diplomat, Abdul Karim Sabah, was unhurt but Syria has lodged an official protest and coupled it with a demand that an inquiry be made immediately into the "disgraceful attack." The date of the shooting was not disclosed.

Syria and Iraq are ruled by separate left-wing factions of Marxist Socialists.

### Trial Goes On

Iraq was believed to be going ahead with another trial of accused spies despite the furor of international protest which followed the public execution Monday of 14 alleged Israeli agents, including nine Iraqi Jews.

The number of persons being tried and details of the charges were not disclosed. Col. Ali Hadi Witwit, president of the revolutionary court, was quoted Tuesday as saying only that the trial began that day and involved members of a CIA-imperialist network. Baghdad Radio made no mention of the trial today, and no Western news dispatches of any kind were received from Iraq.

The charge of CIA involvement was described as "far-fetched" by State Department spokesman Robert J. McCloskey in Washington.

sort of allegation that the CIA is constantly made wherever difficulties of this sort, situations like this, arise," McCloskey said.

### 65 Being Held

Arab and Israeli sources estimate that as many as 65 persons may be facing espionage charges in Baghdad. Several observers believe the six-month-old government of President Ahmed al-Bakr is using the trials to suppress political opposition.

Baghdad Radio said 10,000 persons demonstrated for two hours before the British Embassy in the Iraqi capital in protest over an all-night pro-Jewish demonstration in London on Tuesday.

According to Baghdad Radio, the demonstrators consisted of workers, students and teachers who shouted slogans denouncing "Britain's interference in Iraq's internal affairs and the chaotic attack on the Iraqi Embassy in London."

Britain expressed regret for damage to the Iraqi Embassy during the London demonstration. A onetime Israeli para-trooper was stabbed in a rooftop struggle while he was attempting to hang two Israeli flags from an Embassy parapet.

### Israeli Appeal

Israeli Foreign Minister Eban yesterday appealed to "the conscience of civilized mankind" to rescue any Iraqi Jews sentenced to the gallows in the future.

Eban called Monday's execution "persecution of a helpless people."

See MIDEAST, A14, Col. 6

Iraq's ambassador to the United Nations reported to have resigned over his government's policies.

Page A-14

less and defenseless community" and said "the moral abyss revealed by the murders themselves is matched by the public display of the bodies amidst obscene manifestations of official rejoicing."

Abdullah Salloum al Samari, Iraqi Culture and Information Minister, was quoted by Baghdad Radio as denying that any Iraqi citizen, Jewish or otherwise, was being persecuted. He reportedly invited foreign correspondents to visit Baghdad and follow future trials.

A cautionary word to the Israeli people came from Defense Minister Moshe Dayan, who said Israel must refrain from any move liable to endanger the 3000 Jews living in Iraq.

Dayan said it would be up to other foreign powers as well as international bodies to rescue the Iraqi Jews.

"Israel must refrain from any action that could hamper such attempts or endanger the lives of these Jews," Dayan told youth leaders of his Labor Party.

The Israeli army officially denied Iraq's charge that it was massing troops for an attack on Iraqi military units stationed in Jordan.

The State Department reported that two American citizens, Mr. and Mrs. Paul Ball, had been arrested in Iraq on unspecified charges. Ball was said to have been imprisoned for several weeks while his wife is under "what amounts to a house arrest."

A member of the Belgian mission in Baghdad, which looks after U.S. interests in Iraq, reported that both had told him they are being well-treated. There are about 400 Americans in the country.

In Paris, a statement issued in the name of President de Gaulle called again for efforts by the so-called Big Four—France, the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain—to work out a solution to the Middle East situation.

Canada yesterday added its voice to the international condemnation of the Iraqi executions, saying it was "deeply disturbed."

In Vatican City, Pope Paul, who had appealed for a stay of execution, told his weekly general audience that the Iraqi action "can engender suspicion that racist motives were not extraneous to this episode."

Washington area synagogues plan memorial observances, in their services Friday night and Saturday, for the Jews hanged by Iraq.



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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—Extensions of Remarks January 30, 1969

many years, going back to when he was counsel and I was a member of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee. Many Members will remember the excellent record he established in that capacity.

His abilities were recognized by President John F. Kennedy who in 1961 nominated him to be Assistant Postmaster General, Bureau of Operations, and later by President Lyndon B. Johnson who nominated him to be Deputy Postmaster General in 1964.

During his term of office with the Post Office Department, Mr. Belen made significant contributions to the operation of that Department including the initiation and development of the ZIP code as well as many other innovations. This required his making visitations to facilities in all parts of the country to make firsthand observations of Post Office operations.

Having himself served in the Armed Forces in World War II and knowing the importance of mail to the morale of our servicemen, Mr. Belen visited postal facilities in Vietnam to make a personal inspection of mail handling procedures and to determine the needs of our military personnel serving there. As a result of these visits, automated equipment was installed by the Post Office Department which replaced a time-consuming mail sorting process and resulted in faster mail service to servicemen no matter where they were stationed or how often they moved.

The citation which accompanied the decoration reads as follows:

As Deputy Postmaster General, Post Office Department, the Honorable Frederick C. Belen rendered exceptionally distinguished service in support of the Department of the Army. By his dynamic leadership and indomitable spirit he successfully managed to provide our servicemen and women stationed throughout the world with the most complete and efficient postal service in the history of this nation. Their high morale stands witness to his outstanding success in this vital area of communications. His devotion to duty and country reflect the highest credit upon himself, the Post Office Department, and the United States of America.

I am happy to bring to the attention of my colleagues in the House the fact that this honor has been conferred upon a man who worked here with us for many years. I am sure that all Members join in offering congratulations upon his receiving this award and in extending best wishes for continued success in his future endeavors.

#### ANOTHER WAVE OF TERROR IN THE MIDDLE EAST

**HON. JOSHUA EILBERG**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 30, 1969

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, all civilized men devoutly hope for peace with justice and honor in the Middle East. But yet another wave of terror seems about to break over those troubled shores.

The Iraqi Government has hung, as

spies 14 men, nine of them Jews. There is no doubt that this brutal act was aimed at retribution and warning to Israel.

I am shocked and dismayed at this continuing disregard for humanitarian sense and sensibility shown by Israel's enemies as I continue to view with alarm the cynical exploitation of Middle East tension by General De Gaulle.

One thousand rabbis this day have petitioned the Honorable William P. Rogers, Secretary of State seeking an end to this new barbarism in the Middle East.

It is with pride that I note that 36 colleagues have joined me in a statement sent to Mr. Rogers supporting the rabbi's resolution and urging his office and energy in bringing an early and swift end to the death and bloodshed in the Middle East.

I include for the RECORD both this statement of support, its signers and the rabbis' resolution, as follows:

LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING,

Washington, D.C., January 30, 1969.

HON. WILLIAM P. ROGERS,  
The Secretary of State,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: We have read the attached resolution and subscribe fully to the positions taken therein. As members of the United States Congress, we urge you and the Executive Branch to do everything possible within the context of the proposals stated to bring an end to Arab terrorism and killings in the Middle East. We stand ready to back you up in any action taken to accomplish the above stated purposes.

Sincerely,

JOSHUA EILBERG, JOSEPH P. ADDABBO, WILLIAM A. BARRETT, MARIO BIAGGI, EDWARD G. BIESTER, JR., JONATHAN B. BINGHAM, FRANK J. BRASCO, DANIEL BUTTON, JAMES A. BYRNE, HUGH L. CAREY, FRANK M. CLARK, R. LAWRENCE COUGHLIN, THADDEUS J. DULSKI, LEONARD FARBERSTEIN, HAMILTON FISH, JR., DANIEL J. FLOOD, JAMES G. FULTON, JACOB H. GILBERT, WILLIAM J. GREEN, SEYMOUR HALPERN, FRANK HORTON, EDWARD I. KOCH, ALLARD K. LOWENSTEIN, MARTIN B. MCNEALLY, WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD, JOHN M. MURPHY, ROBERT N. C. NIX, RICHARD L. OTTINGER, BERTRAM L. PODELL, BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL, WILLIAM F. RYAN, JAMES H. SCHEPPE, SAMUEL S. STRATTON, JOSEPH P. VIGORITO, LAWRENCE G. WILLIAMS, LESTER L. WOLFF, GUS YATRON.

#### RESOLUTION TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE

This delegation of rabbis, representing more than 1,000 rabbis serving the Jews of the Eastern Seaboard, from New York to Washington, present the following resolution to the Secretary of State, the Honorable William P. Rogers, for his serious consideration:

"Whereas, the State of Israel has been forced into three wars during the 21 years of its existence despite its continuous efforts to seek and to offer peace;

"Whereas, a consistent stream of vicious acts of terrorism has flown from the Arab lands surrounding Israel before and since the war of June 1967;

"Whereas, ruthless and useless acts of murder have been committed over and over again exacting the lives of children on a summer tour, shoppers in a Jerusalem market, passengers at a Tel Aviv bus depot, travelers in an Athens airport, and many others;

"Whereas, the government of Iraq has catered to the lowest animalistic instincts of their citizens by lynching 14 people, nine of whom were Jews, as a spectacle for gleeful, cheering, frenzied mobs.

"Whereas, the Russian and French governments have seen fit to further encourage and inflame the Arabs in their openly declared aim of annihilating the State of Israel, and by so doing, wiping out America's only reliable friend in the mideast;

"Whereas from a political, moral, and spiritual standpoint, it is the duty of this country to stand up for the basic rights of life and liberty;

"Therefore, we the rabbis of these states applaud the Secretary of State's recent response to such inhuman acts. However, being fearful of the dreadful signs which forebode a continuation of such murders, we ask the United States government to make the most weighty representations to the United Nations and to those countries which maintain relations with Iraq that they utilize every diplomatic, humanitarian and moral means to dissuade the government of Iraq from continuing its barbarous course so alien to the highest concepts of humanity and justice.

"We hope and pray to Almighty God that the thousands of Jews still under Arab domination will not be added to the six million Jews already plaguing the world's conscience because of its hesitation to act in their behalf."

#### UTAH LEGISLATURE PROTESTS ENLARGEMENT OF ARCHES AND CAPITOL REEF NATIONAL MONUMENTS

**HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON**

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 30, 1969

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, I received notification today of adoption by the Utah State Legislature of a resolution protesting President Johnson's enlargement by last-minute Executive order of two national monuments in Utah. Earlier this week I addressed the House on this same subject, also in protest, and introduced a bill that would prohibit future actions of this type. At that time I expressed my firm conviction that the enlargement of the monuments—Capitol Reef and Arches—should have not been done by Executive order, but rather by the orderly processes of congressional enactment. The Legislature of the State of Utah is in agreement with that position, as evidenced by the joint resolution, the text of which follows:

H.J. RES. 5

A joint resolution of the House of Representatives and the Senate of the State of Utah memorializing the President of the United States and the Congress of the United States to restore to the public domain certain lands withdrawn by Presidential proclamation for national monument purposes

Be it resolved by the Legislature of the State of Utah:

Whereas, the immediate past President of the United States in the final hours of his administration withdrew approximately 264,000 acres of public lands and included them in Arches and Capitol Reef National Monuments without any opportunity for proper hearing; and

Whereas, the area withdrawn is known to contain valuable minerals and has good potential for the development of substantial reserves of oil, gas, uranium and other minerals as evidenced by the fact that more than 200,000 acres in the immediate area are un-

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have to be repaid, of course, with interest, and in the meantime it would constitute an increase in the Federal debt—a strange situation indeed for a so-called "surplus" budget, postponing in a sense, but actually making worse our nation's fiscal problems. After we receive budget amendments from the Nixon Administration, our Appropriations Committee will have to make necessary modifications so that we do approach a more balanced budget to avoid continuing inflation and high interest rates.

Most political analysts feel that the new Administration will not have to call for much new legislation, but rather overhaul those laws already on the books to make them more responsive to the needs of our people. Because of this the attention of Congress will be turned more to appropriations and the budget than ever before.

The one year extension of the Farm Program should give Ag. Secretary Hardin sufficient time to develop a new farm plan by going to farmers themselves for comments, suggestions and ideas. Later in the year, Committee hearings can be scheduled and final Congressional action taken by early 1970. In the meantime, everyone will have had a chance to study it, make recommendations for improvement and point out inequities before it is enacted into law. Certainly, this is the best way to develop such important legislation.

While the full facts may never be released to the public, the tragedy of errors surrounding the capture of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* is being revealed bit by bit and it is clear some "higher-ups" failed to provide the ship proper equipment and protection for its ill-fated voyage. It has also been revealed that of eleven principal weapon systems purchased by the Pentagon in this decade only two performed up to standard. Meanwhile, practices initiated by McNamara had allowed the poorest performers in the aero-space industry to enjoy the highest profits. This makes us all realize how important sound policies in the Pentagon are to the security of our nation and the peace of the world. It is gratifying to me that a man I have known for many years, Mel Laird, an able, inquisitive, straight-shooting and very practical Midwesterner is our new Secretary of Defense. We are all wishing him success in a most difficult job.

#### PROCLAMATION OBSERVING THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

**HON. JOHN JARMAN**

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 30, 1969

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to the following proclamation issued by Gov. Dewey F. Bartlett, of Oklahoma, observing the 50th anniversary of the birth of the Republic of Czechoslovakia:

#### PROCLAMATION

Whereas, the Fiftieth Anniversary of the birth of the Republic of Czechoslovakia will be observed on October 28, 1968; and

Whereas, countless Americans of Czech and Slovak descent will remember this day for the important part they played in helping to win the independence of Czechoslovakia out of the carnage of World War I by their support of Professor Thomas G. Masaryk's liberation movement, of the war effort of the United States, and of President Wilson's sincere desire to attain freedom and democracy for the peoples of all nations; and

Whereas, these same Americans are proud of the remarkable peace time record that Czechoslovakia established as a progressive democracy, closely identified with the principles of the democratic political philosophy, which was originated and developed in our own United States of America; and

Whereas, these people and their nation today and under the heel of oppressor nations, yet their courage and devotion to the principles of freedom and democracy still burns brightly as a beacon of hope that Czechoslovakia will once again stand as a free country among other free and independent peoples of the world; and

Whereas, in spite of the most recent grievous tragedies to which the Czechoslovak nation has been subjected, we are sincerely hopeful that, in keeping with its past history and traditions, the Czechoslovak nation will again emerge victorious from its present struggle for freedom and independence;

Now, therefore, I, Dewey F. Bartlett, Governor of the State of Oklahoma do hereby proclaim Monday October 28, 1968, as Czechoslovak Independence Day in Oklahoma.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Great Seal of the State of Oklahoma to be affixed.

Done at the Capitol, in the City of Oklahoma City, this twenty-fifth day of October, in the Year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixty-eight, and of the State of Oklahoma the Sixtieth Year.

DEWEY F. BARTLETT,

Governor.

JOHN ROGERS,

Secretary of State.

L. L. CALLAWAY,

#### THE CASEY-PEPPER GUN CRIME BILL

**HON. BOB CASEY**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 30, 1969

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, the criminal use of firearms continues to be a growing national disgrace—and the efforts made here last June in the Gun Control Act of 1968 are going to have little, if any, impact.

Today, my distinguished colleague from Florida, Representative CLAUDE PEPPER, joined with me in introducing a bill which can end the disgrace of crimes committed with firearms.

Our bill has a unique approach. Unique, that is, in that it has not been followed by Congress in recent years. It would, first of all, set stiff mandatory penal sentences for use of a firearm during the commission of your major crimes of violence. The sentence would be 10 years on first offense, and 25 years on any subsequent offense. This sentence would be specifically prohibited from being suspended, or assessed to run concurrently with any sentence imposed for the commission of the crime, or probation being granted.

But equally important is the provision which would empower State courts to enforce provisions of the bill.

You may recall that during House debate on the Gun Control Act of 1968, when the Casey amendment was before the House, this provision was offered as an amendment by my colleague from

Florida. The chief objections to my amendment to impose stiff mandatory prison terms for illegal use of guns were that it would overload the Federal courts, the law enforcement agencies, the Federal prisons, and possibly require a defendant to undergo two trials—one for commission of the crime in a State court, another on use of the firearm in a Federal court.

My colleague cut through the heart of that argument with his brilliant amendment to give State courts power to enforce this provision, and it caught the opponents flatfooted.

The strongest argument put forth was that the members of our distinguished Judiciary Committee needed time to study this provision. Some expressed doubt Congress had the constitutional authority to give this power to the States, and they asked that it be defeated.

Mr. Speaker, research has proven there is ample precedent and ample authority for enactment of this provision, dating all the way back to 1794. It is only in recent years that the Congress has given exclusive jurisdiction to the Federal courts in many cases.

Never in our history has there been a greater need for a new approach to criminal law and law enforcement. Gun crimes are no longer a local or a State problem—but nationwide in scope and impact, and should be dealt with on a nationwide basis.

Here, in the District of Columbia alone, armed robberies during the month of December jumped 452 percent over December 1965. We have seen financial institutions here robbed at the unbelievable rate of nearly one a day.

Nationally, our violent crime rate since 1961 has jumped nearly 80 percent. And yet, we have 25,000 fewer inmates in State and Federal prisons today than we had in 1961.

Surely, the answer to this problem should be obvious. Criminals are free, continuing a career of crime, preying on society. And the answer is just as obvious—crackdown hard on those who use guns to rob, rape, and murder.

Our bill will do just that, and I urge my colleague to give it careful consideration and to join with us in every effort to end the national disgrace of gun crimes.

**HON. FREDERICK C. BELEN RECEIVES DISTINGUISHED SERVICE AWARD**

**HON. GEORGE P. MILLER**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 30, 1969

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, recently, the U.S. Army awarded to Frederick C. Belen, former Deputy Postmaster General, its Decoration for Distinguished Service, which is the highest award it can bestow on a civilian.

Mr. Belen recently retired from Government service after an outstanding career. I have had the privilege of being able to call him a personal friend for

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both can say with pride that we have contributed to the building of a better country.

Your dedication and hard work over the past 33 years have been exemplary. You have exhibited a combination of talents which mark few individuals. That you channeled those talents to serving your fellow citizens is all the more admirable.

I extend to you my sincere appreciation for the job you have done. May you be equally successful in your future endeavors.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

## NORTH KOREA'S SAVAGERY BARED

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 30, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, a little over 15 years ago a Senate subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations issued a report titled, "Korean War Atrocities." The report stated in part:

The evidence before the subcommittee conclusively proves that American prisoners of war who were not deliberately murdered at the time of capture or shortly after capture, were beaten, wounded, starved, and tortured; molested, displayed, and humiliated before the civilian populace and/or forced to march long distances without benefit of adequate food, water, shelter, clothing, or medical care to Communist prison camps, and there to experience further acts of human indignities.

The report further observed:

Communist massacres and the wholesale extermination of their victims is a calculated part of Communist psychological warfare. The atrocities perpetrated in Korea against the United Nations troops by Chinese and North Korean Communists are not unique in Communist history, nor can they be explained away on the grounds that inhumanity is often associated with so-called civilized warfare.

The ordeal of Comdr. Lloyd Bucher and his men illustrates graphically that the Communists of North Korea still employ the weapon of terror to reach their ends just as the Soviet Union did in its August 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia.

David Lawrence, the nationally syndicated columnist, strikes the same theme in his column, "North Korea's Savagery Bared," which appeared in the Washington Post of January 27:

Training in how to torture prisoners is part of a Communist technique and has long been used to frighten citizens who show the slightest signs of disobeying the edicts of the dictatorship regime.

The mistreatment of the *Pueblo's* men is but the latest in a long list of cases which prove beyond reasonable doubt the basic inhumanity of communism. It is one of the greatest enigmas of our times that men in high places can still treat Communist regimes as though they belonged to that circle of free and respectable nations throughout the world.

I insert the above-mentioned column by David Lawrence in the RECORD at this point:

NORTH KOREA'S SAVAGERY BARED

The North Korean government stands before the world today as guilty of brutality

and savagery in the treatment of the crew taken from the American naval ship *Pueblo*, and held as prisoners for 11 months. Behind this regime are the Communist governments in Moscow and Peking.

Will nations which believe in humanitarianism—even when they take into custody individuals from enemy forces—allow the incident to go unnoticed? Will the protests come from far and wide so that the principles of civilized practice in dealing fairly with prisoners will be widely publicized?

Why do the Communist governments tolerate vicious tactics by their own puppet states? Do they think that they themselves escape responsibility?

The story told by Cmdr. Lloyd M. Bucher last week to a naval court of inquiry might have been regarded as commonplace in the jungles of Africa. But most of the people throughout the world have hitherto assumed that the Soviet government would not have permitted the men who manage its enslaved countries to risk the worldwide publication of the way Communists sometimes handle prisoners.

The Communist extremists believe in torture, and they exact "confessions" for the purpose of publicity and propaganda. One thing that would frustrate such tactics would be for the United States government to announce that any Americans hereafter seized by the Communists anywhere have been authorized to "confess" or admit anything they are asked to say by their captors. This would render these documents immediately valueless as propaganda, and perhaps would save prisoners from such cruelties as the *Pueblo's* crewmen experienced.

But it wasn't only the American sailors who were subjected to the savage and inhumane ordeals. A South Korean who had previously been taken prisoner was strapped to a wall, after having been tortured. He was shown to Cmdr. Bucher, who testified last week as follows:

"He was alive. But he had been through a terrible ordeal. He had a compound fracture of the arm and the bone was sticking out. He had completely bitten through his lower lip. . . . It was hanging down. His right eye had been put out. His head was hanging down and a black substance from the put-out eye was dripping down.

All this was done to warn Cmdr. Bucher what might be his own fate and that of his crewmen. He had already been close to death with a revolver at his head. Finally, when he refused to submit, he was beaten into unconsciousness. After several days of such harassment, Bucher was informed that all his men would be shot unless he agreed to sign a "confession." He did so because, he says, he felt that North Korean officers were "animals" who would not hesitate to carry out the threat.

Training in how to torture prisoners is part of a Communist technique and has long been used to frighten citizens who show the slightest signs of disobeying the edicts of the dictatorship regime.

The rest of the world can do much to teach the Communists that this doesn't help them gain either the respect or the cooperation of other nations. International law requires that prisoners be given humane treatment.

North Korea has not proved that the *Pueblo* was inside her 12-mile limit, but certainly it will be hard for anyone to show that veering a mile or two from the prescribed line deserves the punishment accorded to the men on the *Pueblo*. What they saw from a 13-mile position as contrasted with 11 miles or even three—which has been the customary territorial limit—was surely nothing that could threaten the safety of North Korea to the point where such stern measures were necessary.

Some day North Korea will need the friendship of free peoples as it emerges from an era of tyranny and despotism, but be-

tween now and such a time the American people will be wondering whether any of the sensible human beings north of the 38th parallel will care enough about their own future to persuade the North Korean government to correct the wrong which has been done. Will the proper punishment be administered even belatedly to the officials who have portrayed their country before the world as a nation of savagery and inhumanity?

## MIDDLE EAST DEVELOPMENT PLAN

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 30, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Marshall McNeil which appeared in the January 29, 1969, edition of the Washington Daily News:

### MIDDLE EAST DEVELOPMENT PLAN

(By Marshall McNeil)

In a last-minute gesture to Israel, ex-President Johnson took the first step toward the imaginative but practical Eisenhower-Strauss plan to promote peace between the Arabs and Jews.

Congress and the Nixon Administration, nevertheless, have a chance now to advance this water-and-power proposal of former President Eisenhower and Adm. Lewis L. Strauss. The plan is given a big push in the report just filed with Mr. Nixon by his special emissary to the Middle East, former Gov. William W. Scranton of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Scranton, obviously with the long-standing Eisenhower-Strauss plan in mind, said a massive nuclear-powered undertaking to provide desalted water for irrigation and industrial power would help both Arabs and Jews develop their resources and "go a long way toward solving a very bad situation."

These plants would be financed in part by private interests, with the United States providing the technology and perhaps the nuclear fuel.

Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Strauss—and now Mr. Scranton—see this project as a means of promoting economic co-operation between the Arabs and Jews, feeling that peace in the trouble area must be founded on such mutually helpful and economically sound projects to produce food and energy.

The Senate last year gave its unanimous approval to the idea.

But Mr. Johnson carried in his last budget message these two sentences:

"Legislation is proposed to authorize U.S. participation in a large-scale desalting plant to be constructed in Israel. This project will significantly advance the development of desalting technology."

He sent draft bills to Congress to carry out his proposal, and these have been referred to committees.

Premier Levi Eshkol announced to a political meeting in Jerusalem last week that Mr. Johnson had written him of his request to Congress for a \$40 million grant and an \$18 million loan to construct the desalting plant on the Mediterranean coast of Israel.

The project, as proposed by the Johnson Administration after joint studies by the Israeli and American governments, does not require production of power. It entails, with the use of conventional fuels, production of 40 to 50 million gallons a day of sweet water whose price might preclude its use for irrigation.

Clearly, from Mr. Johnson's budget statement, his Administration was interested in the Israeli project as a means of testing the



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technology of the desalinization experts of the Interior Department. They believe a big prototype plant is needed, the one that had been projected just off the California coast having failed to materialize.

The plant would, of course, do some good for the desalting art and for Israel.

But men like Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Strauss, with bigger vision, are convinced that thru the use of nuclear energy, which would also provide electricity, large quantities of low-cost water could be produced co-operatively by the Arabs and the Jews in a region that needs water, food and power so badly. In such a joint business venture—in which there is a good chance for eventual profit making—they see a new and durable foundation for peace.

In his inaugural President Nixon consecrated "my office, my energies and all the wisdom I can summon to the cause of peace among nations." With those who are willing to join with us, Mr. Nixon also said, "let us co-operate to . . . strengthen the structure of peace, to lift up the poor and hungry."

Congress applauded this.

Now, together, the President and Congress have the chance to act upon his words, enlarge upon the Johnson offer, make it compatible with the Eisenhower-Strauss proposal, all in behalf of peace in the Middle East.

## NATIONAL COMMISSION ON LIBRARIES AND INFORMATION SCIENCE

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 30, 1969

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, on January 3 I introduced legislation to establish a National Commission on Libraries and Information Science, H.R. 908.

I am proud to note that this proposal was formally endorsed today by the American Library Association Council at its meeting here in Washington.

For the benefit of my colleagues, under unanimous consent I include the full text of the ALA resolution as part of my remarks:

## RESOLUTION TO SUPPORT RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON LIBRARIES

(Proposed by the ALA Committee on Legislation for adoption by the ALA Council January 30, 1969)

Whereas, the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Libraries is the result of comprehensive study into the current status and future needs of the Nation's libraries and of extensive citizen hearings; and,

Whereas, the Commission's Report, received by the President of the United States October 15, 1968, is the most far-reaching statement of library needs and goals ever enunciated by an official body of the Federal Government; and,

Whereas, this document presents a perceptive appraisal of the immediate and future requirements of all types of libraries to enable them to serve more effectively as vital, relevant institutions for all the people, and proposes responsible and realistic objectives to overcome current inadequacies and develop library services to their full potential; and,

Whereas, the National Advisory Commission on Libraries has recommended "That it be declared National Policy that the American people should be provided with library

and information services adequate to their needs, and that the Federal Government, in collaboration with State and local governments and private agencies, should exercise leadership in assuring the provisions of such services"; and,

Whereas, the necessity for coordinated, long-range planning and evaluation to determine feasible ways of meeting the new and growing demands of library users is widely recognized;

Now, therefore, be it resolved, that we, the Council of the American Library Association, do hereby endorse and support the statement of National Policy and the establishment by Congress of a permanent National Commission on Libraries and Information Science as a continuing Federal planning agency.

AMBASSADOR W. AVERELL HARRIMAN

HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 29, 1969

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, it is an honor and a privilege to join my colleagues today in paying tribute to America's "Ambassador of Ambassadors," W. Averell Harriman. As we all know, Ambassador Harriman has recently returned home from his latest, and I might add, I hope not his last, assignment abroad. I think it is appropriate that we take this opportunity to note some of the highlights of his distinguished and brilliant career in the service of his country, and to say thank you for all he has done for present and future generations.

W. Averell Harriman is a man who has served his country well for over three decades. He has served in times of depression and times of prosperity. He has served in times of war and times of peace. In good times and bad he has never refused to serve and has always given unselfishly of himself, so that others might enjoy a better America.

Ambassador Harriman is a man who exemplifies the high ideals of public service in the American tradition.

Ambassador Harriman began his illustrious public career in 1933, when he became a member of the Business Advisory Council for the Department of Commerce. After 8 years as a domestic New Dealer, he received his first international assignment when, in 1941, he was sent to England as President Roosevelt's special representative. Since that time Mr. Harriman has served as Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., Ambassador to Great Britain, Secretary of Commerce, Special Assistant to President Truman, Director of the Mutual Security Agency, Governor of New York, Ambassador-at-Large, Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, and Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs. Ambassador Harriman has also served as special envoy and U.S. Representative to international conferences and meetings, too numerous to mention.

Ambassador Harriman's accomplishments are legend, but one of his greatest contributions to world peace was the role he played in negotiating the 1963

Test Ban Treaty, prohibiting nuclear tests in the atmosphere.

Mr. Speaker, I could not conclude my remarks without mentioning the magnificent job Ambassador Harriman has done in moving the Paris peace talks to a point where substantive negotiating could begin. He has shown the vigor and stamina of a man half his age. He has persevered where others might have failed. Without him, these vital negotiations might never have progressed at all. I think that when peace becomes a reality in Southeast Asia, we can look to Averell Harriman as the man who played a most important roll in its achievement.

Upon his recent return from Paris, Ambassador Harriman was welcomed by over 200 of Washington's most prominent personalities. Someone suggested that this was the Ambassador's "Last Great Hurrah." Great yes, but let us hope it was not the last for "Ave" Harriman, who has been called back from private life to Government service so many times before.

Mr. Speaker, I know that history will look favorably on Averell Harriman, for Averell Harriman has favorably shaped history.

## REPORT TO CONSTITUENTS

HON. MARK ANDREWS

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 30, 1969

Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota. Mr. Speaker, it is my custom, from time to time, to send reports to my constituents concerning my activities in the Congress, along with my views on events of interest to them which have taken place in our Nation's Capitol. At this time I would like to ask unanimous consent to have the following report inserted in the RECORD:

JANUARY 1969.

At the start of this, my first report to you in this Session of Congress, I want to express my gratitude to the voters of the East District for your support last November. You have my pledge to continue to work hard to retain the trust and confidence you've placed in me as your Representative.

Much of the action this first month in Congress has centered around making committee assignments, President Johnson's State of the Union Message and budget recommendations for fiscal 1970, and, of course, participation in the Inaugural of our new President: Richard Nixon.

The budget message the out-going President sent Congress is an interesting document, both for what it contains and for what has been glossed over. We all read the newspaper headlines indicating a \$3.4 billion surplus for fiscal 1970. The headlines didn't say that this "surplus" was the result of an unparalleled feat of fiscal juggling. Actually, a \$6.8 billion deficit was set out in the Federal Funds section, which includes all of the activities of government with the exception of trust funds. This deficit is "covered" by a surplus in trust funds of \$10.2 billion, monies specifically collected for and dedicated to such purposes as Social Security benefits and highway construction, which under the law will be more than needed two or three years hence in providing the benefits of these programs. In order to show a temporary surplus, President Johnson recommends borrowing from these trust funds. The money would

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I also include a copy of a telegram, dated January 24, addressed to the President, from John M. Will, president of New York Shipping Association. The substance of that telegram follows:

New York, N.Y.,  
January 24, 1969.

Hon. O. C. FISHER,  
Washington, D.C.:

The following telegram was sent to President Nixon at the White House today. We urge you to direct your attention to the national crisis which is growing and to cooperate fully with any effective legislative actions that might be proposed. Text of the telegram to President Nixon follows:

"With longshore strike now in thirty-fourth day with no prospect of immediate return to work in all ports of east and gulf coast, we urgently request your intervention to end this irreparable loss to Nation. President Johnson invoked national emergency provision of Taft-Hartley law on October first that led to an 80-day injunction which expired December 20. That law provides that the President shall submit to the Congress a full report of the proceedings 'together with such recommendations as he may see fit to make for consideration and appropriate action'. On January eighth we appealed to President Johnson to recommend congressional action to end the disruptive longshore strike but unfortunately, no action was taken. The grounds for court order enjoining the strike in October was the threat to national health and safety, which threat is as true now as it was in October.

Although full agreement was reached January fourteenth on all issues in the port of New York, ILA has not yet called for ratification vote. Instead union insists that other and different employer associations in ports unrelated to New York must meet certain conditions before New York or any port returns to work. Under such a procedure the present intolerable situation could continue with no prospect of solution for many weeks.

In view of adverse effects on balance of payments, increased unemployment due to lack of materials, irreparable harm to shippers and economy, loss of wages to employees, we respectfully and strongly urge that in accordance with section 210 of the Taft-Hartley Act you make appropriate recommendations to Congress to assure the immediate return to work and procedures to resolve any outstanding issues in any port that has not yet resolved its dispute."

JOHN M. WILL,  
President, New York Shipping Association, Inc.

Mr. Speaker, this strike has continued now for 40 days, and something must be done. Hundreds of businesses and thousands of workers are involved. We all know President Nixon is interested as much as any of us in finding a solution to this tragic work stoppage. Let us hope that he can give it his prompt and urgent attention.

## CLOSING TAX LOOPHOLES

(Mr. PATMAN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Los Angeles Times of January 22, 1969, carries an editorial which I think will be of interest to all the Members of Congress. I would, therefore, like to insert it in the Record at this point:

## NEEDED: CLOSING OF TAX LOOPHOLES

(Issue: Will the Nixon Administration and the 91st Congress act promptly to avert the possibility of a "revolt" by taxpayers?)

Of all the pressing problems confronting the Nixon Administration on the domestic front none is more urgent, from the standpoint of middle-bracket wage earners than reform of income tax laws.

Families with incomes from \$7,000 to \$20,000 a year generate more than half of the personal income tax revenue accruing to government. Yet in 1967, 155 returns on incomes above \$200,000, including 21 with incomes over \$1 million, resulted in no tax payments.

Former secretary of the treasury Joseph W. Barr cited those figures in warning Congress that a taxpayer revolt might lie ahead.

Obviously some loopholes, albeit legal, must be plugged. While it is unrealistic to think all of them can be closed, there should be a proviso that the wealthy pay at least a minimum tax, even if all their income is from tax exempt sources such as interest on municipal bonds.

The 10% income tax surcharge has served to alert many taxpayers to the inequities in our tax system.

Major changes are needed to improve the fairness and simplicity of tax laws, Barr insists, because "public confidence in our income tax system is threatened."

Although some criticism may be leveled at other portions of a survey report compiled by his aides, Barr was correct in his dim view of tax loopholes. We commend this outlook to his successor.

Another area which cries out for attention is the status of more than 30,000 tax-free private foundations. While the vast majority undoubtedly serve a worthy purpose, there is reason to believe a sizable number of exemptions are questionable.

Organizations win tax exemption if they promote charitable, educational, religious or scientific purposes. But there are no ground rules covering their goals.

Rep. Wright Patman (D-Tex.), who has been fighting for closer scrutiny of such foundations for eight years, notes that there is virtually no government regulation once exempt status is granted. The potential for abuse, he rightly contends, is great.

Both subjects deserve top priority attention from the Administration and the 91st Congress.

(Mr. PATMAN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. PATMAN'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

## ON MY CENSURESHIP

(Mr. RARICK asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I was forced into a fifth election for the right to represent my people, and was elected to the position of a resident commissioner of liberty-loving free Americans.

Yesterday was also my birthday. I was 45 years of age. My 21st birthday was spent in the service of our country—as a prisoner of war in a Nazi camp of horror and suffering.

I have felt the hand of tyranny and I say with clear conscience that I would rather be last and free to represent my people than first as a political prostitute.

Scars of persecution in support of constitutional government become badges of honor and respect in the hearts of free men.

I will not compromise my duty.

## CRIME IN THE CAPITAL

(Mr. SIKES asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, frequently I have been critical of rampant crime in the Nation's Capital. I have suspected that crime in the city of Washington may be worse than that in any other important world capital. Now I am qualified to speak as an expert. My house has been robbed, and I live in the shadow of the Capitol Building. The house next door has been robbed twice within a week. As a matter of fact, in very recent months, a dozen houses in my block have been robbed. In that period, there have been 150 robberies in the police precinct in which I live, one of them a half block from the police station. Our families are frightened half to death. They have to live behind barred windows and chained doors. All this in civilized, enlightened, modern, progressive Washington.

The word is out that Washington is not a fit or safe place in which to live. I am asked time and again if it is safe to come here. The answer is "No, it is not safe to come to Washington. Do not come here if you can avoid it."

It is high time, Mr. Speaker, to start cleaning up crime; to give the police the power to do so; to stop weak-kneed judges from freeing criminals at the slightest pretext; to tighten bail requirements, and to see that criminals get punished rather than petted. Restrictive court rulings and administrative procedures under which police now must work cause them to be harassed more than the criminals.

## NEED FOR MORE FORCEFUL U.S. INFLUENCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

(Mr. FRIEDEL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, the situation in the Middle East is rapidly getting worse. Attempts to peacefully resolve the differences between Jews and Arabs is continuously thwarted by the unwillingness of the Arab nations to sit down and enter into discussions.

This past Monday, the attention of the world was drawn to the barbaric, inhuman, and immoral actions of the Government of Iraq in a so-called execution of 14 people supposedly found guilty of spying for Israel by a revolutionary court. What really took place was a lynching as a spectacle for gleeful, cheering, frenzied mobs. These acts were televised by the Iraq Government in an effort to cater to the lowest animal instincts of its citizens. Undoubtedly this was done to divert the attention of the Iraq citizens from their own misery in view of the living conditions that prevail and the unrest that results.

The persecution of the Jews in Iraq and in the other Arab countries is not a new happening. The history of Jewish suffering in Iraq goes back to 1932, when Iraq gained its independence. Jewish functionaries were dismissed from all

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Chicago, Ill. (553,338): "In the Chicago Public Schools, it is estimated that ESEA is underfunded by approximately 50% at this time."

Stewart County, Tenn. (1,650): "We are very grateful for the amount we are receiving now from ESEA, but I believe we could improve the quality of education much faster if we could receive 50% more than at the present time."

Salt Lake City, Utah (35,000): "We could use twice the present allotment and show effective results."

Columbus, Ga. (43,067): "The Elementary and Secondary Education Act is underfunded in our district. We are required to concentrate on approximately one-fourth of our culturally disadvantaged pupils to the extent required by directives from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The limitations on the purchase of equipment have been most unreasonable. If we are able to purchase equipment, this may last for a number of years. If we must concentrate on personnel, we can retain little after the term of service is completed."

Buffalo, N.Y. (70,000): "By approximately 45%."

East Baton Rouge Parish, La. (61,501): "It is felt that twice as much funds as are presently granted are necessary to get the job done."

Kansas City, Mo. (75,000): "Since it is believed that massive application of money and resources to a few disadvantaged schools will effect growth over a thin diffusion over many schools, only half of the pupils eligible for Title I funds in our district are being served. We need at least twice the amount we are securing."

Boston, Mass. (94,000): "Based on its being used strictly for low income and disadvantaged children, to do the type of program we envisage we could use at least three times the amount of money now available."

Long Beach, Calif. (72,265): "Our initial funding for ESEA Title I was \$2,004,000—estimated to be approximately half the amount needed to serve all educationally disadvantaged pupils in our district. Present funding (1968-69) is \$1,087,000. Present need, then, is approximately \$3,000,000 greater than funding."

Denver, Colo. (96,848): "The funds we receive for special programs are inadequate when matched with state and local funds to develop the programs that should be developed. Certainly, doubly present funding would only begin to meet our needs. When one considers the full range of needs, much more would be necessary."

San Jose, Calif. (14,459; elementary students only): "3,300 of our 15,000 students are from A.F.D.C. families. Since we have a large Mexican-American population, which often does not take part in welfare support, we estimate that nearly 1/2 of the student population is at a poverty level. Our present ESEA Title I funding limits service to only 1,900 youngsters."

Orleans Parish, La. (109,684): "It is difficult to indicate specifically to what extent the Elementary and Secondary Education Act is underfunded in this particular school district. It is obvious, however, that the needs are significantly greater than the available resources. Seventy-one of our 128 schools qualify for Title I funds. Attempts to concentrate resources in such a manner as to increase the impact upon individual children have created serious local political problems because of the legitimate complaints by those segments of the community which do not receive allocations in spite of the fact that the need is clearly evident. My own 'top of the head' estimate is that ESEA funds should be increased at least tenfold in the immediate future."

Anderson County, Tenn. (7,682): "The ESEA funds have been of tremendous help in upgrading education. We could use twice the amount to excellent benefit."

Bloomington, Tex. (1,006): "The Elementary and Secondary Education Act has greatly improved the educational program in the local school district; however, there is an acute need for twice the sum received."

The tabulation and analyses of the questionnaire survey will continue with the very able assistance of members of the staff of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress. As additional information becomes available, it is my intention to share these findings with my colleagues.

## LET'S ARRANGE OUR PRIORITIES

(Mr. MONAGAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing legislation, which I first proposed in the 90th Congress, to provide for a Government Program Evaluation Commission.

This bill seeks to establish a commission of 12 members to be appointed in equal numbers by the President of the United States, the President pro tempore of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House. The Commission would undertake a complete evaluation of existing Federal programs—their desirability and the effectiveness of their operations—with a view toward assuring the relative priority which should be assigned to such programs in light of the imperatives of national policy and the limitations of the Federal budget.

Unfortunately, the circumstances that led to my introduction of this legislation last year still obtain. Federal spending continues high, new programs are offered, old programs continue at their previous levels without sufficient examination into their worth or effectiveness.

While the "surplus" projected in the last budget message is an encouraging sign, its significance should not be exaggerated. Were it not for the concept under which the income from trust funds such as social security is included in Federal receipts, the "surplus" would be replaced by a deficit.

It is clear then, that constant attention must be paid wherever possible to reducing Federal expenditures, to operating Government programs at the highest level of effectiveness, and to ordering our budget priorities to reflect the true and changing needs of the Nation.

Although I do not underestimate the difficulty of accomplishing these objectives or the strength of the policy differences that will be certain to emerge, this is a task that must be begun. I sincerely hope that this legislation will be given early and favorable consideration by the Congress.

## AMENDING SECTION 8 OF NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT

(Mr. PIKE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PIKE. Mr. Speaker, today I have for the first time ventured into the murky waters of labor legislation, by introducing a bill to amend section 8 of the National Labor Relations Act.

I do not pretend that the bill is a cure-all. It is not compulsory arbitration. It will not eliminate strikes, but if properly implemented, it should prevent some of them, and shorten others.

What this bill seeks to accomplish is quite simple. It says that when the representatives of management and labor sit down to negotiate a contract, they shall have the power to bind management and labor to that contract. It says that a labor agreement carefully and painstakingly hammered out by the duly appointed representatives of management or labor shall not be overturned either by dissatisfied owners or stockholders on the one hand, or dissatisfied union members on the other.

Under existing law, management and labor are already compelled to bargain collectively on conditions of employment, and they do so. Too often, however, we have seen agreements arrived at in good faith by the negotiators rejected by the principals, with the result that strikes start and drag on interminably. This bill does not tell management or labor who shall represent them at the bargaining table. It does not tell them that they must agree. It does tell them that having picked their own representatives, each shall be bound by the actions of those representatives. It tells them that when their representatives have reached agreement, they shall be bound by that agreement.

It is not a cure-all. It weighs evenly on management and labor. It may be somewhat distasteful to both, but I believe it will be welcomed by the public at large, which is deeply concerned with finding fair ways to eliminate, or at least lessen, the duration, impact and suffering caused to all parties and the public at large, by any breakdown in the collective bargaining process.

## DOCK STRIKE MUST BE STOPPED

(Mr. FISHER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, the disastrous effects of the dock strike is being reported every day, with scores of businesses being closed or forced into bankruptcy. This development makes it imperative that the President, in accordance with the Taft-Hartley Act, submit to the Congress recommendations for appropriate action, and that this be done without further delay.

I include a copy of a telegram I sent to the Secretary of Labor concerning the problem. The telegram follows:

WASHINGTON, D.C.,  
January 27, 1969.

Hon. GEORGE P. SHULTZ,  
Secretary of Labor,  
Washington, D.C.:

Constituents engaged in manufacturing business have informed me that the dock strike is forcing bankruptcy on scores of businesses in that area. Some have already gone out of business and others are on the verge. I cannot overemphasize the seriousness of this problem. I urge your department to employ every possible means of helping to bring about a settlement of the controversy which has caused this strike.

Congressman O. C. FISHER.



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government offices and replaced by Moslems. Officially incited pogroms took place in the Jewish quarters, the biggest of them occurring on June 2, 1941, during the Shavuot holiday. Scores of Jews were massacred while the police stood by as interested onlookers. At the establishment of the State of Israel, the persecution of the Jews reached new heights and one of the leaders of the community was hanged in the central square in front of thousands of cheering Moslems. On September 3, 1950, a law was promulgated permitting Jews to quit the country if they left all their property behind. Most of the Jews fled at that time. Jewish property confiscated by the Iraq Government has been estimated at \$350 million.

At the end of the 1940's, the Jews in Iraq numbered 130,000 souls. At present there are only about 3,000 Jews left, most of them living in Baghdad. Despite harsh discriminatory laws curbing civil right, freedom of movement, employment and property, the Jews somehow got along—until the 6-day war of June 1967. When hostilities broke out, the Iraqi authorities forced the chief rabbi of Baghdad to denounce the "treacherous Zionist aggressor," to contribute money to the Iraqi Army and to thank the Government for its treatment of the Jews. And what treatment it was. Scores and scores of Jews were arrested. The telephones in Jewish homes were cut off. Radio and TV to this day carry on incessant vicious attacks on the Jews. The Jews are held in quarantine like lepers. Arabs are forbidden to have anything to do with them, commercially or socially. The Iraqi authorities do not permit international humanitarian organizations to render them any assistance. A Red Cross representative who visited Iraq after the 6-day war reported the Jews there as living in a state of terror and total isolation. She did not succeed in establishing contact with the Jewish communities—they were afraid to meet with her.

It is long past the time that action be taken to relieve the plight of those Jews still living in Arab countries. Again and again the United Nations has been petitioned about their plight, most recently in December by the International League for the Rights of Man. But the U.N. has been silent even though it has adopted a resolution to inquire into the claims of the displaced Palestinian Arabs.

The actions of this past Monday by the Iraqi Government has brought the plight of the Jews in Arab lands to the attention of the world. These actions have aroused the conscience of world leaders. Now is the time to act.

While we can applaud the Secretary of State's recent response to such inhuman acts, firmer and more determined actions must be taken by our Government. There is a need to appeal to the United Nations, the heads of states, and the leaders of international humanitarian organizations to act to prevent the threatened genocide of the Jewish community in Iraq and other Arab lands.

The U.S. Government must act as a spokesman to the Iraqi Government and those of other Arab countries in calling for the permission of the remaining Jews to emigrate and offer an asylum for these unfortunate people.

In addition, the U.S. Government must more forcefully declare its concern for the State of Israel. This little country is the bastion of democracy in the Middle East. We must use prestige, pressure, and influence to bring the Arab nations to the conference table. We must also use our resources to insist that the Arab nations prevent the continuing acts of terrorism by the Arab guerrillas upon the Israelis.

#### CAB'S ANNUAL REPORT GETS WIDE RECOGNITION

(Mr. DAVIS of Georgia asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, in recent years the publication of the Civil Aeronautics Board's annual report to Congress has become a challenge for other agencies, not only for its contents but its timeliness. This year's report is no exception.

Distributed on December 12, 1968, the earliest publication date in Board history, the CAB's report is being referred to as "the best ever" by the news media, airline and financial representatives. The report is a well-written document and one of the most informative reports ever issued by the agency. It is more than a digest of the Board's work during the past fiscal year. It is a worthwhile reference book because it tells the development of all segments of the airline industry over the last 30 years—the lifespan of the CAB—and the Board's role in this development.

#### CRIME IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

(Mr. BURLESON of Texas asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BURLESON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the comments of my distinguished colleague the gentleman from Florida (Mr. SIKES), reminds me that on three occasions before today I have introduced legislation which would more nearly meet the problem of controlling crime in the District of Columbia than any approach heard yet.

On August 25, 1959, and February 26, 1963, and again on July 15, 1965, I introduced legislation which would enable the Metropolitan Police force to be augmented by military personnel. For the fourth time today, I am introducing the same or a similar proposal.

Mr. Speaker, if an adequate number of marines from nearby military installations were brought into Washington to assist in patrolling its crime-ridden streets, we would see an immediate decline in the disgraceful crime rate now besetting this Capital City which belongs to everyone.

Now I know this is not the total answer. As indicated by others, there must be measures taken to strengthen the system of law enforcement in the District of Columbia. Law-enforcement officers should not have to carry these punk criminals around on a feather pillow. It should be made known to the courts that

they are expected to more promptly bring to trail those charged with crime.

In addition, the disgraceful bail bond system and the release of repeater criminals should be no longer tolerated.

Whatever it takes should be done to protect people and property in this city. It is time to resort to the most stringent action. Military personnel was brought in to assist in maintaining order during the recent Presidential inauguration. They have been used on other occasions and there is no sound constitutional reason why they cannot be used every day to assist in maintaining order if they can be used 1 day. The District of Columbia is a Federal City. It is not Little Rock or other cities where troops have been sent to maintain order and, if this sort of action was justified, how much more critical it is to preserve the decency of our Nation's Capital.

Mr. Speaker, I ask the committee to which this measure is referred to give early consideration to it. This city is in an emergency and will continue to be until drastic action is taken.

#### THE \$2 MINIMUM WAGE AND EXPANSION OF PROTECTION UNDER THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT OF 1938

(Mr. CLAY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, this bill is the first that I shall offer to this Congress. It is to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to raise the minimum wage to \$2 an hour, to expand its protection to employees of the Federal Government and of State and local governments, and for other purposes.

It may be cited as the "Government Employees' Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1969."

Along with increasing the minimum wage of covered employees to \$2 an hour, from the present \$1.60 an hour, this bill will also extend coverage to all persons engaged in activities of the Government of the United States or of any State or political subdivision of a State.

The enactment of this bill into law will only provide about \$4,000 a year income to a worker who is employed 40 hours a week for a complete year. Surely, in this day of enlightenment, all workers should be compensated for their labors with at least this amount of money—which is still far below what is adequate to meet the bare necessities of life for an average family.

The inclusion of employees of the Federal Government and of State and local governments is long overdue; these faithful and dedicated public servants have too long been treated as second-class citizens. This Congress, in this year of 1969, should demonstrate its compassion for all workers—including those in public service—by providing this minimum wage of \$2 an hour as the policy of this land.

I urge this great and deliberating body to give this measure its serious attention and consideration, and I most humbly ask your support as it progresses

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through these Chambers to final enactment.

Obviously, I stand ready to offer a further explanation or clarification that you may seek.

# THE UNITED STATES MUST OPPOSE ANY FOUR-POWER MEETING ON THE MIDDLE EAST UNLESS ISRAEL PARTICIPATES AS A FULL PARTNER

(Mr. PUCINSKI asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, U Thant has again urged that the United States, Russia, and France get together on a Middle East peace agreement and then send it to the United Nations Security Council for final approval. He said:

I don't see any other sensible or realistic solution.

I submit, Mr. Speaker, U Thant is tragically wrong and again shows his bias and prejudice against Israel. I do not believe any solution can be reached by the four powers unless Israel and the Arab States are permitted fully to participate in such conferences.

It is the height of folly to suggest that Israel be left out of any four-power conferences.

It is even greater folly to expect Israel to accept any recommendations when she has not participated in the search for a Middle East solution.

Mr. U Thant should be reminded Israel won the 6-day war in 1967 and should not be expected to give up her hard fought victory without being a partner in full standing toward any solution.

What Mr. U Thant proposes today is another Yalta, where the major powers cut up the spoils and decided the destiny of 180 million people in East Central Europe against their will. The tragic results of Yalta continue to plague us to this day. The United States cannot again be a party to such an action.

No, Mr. Speaker, the United States should not agree to any four-power meetings unless Israel is included as a full partner with an unequivocal right to participate in those meetings.

We have agreed to peace talks in Paris, but only after agreeing to let the National Liberation Front and the Vietcong participate in those discussions even though they are our proven enemy.

Why should we apply a different standard to Israel today, in searching for a solution to the Middle East when Israel is our proven friend?

The massacre of the Jewish nationals in Iraq has shocked the entire world. But more important, it is testing beyond endurance Israel's patience.

President Nixon has quite properly warned of the danger in the Middle East. I submit the United States can make its greatest contribution toward peace today by insisting that Israel and the Arab States be permitted to participate in any four-power conferences. Only then can we find a peaceful solution to the Middle East.

For the United States to seek any solution without the full participation by the Israelis is to intensify tension in an already explosive area.

Let there be no mistake, the Soviet Union wants a four-power conference because it wants to impose a forced peace plan on Israel by bypassing both the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council. More important, by pressing for four-power conferences, the Soviet Union wants to dictate the kind of peace formula Israel must accept.

Mr. Speaker, let us make no mistake, the Soviet Union wants the destruction of Israel at all cost. That is why she wants to bypass the United Nations under the guise of seeking peace in the Middle East.

I have too much respect for President Nixon to believe he could fail to see through this Soviet scheme and be a party to Israel's destruction. I hope Mr. Nixon will provide the leadership for talks between the Israelis and the Arabs toward a just and meaningful peace in the Middle East. If the four powers want to sit in on such a meeting, let them. Since all of them have been supplying arms to both sides, they should sit in on such a meeting but not without Israel.

## PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURATION DAY

(Mr. WILLIAMS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege today to insert a poem in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD that my constituent, Mr. Robert Gordon Smith, of Aldan, Pa., has written, entitled "Presidential Inauguration Day":

### PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURATION DAY (By Robert Gordon Smith)

Our Father,  
We, Thy children,  
Who know  
The blessings and  
Responsibilities  
That are ours  
As Americans,  
Come to Thee this day  
With grateful hearts.

Once again  
Two men of our choice  
Stand together before us,  
And before Thee,  
While one passes to the  
Other  
The proud but  
Simple title,  
"Mr. President."

We Thank Thee,  
Our Father,  
That whatever our failings  
We have learned to  
Put aside our differences  
This day,  
Not only in pledging  
The support of free men to  
The one who puts on  
The lonely mantle of  
The Presidency,  
But also in commending him  
To Thy special care  
And protection.

We know full well  
The fearful burdens that  
He now assumes  
For us,  
Our children,  
And all the peoples  
Of the earth.

May he share the  
Weight of those burdens  
With Thee,  
Our Father,  
And ask of Thee,  
As did Solomon of old,

"An understanding heart  
to judge thy people  
that I may discern  
between good and bad:  
for who is able to  
judge this thy so  
great a people?"<sup>1</sup>

Yet even while we  
Honor him  
And ask Thy  
Blessing upon him  
We also pray,  
Our Father,  
For the one who,  
His service to us done,  
Now steps aside  
For his successor.

As these two men  
Ride together  
To the Capitol  
For the  
Presidential Inauguration  
We thank Thee  
That in this gracious act  
They remind us that  
We are, in truth,  
One Nation Under God.

Bless our Presidents,  
Father,  
This  
Inauguration Day.

<sup>1</sup> Quotation from I Kings 8: 9.

## BRINGING PAY INCREASE RECOMMENDATIONS TO HOUSE FLOOR

(Mr. GROSS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the chairman of the Rules Committee, the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. COLMER), for scheduling a hearing at 10:30 o'clock next Wednesday morning on the resolution I have introduced to take from the Post Office and Civil Service Committee and bring to the House floor a resolution disapproving the outrageous pay increase recommendations for the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of Government.

I trust that all Members of the House who have introduced disapproving resolutions will immediately notify the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. COLMER) that they wish to be heard at the hearing.

It is my further hope that the members of the Rules Committee, as a result of the hearing, will promptly vote to bring a resolution to the floor so that the Members of the House will have the opportunity to work their will on at least the mechanism of approval or rejection of this outlandish proposal.

It is reported in the press that one member of the Rules Committee has said:

Exchange Commission, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, the Homeowners Loan Corporation, the Civilian Conservation Corps, and the Public Works Administration.

Justice Hugo Black, interviewed on television in December, said that, in his judgment, Franklin Roosevelt, as a President, had been "magnificent"; that he had been, in those times, "our greatest man."

Those who remember Franklin Delano Roosevelt, as I do, so clearly and so gratefully today, his birthday, I ask to join me in honoring his memory.

#### GRANGE FRIENDSHIP GAVEL

(Mr. MEEDS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Speaker, the gavel which was used to open and to call the session to order today was presented to the Speaker this morning by Mr. Richard Trombley from the State of Washington on behalf of himself and the Washington State Grange.

Mr. Speaker, this gavel was made of maple burl which was raised in the State of Washington and aged for 2 years. The handle was made of English walnut which Mr. Trombley grew in Mr. Trombley's yard. Mr. Trombley spent over 15 hours making the gavel. The gavel's finish was done by Mrs. Trombley. Both Mr. and Mrs. Trombley are in attendance today.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that this gavel is sufficiently large to bring order to the House, even should the House be unruly.

#### A SPECIAL IMMIGRANT STATUS URGED FOR JEWISH VICTIMS OF IRAQI PERSECUTION

(Mr. RYAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the Government of Iraq's public execution of 14 individuals, including nine Iraqi Jews, ranks as one of the most repugnant acts by a government in recent memory. The executions follow a record of deliberate governmental discrimination and persecution, which must be condemned and abhorred by the United States. Accordingly, yesterday I wrote to the President urging him to do his utmost to prevent any further executions which may result from the additional "trials" which Iraqi Minister of Information Abdullah Salum has indicated will soon take place.

Specifically, I called upon the President to instruct our Ambassador to the United Nations, Charles Yost, to present a resolution to the Security Council which strongly condemns Iraq for this outrageous action and warns the government of that country against carrying out any additional executions which it may contemplate.

In addition, I have urged that the President direct Ambassador Yost to call upon Secretary-General U Thant to appoint a special United Nations committee to investigate the condition of the Jewish population in Iraq.

Iraq's execution of nine of its Jewish citizens—to which the United Nations has yet to make an official response—is the culmination of a long and deliberate campaign of discrimination and persecution by the Government of Iraq directed at its 2,500 Jewish citizens. For as repugnant as these executions are, they do not exist in isolation. Even before the Arab-Israel war of June 1967, Iraqi Jews were restricted in various ways and were not issued passports. Those few Jews who did manage to escape from Iraq had to be smuggled out of the country via the sea-port of Basra.

Since the replacement of the Arif regime in July of 1968, Jews have been the victims of increased governmental discrimination and persecution. Shortly after the June war of 1967, 100 leaders of the Iraqi-Jewish community were imprisoned without trials. Although some have been released over a period of time, as of last December, 25 still remained in jail.

In addition, new restrictions were imposed by the present regime when it came to power in July of last year. These restrictions include: First, the withdrawal of professional licenses to Jews; second, the compelling of employers to dismiss Jewish employees; third, restrictions forbidding Jews to sell property; fourth, limitations on the amount of money which Jews may withdraw from their bank accounts; fifth, the discontinuance of telephones in Jewish homes and businesses; and sixth, restrictions on the movement of Jews to a 5-kilometer radius of their homes.

Having denied its Jewish population the means to earn a livelihood, the Iraqi Government nonetheless refuses to allow Jews to migrate to other countries. The State Department has recently received reports that Jews are now being forced to sell even their personal property in order to survive.

Since July of 1968 the Department of State has been attempting to inquire into these reports of widespread discrimination and harassment. Each of these efforts, however, has been rebuffed by the Iraqi Government.

Mr. Speaker, in order to provide relief to the hundreds of Iraqi Jews who are the victims of this persecution, I have today introduced a bill which would give special immigration status to Jewish citizens of Iraq who seek to immigrate to the United States. In view of the deplorable conditions facing the Jewish population in Iraq, I urge the Congress to take action on this legislation as soon as possible.

The persecution of Jews which has been officially and deliberately carried on by the Government of Iraq cannot be tolerated by the United States. We must insist, through our own diplomatic channels and those of the United Nations, that Iraq cease any plans for further executions and that the United Nations investigate the condition of Jews in that country. Special immigration status—such as that provided for by the bill I have introduced today—should also be provided for Jewish citizens of Iraq.

If we fail to make clear our determination to stop the persecution which Iraq

continues to perpetrate on its Jewish citizens, the results—as we can deduce from the most recent manifestation of that persecution—will be even more drastic.

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, Americans deplore the secret trials followed by barbaric and inhumane hangings in Iraq. With 65 others reportedly facing espionage charges, our sense of moral outrage is equalled by our continuing concern that this atrocity must not be repeated.

I would hope that the United Nations, the Vatican, the United States and other interested governments will make continuing strong representations to condemn these atrocities, to discourage any repetition whatsoever, and to emphasize fundamental human rights, due process, and the quality of mercy.

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, all men of conscience and the consciences of the civilized nations of the world must have been shocked this past Monday when the Iraqi Government announced and displayed the public hanging of 14 men. These men—nine Jews, one Christian, and four Moslems—were supposed to have been spies and were condemned by Iraq's revolutionary court.

We are now told that a new mass trial by this same court has been started against an unknown number accused of spying for the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. It is reported that at least 65 persons of unknown nationality are being held under charges of espionage in the continuing acts of terrorism. Our State Department yesterday announced that two American citizens, Mr. and Mrs. Paul Bail, are being held by the Iraqi Government. Mr. Bail, an employee of the Iraqi Petroleum Co., is in jail and Mrs. Bail is under house arrest. Mr. and Mrs. Bail have been held for about 2 weeks even though no charges have been made against them.

The people throughout the world know that this revolutionary court is merely a "kangaroo court," and can easily envision the results of this latest facade—a facade designed to hide the barbarism that is taking place in that country.

These executions were nationally televised in Iraq. In view of the general living conditions in Iraq and the unrest that prevails it is safe to assume that the intent was to focus the attention of the populous on this matter rather than their own misery. This, as we all know, is a common practice among the Arab leaders who call for a holy war of extermination against the Israelis.

The Iraqi Government now expresses surprise and indignation at the concern of world leaders over these proceedings, claiming that this is an internal affair. The same was said of Hitler, who murdered millions of Jews and millions of Christians. When will this barbarity stop?

Under normal conditions and in other places, such action could possibly be strictly speaking an internal affair. But, in the Middle East and in the Arab countries, which have vowed to destroy the State of Israel and exterminate her people, we must look at the facts and then judge. There are an estimated 2,500 Jews





United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

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No. 20

## Senate

The Senate was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Friday, January 31, 1969, at 12 o'clock meridian.

## House of Representatives

THURSDAY, JANUARY 30, 1969

The House met at 12 o'clock noon. The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:  
*I have strength for anything through Him who gives me power.*—Philippians 4: 13.

In Thy presence, our Father, we pause for a moment, lifting our hearts unto Thee in prayer. As we pray, our strength is renewed, our courage restored, and our path is made plain. What we felt we could not do, now we can do; what we thought hopeless, is now full of hope; what seemed impossible, now becomes possible. We are ready for anything through the strength of Thy spirit living in our hearts.

Bless our Nation with Thy favor and make her a channel for peace and good will in our world. In Thy name we pray. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

### MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries, who also informed the House that on January 17, 1969, the President approved and signed a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 10. An act to increase the per annum rate of compensation of the President of the United States.

### BIRTHDAY TRIBUTE TO FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

(Mr. McCORMACK (at the request of Mr. ALBERT) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, the continuities of our political traditions were reflected in President Johnson's choice, during the last hours of his administration, of a name for a tranquil and beautiful park in our Nation's Capital. President Johnson named the park for a national leader whose memory he reveres, a man dead these many years yet still regarded as their personal hero by an entire generation of Americans, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

On the anniversary of his birth on January 30, 1882, as my tribute to his Presidential achievements during the depression years of terrible economic hardship for our people and during wartime years of peril for our country and the cause of freedom, I acknowledge that, for me, as for President Johnson and for those millions of Americans whom President Roosevelt casually, appropriately, and famously addressed only as "my friends," his memory is ever fresh.

Franklin Roosevelt's influence on our history has not been confined to the eventful and progressive years of his Presidency. That influence is also to be found in the record of legislative achievement of the Presidency so recently ended. Not the least of F. D. R.'s accomplishments was the fierce lifetime dedication to the national welfare that he inspired in the young Texas Congressman of New Deal days who became our 36th President. It is not too much to say that the fruit of our labors for progressive and humane legislation in all the long years since President Roosevelt's death in 1945 owes much to the inspiration of his leadership, his devotion to the progress of the American people, and his dedication to the success of our economic system and the preservation of our security and our freedom.

Franklin Roosevelt's words have echoed down the long corridors of time,

and, through the electoral and legislative process which reflects the will of the American people, those words, in statutory form, have become the law of the land he loved:

We have accepted, so to speak, a second Bill of Rights under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all—regardless of station, race, or creed.

Among these are:

The right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries or shops or farms or mines of the Nation;

The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation;

The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living;

The right of every businessman, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home or abroad;

The right of every family to a decent home; The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health;

The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident, and unemployment;

The right to a good education.

Those who knew well the great man who uttered these words have recently affirmed their belief in the importance of his role in the saga of our times. The Honorable James A. Farley, in a speech made in New York City last November, said:

When President Roosevelt entered the White House there were millions of unemployed, and he was faced with a bank crisis. People were openly wondering whether capitalism could recover from the slump we were in. Beyond anything else, Mr. Roosevelt brought courage and daring to the office. The whole Nation took heart after he went on radio to discuss the banking problem. I still think it was one of the greatest utterances of any American President. In the next 100 days he put on a tremendous display of daring, proposing one farsighted reform after another. Few, if any, can dispute the value of such organizations as the Securities and

remaining in Iraq, many of whom are the aged, of what was once a great Iraqi Jewish community of 100,000. The Iraqi Government has declared them to be the "enemy of the people" and those who associate with them are "fifth columnists." Helplessly they live and now die at the hands of a regime that has made them virtual prisoners.

Since June 1967, nearly 100 have been imprisoned—in many cases tortured, beaten, and starved. The remainder of the Jewish population has been in effect under house arrest, permitted to leave their homes for only a few hours a day. Severe restrictions have made their involvement in commerce impossible. Employees in private firms have been summarily dismissed. Universities are barred to them. Passports denied them. Their lives in Iraq are made unbearable, and they are prevented from emigrating.

The gallows is the ultimate act of the brutality suffered by the Iraqi Jews for months and years, while the world has remained indifferent to their fate.

While the United Nations has adopted a resolution to inquire into the conditions and claims of the displaced Palestinian Arabs, it has refused to adopt such a resolution to inquire into the conditions of the Jews residing in Arab countries. Even the International Red Cross has had little success in obtaining the cooperation of the Arab States in its efforts to determine the condition of those Jews living in Arab countries.

The Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Philadelphia, an association of 34 metropolitan-wide Jewish agencies representing more than 500 chapters, posts, and synagogues has issued a statement of conscience on this situation expressing their grave concern over the increased acts of terror and barbarism in Iraq, urging United Nations action and intervention. The council boasts among its members some of the best people—people who are civic and community leaders.

I have received a telegram from Mr. Charles Kahn, Jr., president of the Philadelphia chapter of the American Jewish Committee, and one from Mr. J. C. Leff, president of the Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland regional council of the American Jewish Committee, who also express their deep concern about this situation. The American Jewish Committee is asking that our Government act as spokesman to the Iraqi Government in calling

for permission of the remaining Jews to emigrate and for our Government to offer asylum for these unfortunate people.

Mr. Speaker, it is apparent that the Iraqi Government and the other Arab governments do not want the Jews in their countries—except for use as scapegoats. These people are all children of God, as we all are and it is imperative that the United Nations, our own Government and all governments of good conscience request the Arab nations to offer a gate of freedom for these people rather than the present offer of death as relief from their existence. These people should be allowed to emigrate to those countries that want to accept them.

Mr. Speaker, the dignity of man, the concern that must exist and be displayed by civilized peoples and nations for their fellow human beings, demands no less than an insistence that the Jews remaining in Arab countries be allowed to leave—to emigrate to countries that respect this dignity and will welcome them.

#### GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the subject of my 1-minute speech.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

#### SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS SURVEY

(Mr. PERKINS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, legislation to extend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 will have high priority in the Committee on Education and Labor during this session. In anticipation of the committee's consideration of this and related legislation, I wrote to over 20,000 local school superintendents last fall requesting their views on a number of questions. My purpose in contacting them was to draw upon their experience as administrators in the elementary and secondary school system. After having personally reviewed the responses, I am convinced that the survey

will be of immeasurable assistance to the committee in making objective judgments with regard to the future direction of Federal education legislation.

Responses to the questionnaire are still being received. At this time, well over 4,000 answers have been received from school districts with enrollments ranging from less than 1,000 students to districts with well over 100,000 students. These responses have provided me with valuable suggestions and recommendations. The Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, as well as the committee staff, have been assisting me in tabulating and analyzing the returns.

As I have indicated, the first order of business before the committee this year will be legislation to extend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The pattern of responses received to date indicate that they contain information and recommendations which are very much related to the proposed extension of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. This week the Committee on Education and Labor began consideration of this legislation through public hearings with school superintendents. As we begin our work, I would like to share with my colleagues some of the results of the questionnaire, and to share with my colleagues summaries of some of the responses we have received.

In determining the role of the Federal Government in education, the first question asked "Do you feel the Federal Government is doing its share in providing funds for improving the quality of elementary and secondary education? If not, what suggestions do you have?" The responses overwhelmingly indicate that the Federal Government is not doing its share as evidenced in the tables which follow:

[In percent]

	Yes	No
United States.....	25.4	64.7
New England.....	13.0	81.2
Midwest.....	22.5	70.4
Great Lakes.....	18.9	72.4
Plains.....	25.0	64.3
Southeast.....	29.7	56.2
Southwest.....	38.9	49.2
Rocky Mountains.....	33.9	56.4
Far West.....	23.6	6.86
Under 1,000.....	31.5	57.7
1,000 to 4,999.....	21.9	68.5
5,000 to 34,999.....	21.9	70.7
35,000 to 99,999.....	2.0	60.4
100,000 plus.....	9.1	81.8

#### PERCENT OF RESPONSES INDICATING THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS NOT DOING ITS SHARE

States by region	Total	Size of enrollment				
		Under 1,000	1,000 to 4,999	5,000 to 34,999	35,000 to 99,999	100,000 plus
New England.....	81.2	82.8	84.2	69.4	100.0	-----
Connecticut.....	91.1	100.0	90.0	88.8	-----	-----
Maine.....	96.8	100.0	95.8	100.0	-----	-----
Massachusetts.....	76.0	73.3	82.5	60.0	100.0	-----
New Hampshire.....	63.6	50.0	75.0	25.0	-----	-----
Rhode Island.....	75.0	100.0	50.0	80.0	-----	-----
Vermont.....	82.4	66.6	85.7	-----	-----	-----
Midwest.....	70.4	53.4	68.8	91.3	66.6	100.0
Delaware.....	45.4	0	16.6	100.0	-----	-----
Maryland.....	100.0	0	100.0	100.0	-----	-----
New Jersey.....	60.2	57.8	57.4	73.6	-----	-----
New York.....	73.4	51.1	73.8	50.0	100.0	-----
Pennsylvania.....	73.9	52.6	72.3	89.4	100.0	-----

States by region	Total	Size of enrollment				
		Under 1,000	1,000 to 4,999	5,000 to 34,999	35,000 to 99,999	100,000 plus
Great Lakes.....	72.4	68.4	73.3	77.3	66.6	80.0
Illinois.....	69.9	66.4	74.7	66.6	-----	100.0
Indiana.....	59.4	30.0	59.7	40.0	100.0	-----
Michigan.....	78.8	78.6	77.1	84.0	-----	100.0
Ohio.....	72.6	68.2	73.1	75.0	50.0	100.0
Wisconsin.....	78.2	74.2	80.2	83.3	-----	100.0
Plains.....	64.3	59.1	75.2	54.0	100.0	100.0
Iowa.....	57.7	53.6	64.7	58.3	50.0	-----
Kansas.....	75.2	72.5	81.0	66.6	100.0	-----
Minnesota.....	66.6	65.4	80.0	8.3	100.0	-----
Missouri.....	73.2	68.0	77.6	78.6	100.0	100.0
Nebraska.....	51.6	52.9	50.0	33.3	-----	-----
North Dakota.....	49.2	41.6	77.7	100.0	-----	-----
South Dakota.....	61.3	50.9	94.1	100.0	-----	-----

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## PERCENT OF RESPONSES INDICATING THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS NOT DOING ITS SHARE—Continued

States by region	Total	Size of enrollment				
		Under 1,000	1,000 to 4,999	5,000 to 34,999	35,000 to 99,999	100,000 plus
Southeast.....	56.2	65.0	53.6	55.3	66.6	51.0
Alabama.....	86.3	100.0	66.6	89.5	100.0	
Arkansas.....	74.1	66.1	82.9	85.7		
Florida.....	62.5	50.0	50.0	83.3		
Georgia.....	50.9	33.3	51.4	58.3	33.3	
Kentucky.....	60.3	50.0	75.0	15.4	100.0	
Louisiana.....	47.0		0	58.3	100.0	
Mississippi.....	29.2		25.9	35.7	0	
North Carolina.....	57.4		61.1	57.1		
South Carolina.....	40.0		36.3	37.5	100.0	
Tennessee.....	13.3	62.5	0	0	100.0	100.0
Virginia.....	60.8		51.9	71.4	50.0	0
West Virginia.....	55.0		44.4	60.0	100.0	
Southwest.....	49.2	41.1	57.4	57.1	100.0	100.0
Arizona.....	53.3	28.6	78.9	50.0	100.0	
New Mexico.....	45.7	50.0	37.5	66.6		
Oklahoma.....	59.7	57.5	69.7	25.0		
Texas.....	44.4	38.3	52.7	62.5	100.0	100.0

States by region	Total	Size of enrollment				
		Under 1,000	1,000 to 4,999	5,000 to 34,999	35,000 to 99,999	100,000 plus
Rocky Mountain.....	56.4	54.7	57.6	57.9	100.0	
Colorado.....	76.2	75.6	80.0	50.0	100.0	
Idaho.....	40.0	29.2	58.3	50.0		
Montana.....	54.2	49.1	75.0	100.0		
Utah.....	46.1		50.0	33.3	100.0	
Wyoming.....	46.6	63.2	0	100.0		
Far West.....	68.6	58.1	71.3	85.3	14.2	100.0
Alaska.....	37.5	75.0	0			
California.....	70.4	56.9	77.1	84.6	18.1	100.0
Nevada.....	55.6	100.0	40.0	100.0	0	
Oregon.....	66.1	45.1	82.8	100.0	0	
Washington.....	67.8	66.6	51.7	78.6	0	
United States.....	64.7	57.7	68.5	70.7	60.4	81.8

Many of those who responded "yes"—that is, the Federal Government is doing its share in providing funds for improving the quality of elementary and secondary education—qualified their affirmative response. A number of superintendents share the view of the superintendent of schools for King's County, Calif., who stated "Yes," if the programs were fully funded. Still others shared the view of the superintendent of schools for Mountain View School District, California, who responded:

I feel the Federal Government is doing its share in providing funds to improve the quality of secondary and elementary education in the present fiscal set-up. If the Vietnam war ends shortly, I believe the Federal Government should increase its share to those districts and those areas having large numbers of disadvantaged children.

A great deal of valuable information may be found in the responses to the second part of the question—"What suggestions do you have?" Certain superintendents recommended a general aid program, not as a substitute for, but in addition to existing programs. The response of the superintendent of the Redlands Unified School District in California, with 12,325 students, is an example of this type of recommendation:

I certainly do not feel the federal government is doing its share in providing funds for improving the quality of elementary and secondary education. I think categorical aid is a good way of providing badly needed funds because it encourages school districts to enter into educational programs that heretofore have not received attention. A very good example of this is the funds provided for Head Start. In addition, however, there should be large sums provided for general aid. If we are to do the job of education as required, it is extremely expensive. The federal government has pre-empted the great source of tax revenue, i.e., the income tax. Therefore, this tremendous national need should have a large share of its financing from federal funds. I would think a good share of the cost of education might be thirty percent local effort, thirty percent state effort and thirty percent from the Federal Government.

Many of the superintendents were quite specific in their recommendations, with a good number recommending a program of grants to assist in the construction of school facilities. The response of the superintendent of Memphis City schools is illustrative:

The Federal Government is making a major contribution in providing funds for improving the quality of Elementary and Secondary Education and exactly what its share should be is, I am sure, subject to a variety of professional opinions. I would suggest, however, that public school systems across the country can not continue to introduce

an increasing variety of innovative educational programs without some assistance by the Federal Government in the provision of funds for school construction. Boards of Education are experiencing increased difficulty in raising capital funds. The shortage of capital funds is curtailing educational programs and activities. I recommend that the Congress give serious consideration to enacting The Elementary and Secondary Construction Bill and funding it liberally.

By far the highest percentage of those who made suggestions recommended that the Federal Government increase its support for existing programs. Of those who felt the Federal Government was not doing its share, 41.2 percent recommended as a solution that support for these programs be increased. This was particularly the case with officials of school districts enrolling 100,000 or more students, where 66.6 percent made this recommendation. The following table indicates by State, region, and size of school district, percentages of those who responded that the Federal Government is not doing its share and suggested "increased support."

The question was: "Do you feel the Federal Government is doing its share in providing funds for improving the quality of elementary and secondary education? If not, what suggestions do you have?"

## PERCENT OF "QUALIFIED NO" RESPONSES SUGGESTING "INCREASED SUPPORT"

States by region	Total	Size of enrollment				
		Under 1,000	1,000 to 4,999	5,000 to 34,999	35,000 to 99,999	100,000 plus
New England.....	39.0	44.1	35.6	50.0	0	
Connecticut.....	36.1	100.0	38.8	12.5		
Maine.....	29.6	20.0	31.6	33.3		
Massachusetts.....	37.7	27.2	34.4	75.0	0	
Rhode Island.....	71.4	80.0	0			
New Hampshire.....	63.6	0	75.0	100.0		
Vermont.....	33.3	100.0	20.0	0		
Mideast.....	48.0	42.0	47.0	53.2	0	100.0
Delaware.....	60.0		0	75.0		
Maryland.....	75.0		50.0	71.4		
New Jersey.....	58.7	63.2	28.1	50.0		
New York.....	37.3	27.2	36.4	43.2		100.0
Pennsylvania.....	51.6	33.3	51.2	59.4	0	
Great Lakes.....	38.3	34.6	39.2	40.8	0	60.0
Illinois.....	32.5	30.2	35.2	26.6		100.0
Indiana.....	48.1	66.6	48.8	40.0		0
Michigan.....	50.0	44.4	47.4	60.0		100.0
Ohio.....	32.0	23.0	34.0	31.2	0	0
Wisconsin.....	38.9	40.0	37.0	40.0		100.0

States by region	Total	Size of enrollment				
		Under 1,000	1,000 to 4,999	5,000 to 34,999	35,000 to 99,999	100,000 plus
Plains.....	35.9	36.0	34.8	42.4	40.0	100.0
Iowa.....	40.4	41.3	35.4	66.6	0	
Kansas.....	44.6	46.2	34.8	50.0	100.0	
Minnesota.....	32.8	33.3	31.7	37.5	0	
Missouri.....	32.7	31.4	32.6	36.4	0	100.0
Nebraska.....	38.4	35.4	42.8	100.0		
North Dakota.....	23.0	11.8	57.1	0		
South Dakota.....	35.7	37.0	35.8	0		
Southeast.....	50.0	36.4	54.8	52.8	20.0	100.0
Alabama.....	35.2	50.0	46.2	29.4	0	
Arkansas.....	40.6	36.3	41.9	60.0		
Florida.....	40.0	0	50.0	40.0		
Georgia.....	55.5	0	61.1	42.8	100.0	
Kentucky.....	58.5	100.0	52.0	70.0	33.3	
Louisiana.....	50.0		0	57.2	0	
Mississippi.....	33.3		28.6	40.0		
North Carolina.....	54.2		55.5	53.3		
South Carolina.....	62.5		75.0	66.6	0	
Tennessee.....	66.6	0	100.0	44.4		100.0
Virginia.....	38.4		60.0	36.4	0	
West Virginia.....	100.0		66.5	100.0	0	



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they hope we can hold the line and will do something about inflation.

It is because of that that I want particularly to commend the great leadership the Senator from Delaware (Mr. WILLIAMS) has brought to our country in this time of danger, and this time of inflation, when there are so many things we need to do and when the demands upon the dollar are as great as they have ever been, to try to bring about some fiscal sanity so that, first of all, the people of this country will understand what the true fiscal picture is.

It is in that context that I refer again to the Senator's figures wherein he calls attention to the fact that President Johnson indicated a surplus in his budget for 1969, an ending surplus of \$2,391 million, when in fact and in truth it will far more likely end with a deficit of \$6,962 million; and, further, for the year 1970, to which President Johnson referred, indicating there would be a budget surplus of \$3,414 million, when in fact and truth it will far more likely be in the neighborhood of a deficit of \$10¼ billion.

The Senator from Delaware (Mr. WILLIAMS) is performing a great service to our country. If these facts can be driven home, if the people of the United States, because of his efforts, can better understand where cuts must be made and what must be done by Congress and the executive branch in order to bring about the stability which everyone yearns for so earnestly, then I would say that this has been indeed a worthwhile effort on the part of the distinguished Senator from Delaware.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I thank the Senator from Wyoming.

I conclude with the statement that I think this has to be driven home to the American people. We are a great country. We are a great people. But our financial house is not in order. If the American people are told the facts about the dangers of inflation and how we have this deficit they will cooperate. All we have to do is lay the facts before them, and let them know we are really trying to reduce the cost of Government.

One other point on which I concur completely with the distinguished Senator from Wyoming—I am glad he brought it up—and that concerns the working people in the Park Service. They are not the ones trying to threaten Congress. I am very glad the Senator mentioned that, because I want to make it clear that I have great respect for those men and women in the field. In fact, it is those very people who have called to our attention the complete farce of this 5-day week for our Park Service.

As in the Post Office Department, my criticism was of the executive branch for trying to get that agency exempted when at the same time it had 20,000 more employees. It was not directed at the postal workers themselves. It is not the Indians to which I refer here but the chiefs who are down here creating these imaginary problems in order to expand their own bureaucracies. They are using these bona fide workers, those who want to do an honest day's work for the Government, as pawns.

Nevertheless, I think we must recognize that this is an overstuffed bureaucracy at the top level. It contains too many chiefs, and if we can send some of these chiefs out to do a little work in the field it may be good for them, and it will certainly be good for the country.

### ME IRAQ AND THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, a number of Senators are interested in expressing their denunciation of the executions which have just occurred in Iraq. Thirteen Senate colleagues, from both parties, have joined me in a statement which I will now read:

#### SENATORS DENOUNCE IRAQI EXECUTIONS

The show execution before a half million spectators in Baghdad today is not a single incident but the culmination of the bitter persecution of some 2,500 Iraqi Jews, the last small remnant of a once thriving community dating back to Babylon which asks now but to be left alone and live in peace with its neighbors. The concern expressed by Secretary of State Rogers and Secretary U Thant over the mass public executions of Jews and others in Iraq reflect, I believe, the abhorrence felt by the civilized world at such foul deeds. Even now the Iraqi have yet another opportunity to show some human compassion in the eyes of the civilized world by permitting the relatively few remaining Iraqi Jews to emigrate to freedom rather than to remain in a land where their freedom to work, to communicate and to move about is denied and where the very lives of those who remain are so threatened. The people of Iraq must know that the conscience of all mankind cannot be affronted by such bloody deeds with impunity for very long! The voices of anguish from within Iraq will be heard.

Senators joining me in this statement are: Senators MONDALE, DOMINICK, GOOD-ELL, MURPHY, SAXBE, SCOTT, HART, PROXMIRE, RIBICOFF, TYDINGS, YOUNG of Ohio, MATHIAS, and CRANSTON.

Mr. President, the public-show hangings of alleged spies in Baghdad is a despicable act of the most barbarous kind. It takes us back centuries in history. It represents the most primitive kind of effort to persecute and to extinguish the lives of Jews and others of questionable guilt. It is very clear, though the Jewish minority involved in Iraq is very tiny, that this has the characteristics of a kind of genocide. I say that for the reason that, in the first place, world opinion has dismissed out of hand the transparent canard that the killing of these people has anything to do with their alleged "spying."

The Jews constitute an infinitesimal minority of 2,500 people in Iraq. Yet nine of the 14 who were executed were Jews, not that I draw any brief especially for them as against others who also lost their lives. Certainly it is very clear, however—and I will give the history in a minute—that the action against those who are Jews was clearly an action of spite, of temper, and of persecution.

Mr. President, here is some of the evidence on that score. The executions were the climax of the increasingly repressive treatment of Iraq's Jews which began a new phase of intensity in June 1967, following the Six-Day War.

The transparency of the proceedings in which it was alleged that these people were spies is illustrated by the fact that a so-called leader of the plot—an old Jewish man—can neither read nor write nor drive a car. He would hardly be the person to be entrusted with espionage responsibilities by the highly professional and sophisticated intelligence services of Israel.

For months the conduct, and even the ability of Iraq's Jewish population to move about, has been very severely circumscribed. Many have been fired from their jobs, removed from their business and professions, put out of schools, excluded from clubs and so forth. They have had their telephones cut off and are under constant police surveillance, and frequently are picked up for interrogation by the police.

Their movements are restricted to 4 kilometers, or 3 miles, from their place of residence; and they are forbidden to receive any income more than \$240 a month with no remittances from outside permitted. A majority of the Jewish population has been reduced to living on welfare provided by their brethren within Iraq.

The critical factor is that all migration has been stopped by the Iraqi authorities. If Iraq really had any serious concern about a "security threat" from the infinitesimal Jewish minority, the quickest and easiest thing to do, and it would be welcomed with open arms, would be to "Let my people go," as the Biblical saying is. Just let them leave, as they are anxious to do. Israel is anxious to welcome them and give them refuge.

But we are facing a situation of a very clear persecution of the Jewish minority and what now begins to look like genocide. Immediately upon the heels of the world's protest regarding this matter, the only reaction one receives from the Iraqi Government is that it is planning more "spy trials" and more public mass executions.

Mr. President, our Government has denounced this shocking horror. Our Government has also said it is endeavoring to dissuade Israel from retaliation. I, too, hope that Israel would stand by, at least for a little bit, to see if the very clear expression of world opinion, to which we contribute by this discussion today, might somehow or other reach into the horribly twisted minds which have sponsored these terrors, horrors, and brutal acts.

There are other ways, however, in which some effect may be had upon Iraq. In the first place, is not this the clearest kind of illustration of the dreadful and serious responsibilities borne by the Soviet Union and France, which continue to be the principal suppliers of arms to Iraq? Does not the conscience of the world have a right to say to them, "If you suborn, support, and arm such a government, are you not yourselves tainted with the responsibility for what Iraq does when it engages in such crimes and atrocities as the public-show executions following trials in camera, which we have just witnessed?"

Mr. President, this is a clear illustration following many other acts, as to why the situation in the Middle East is one

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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

January 29, 1969

of grave danger to world peace. This is why there is the most urgent requirement, of the highest priority and diplomatic effort by the United States, to see if it is not possible to bring an end to the conditions and the framework within which such atrocities as these take place.

I am not unmindful of the condemnation which accompanied the raid which the Israel forces made on the Beirut airport. I am not unmindful of the deep feeling of frustration and resentment which the people of Israel felt when the resolution of condemnation was adopted by the United Nations following that raid, because no account was taken of the action of the Arab States, including Lebanon, in harboring and officially sponsoring the commandos and guerrillas who have been shelling Israel and killing people all the time. It was from Beirut that the two guerrillas staged the raid on the El Al plane at Athens came—a raid which endangered the lives of not only Israel civilians but also of Americans who were in the El Al plane. One Israeli was killed.

Israel feels deeply resentful and frustrated because the United Nations has been quick to condemn it, but has not heeded to its longstanding plea for an investigation of the persecution of Jews in many Arab countries. For all practical purposes, the local Jewish population has been ejected from those countries and their property has been confiscated, with Israel their only refuge.

Also—and I say this just to be even-handed, because I only give an account of the dreadful conditions under which this situation is festering in the Middle East—there is a situation in which Israel itself has its own problems, in respect of its own extremism. There is a newspaper report of shooting upon Arab women in the Gaza strip. This is a matter of the greatest regret, as expressed by Israel's Defense Minister Moshe Dayan, who promised prosecution even of any army officer who was found to have violated what should be his clear duty and clear authority in respect of that action.

So, Mr. President, this situation is boiling up. We must never forget, too, that in the Mediterranean the nuclear-armed fleets of the United States and the Soviet Union face each other. I was there myself approximately a month ago, and actually spent some time on an aircraft carrier. I saw the Soviet destroyer within a half mile off the bow of the aircraft carrier. The destroyer was there for only one purpose—to signal the position and activities of the American aircraft carrier.

This is the tense, dangerous, and incendiary condition that exists in the Mediterranean.

What the irresponsibility and incendiarity in this area is capable of is illustrated by an event which took place during the 6-day war. It will be recalled that during the 6-day war, both President Nasser and King Hussein were responsible for a broadcast to the world accusing U.S. aircraft of being engaged in war operations against Egypt and Jordan. Fortunately, the Russians knew this to be false, because they were monitoring every American aircraft carrier

in the area. But that was fortuitous. Somebody with a quick finger on the trigger in the Russian Navy or Army could have reacted otherwise. It was perfectly clear that the information put out by President Nasser and King Hussein either was so reckless as to be culpable, or it was intended to entrap the Soviet Union into the war.

Now, Mr. President, we see the same mentality at work in Iraq. The "spy plot" for which these people were hanged was widely advertised last December by the Iraqi press, which is completely controlled, as being—I quote this from an announcement by the Iraq Government over the Baghdad radio and television in December 1968—"an American plot to overthrow the Iraq regime."

That is what these people were tried for, that is what they were arrested for, and that is what they were hanged for.

Mr. President (Mr. Young of Ohio in the chair), it brings us down to this situation: Can we in the United States and can the Soviet Union arrest what seems to be the onward surge toward renewed tragedy?

The Soviet Union recently made a proposal with respect to the possibility of peace in the Middle East. The Russians, as we all know, are chess players—in their diplomacy as well in their game rooms. So what are their real terms? Their real intentions and their real objectives will only come out in time. What they have done so far is to ask the United States, Israel, and other countries to agree to an unacceptable proposition—one they know to be untenable. They say that Israel shall first evacuate the occupied territories and then the Arab States will give a paper declaration of an end of hostilities, and that this would represent at least de facto recognition of Israel.

After the disillusionment which followed Israel's compliance with the international mandates endorsed by the United States in 1956 and 1957 to evacuate the Sinai Peninsula, precisely based upon assurances by President Nasser, and because they were not even honored for a minute, certainly our country would not ask, and Israel would not comply if we did ask, with any such proposition. The Soviet Union knows it as well as we do.

We cannot assume that the Soviet Union is not interested in some resolution of the problem which faces both them and us in this area of the world. No matter what may be their motivation, I deeply feel that they do not want an atomic war any more than we do—and the Mideast situation could well lead to that.

Mr. President, it is my judgment that we must proceed to test Soviet intentions in this regard. There are ways to do it. I do not exclude, incidentally, the participation of other powers in the search for a meaningful peace formula, notably the United Kingdom and France, notwithstanding France's real perfidy in respect of its arms supply to Israel and the cutting off of that supply at a critical moment so dangerous to Israel's national survival. France nonetheless is an important power in the world and in this

area, and must be considered. But the basic and heaviest responsibility will be upon the United States and the Soviet Union, the two superpowers.

There is a great difference in interpretation between the United States and the Soviet Union with respect to the basic document in the United Nations which seeks to set the ground rules for peace in the Middle East, which contained in a resolution dated November 22, 1967, unanimously adopted by the United Nations Security Council.

I now have the resolution before me and I shall refer to it. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION,  
NOVEMBER 22, 1967

*The Security Council,*  
*Expressing its continuing concern with the grave situation in the Middle East,*  
*Emphasizing the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every State in the area can live in security,*

*Emphasizing further that all Member States in their acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations have undertaken a commitment to act in accordance with Article 2 of the Charter,*

1. *Affirms that the fulfillment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:*

(i) *Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;*

(ii) *Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;*

2. *Affirms further the necessity*

(a) *For guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area;*

(b) *For achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem;*

(c) *For guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones;*

3. *Requests the Secretary-General to designate a Special Representative to proceed to the Middle East to establish and maintain contacts with the States concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles in this resolution;*

4. *Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the efforts of the Special Representative as soon as possible.*

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the Soviets say that the resolution means that Israel must first evacuate the territories which it occupied during the 6-day war in June of 1967, and that then the other operative parts of the resolution go into effect. I think the desire to interpret the resolution that way is strictly a service that the Soviet Union is trying to perform for its Arab clients.

But the U.S. interpretation of that resolution, which I think is the proper one, is that the various clauses of the resolu-

tion lean one upon the other, that the various clauses are interdependent, and that resolution is of an inherently integral nature. Mr. President, that interpretation would mean that the evacuation of the occupied territories must be a concurrent part of the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which requires certain fundamental actions by the Arab States also.

There is further reference to the termination of all claims or states of belligerency, the territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the area, and the right of every state to live in peace with secure and recognized boundaries, free from threats or acts of force and the guarantee of freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area; and, very important because it has been one of the most nettling problems there, just settlement of the refugee problem. Finally, there is the guarantee of territorial inviolability and political independence of every state in the area, through measures including the establishment of a demilitarized zone.

Mr. President, in order to carry out the logical meaning of this resolution to which the United States was a party, and to really make it effective, it is necessary to have considerable continence about the various activities, including the retaliatory moves of Israel, the horrors of these Iraqi executions, the raids of Arab guerrillas, and so forth, which are jeopardizing the peace in this entire area. There will have to be a lot of restraint by us, as well as by the Soviet Union, the Arab nations, and Israel itself, if we are to come through this period without another war.

Now, Mr. President, we all understand that no peace in this area is going to be lasting or meaningful unless it represents something which the parties concerned themselves are willing to accept. There is nothing fruitful in the concept of an "imposed" peace.

The Russians think a peace can be imposed, or they say they think so. Israel would not accept such a peace because the terms of the imposition could hardly be satisfactory to her. Second, the Arabs would hardly treat it seriously and it would be treated as a tactic to lay bare the jugular vein of Israel until the Arabs were better prepared.

I deeply believe what can be done must be based on three principles. First, the United States, in the final analysis, must see to it that a reasonable arms balance is retained. That is why the sale of the 50 Phantom jets was so important. It reflected our determination to see that Israel would not be bested in terms of arms because the Soviets continue in a most reckless way to supply sophisticated weaponry to the radical Arab States which threaten to exterminate Israel.

The second matter, which is critical to that situation, is that, as we counsel the Israelis, we must be restrained ourselves. We must realize that one swallow does not make a summer.

Even though we voted for the adoption of the condemnation resolution in the United Nations, this should not be the basis for pushing us into an attitude of

sanctions or other attitudes which would thereby play the game of the radical Arab States.

Third, the most constructive thing we can do now is to see whether, with the Soviet Union and possibly the United Kingdom, France, and others, it may not be possible to expand the instructions of Ambassador Jarring. He has said that he is operating like an itinerant post office. He goes from country to country. He gets a message from A and takes it to B, and he gets a message from B and takes it to A. But he himself is not endeavoring to bring about a settlement using the authority of the United Nations and all the nations backing the United Nations.

The Israelis have constantly desired direct negotiations. Perhaps that is unrealistic. If they desire it that does not mean we must insist on it. But there has been a technique tried which has been effective, and that is the technique of parallel negotiations. In other words, delegations of negotiators from various Arab states and Israel went to the Island of Rhodes in 1948-49 and negotiated, perhaps in separate rooms or separate facilities, but they negotiated to work out an agreement. That was an armistice.

We are now talking about some kind of peace but the technique remains to be tried. Therefore, it seems to me that the third thing we can do now to reduce the tension in the Middle East is to see that the Jarring mission becomes a negotiating mission in the same sense as the Rhodes negotiations of 1948-49.

I deeply believe that one of the great things about the people of the United States, is their admiration for the intrepidity, the courage, and the heroism of the people of Israel, that they only wish there were more people in the world, especially small peoples, and small nations, who had this kind of courage. But the people of the United States must know that bared breasts can stand just so much, that they cannot forever stand against jet aircraft, and the most sophisticated kind of weaponry which the Soviet Union is loading into the Middle East.

Therefore, the people of Israel need help. They need a sense that they will not be allowed to go down the drain, that in the crunch there are people in the world who care.

I deeply feel that the American people do care. That is why I have laid this matter out in such detail.

Mr. President, I conclude as I began, that the answer to the problems in Iraq, which we denounce, the many other acts which have so disturbed the American people, and the dangers in that area, is to bring about some kind of peace. To me, that is the No. 1 problem of this country, now that Vietnam is on the way toward some kind of settlement.

Mr. President, I have laid the bases and the ground rules under which I think we can operate to some effect, but more than anything else, it will take courage on the part of our people, too, to face the realities of the situation and not to flinch.

We should thank providence that unlike the situation we face in Vietnam, the Israelis can look after themselves, pro-

vided we help them and see that they have the means with which to look after themselves and sustain their freedom, and continue to be the greatest single bastion of freedom in that part of the world.

Thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the statement the Secretary of State made on January 27, the statement of U Thant, Secretary General of the United Nations, as well as an editorial from the New York Times.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY ROGERS, JANUARY 27, 1969

We have had no U.S. representation in Baghdad since the government of Iraq broke relations in 1967. We are not therefore in a position to comment on the facts surrounding the trials. On humanitarian grounds however these executions are a matter of deep concern to us. The spectacle of mass public execution is repugnant to the conscience of the world. At my request Ambassador Yost has called Secretary-General U Thant today to express our deep concern and to tell him that we share the expressions noted in his statement earlier today.

U THANT STATEMENT, DELIVERED JANUARY 27  
The following statement was made today by the United Nations spokesman:

"The Secretary General has learned with regret and concern of the announcement of the sentencing and hanging in Iraq of 15 persons charged with espionage, nine of whom were Jews.

"In the view of the Secretary General, mass trials and executions are always to be deplored and are particularly abhorred and dangerous when they are carried out in such a way as to inflame the emotions of the populous. As soon as he had learned of the trials being held in Iraq, the Secretary General, on 13 January asked the permanent representative of Iraq to convey to his government the Secretary General's deep concern about them, and particularly about the impact they would have on public opinion both inside and outside Iraq.

"In the exercise of his good offices on humanitarian grounds the Secretary General did not question the right of the government of Iraq to put on trial any of its own citizens, as were apparently all of these convicted, nor could he attempt to apprise the validity of the charges.

"The Secretary General fears that the repercussions from this unhappy development will also be likely to impede efforts toward a peaceful settlement of the conflict situation in the Middle East."

[From the New York Times, Jan. 29, 1969]

#### BACK TO FIRST PRINCIPLES

The United Nations is returning to first principles with U Thant's call for big-power agreement on the fundamentals of a Middle East settlement as a prelude to further U.N. action.

The world organization was founded on the assumption that the major World War II allies would cooperate to maintain peace in the postwar world. Without such cooperation, the United Nations, as now constituted, cannot perform its primary peace-keeping function.

Fortunately, there is now some evidence that the United States and the Soviet Union the two superpowers, may be prepared to work together through agreement through the Jarring mission and in guaranteeing a settlement through U.N. peace-keeping forces.



This could signal an important breakthrough in the Russian attitude toward the world organization.

President Nixon has not yet disclosed the initiatives he intends to take, but in his first news conference he made clear his concern over the danger of a big-power confrontation in the area. Mr. Nixon put himself in an excellent position to press for a U.N. solution when he named Charles Yost as United States Ambassador to the world organization. Mr. Yost has served in the Middle East and has put forward sensible suggestions for a settlement there, stressing the U.N. role.

It should be emphasized, of course, that neither the major powers nor the U.N. can or should impose peace. The major powers, as Mr. Thant made plain yesterday, can only exert "moral" pressure for a settlement. If there is to be lasting peace, the Arabs and Israelis themselves must work out the terms for implementing the Security Council resolution of Nov. 22, 1967, which provides a framework for agreement. The role of the world organization is to facilitate negotiation through its mediator, Dr. Gunnar Jarring, and to offer guarantees of a final settlement.

What is needed now is frank talk among the representatives of the major powers at the U.N. on ways to strengthen the Jarring mission so that he can more actively promote agreement among the parties directly concerned on terms for implementing the 1967 resolution.

Only with Soviet-American agreement can any U.N. peacekeeping forces sent to underwrite a settlement be counted on to stay put in an emergency and guarantee the rights of all parties. Israel must have assurances that she will not again be exposed to a sudden threat of invasion or to deprivation of her right of passage through the Strait of Tiran, as was the case in the spring of 1967 when U.N. forces were abruptly removed from Sinai.

The United Nations can be an effective force for peace in the Middle East, but only if the major powers agree to make it so.

#### PEACE ON THE SCAFFOLD

While the major powers move toward a more active role in promoting peace in the Middle East through the United Nations, it is also essential that all parties spare no effort to restrain the forces that agitate for renewed warfare in the area.

The executions in Iraq constitute such a force subversive to peace. The secret trials and barbaric public hangings by Iraqi authorities, with Iraq's captive Jews as the scapegoats, go beyond any valid exercise of internal security. They violate all standards of justice and decency and aggravate an already grave international situation. In conducting these drumhead trials and executions, the Iraqis have put peace on the scaffold.

The United States has urged Israel not to retaliate against the Arabs for this brutal act. But it is even more important that Iraq's friends and arms suppliers—the Soviet Union, France and other Arab states—condemn this atrocity and use all of their influence to discourage any repetition.

Indeed, it is high time the United Nations took cognizance of long-standing Israeli pleas for an investigation of the mistreatment of Jews in many Arab countries and acted to safeguard fundamental human rights. Only when the world organization deals even-handedly with injustice and violence on both sides can it hope to play an effective role in promoting peace between the Arabs and Israelis.

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, I rise to associate myself with the views and the cause of the Senator from New York. That cause is not merely the cause of the

people of one faith, the Jewish faith. It is not simply the cause of the people of one land, the land of Israel. It is the cause of the people of all faiths and the people of all lands.

All observers know that if the conflict that threatens so forebodingly in the Near East erupts, it could lead swiftly and directly to a nuclear confrontation that would involve this Nation and the Soviet Union. That conflict would threaten death not only to the people of Israel and to the people of the Arab states, but to the people of this land, of the Soviet Union, and indeed the people of all lands everywhere.

It is not merely a cause threatening and touching survival. It is a cause that should go directly to the conscience of all people everywhere, and perhaps most of all, to the consciences of the people in this land, because our unwillingness to do certain things at a past time in our history had a great deal to do with the emergence of the land of Israel as a place where people driven from Europe by the Hitler tyranny could find a haven and a home.

I happened to be in Adolf Hitler's Germany in the 1930's and witnessed, as a foreign correspondent, the atrocities directed first to the Jews, but very soon directed to the people of all faiths and all nationalities everywhere around this planet. It has always seemed to me that it was so much indifference on the part of the gentile world that led to the genocide that was directed first only to the Jews. It is that indifference that causes so many Jews to be fearful that once again such indifference may cause them to be subjected to terror and to atrocity and quite possibly to a process of being wiped out in the Near East through genocide.

I believe we have a great responsibility to show, by our deeds and the actions of our Government, that we are concerned; that we recognize the threat that exists in the Near East; and that we are determined to do all that we can through our Nation to preserve peace that will be just to Israel, just to the Arabs, and acceptable to all people. I believe that sort of peace is possible at this time in that part of the world, and indeed in all parts of the world.

I hope we can achieve that peace through the processes of the United Nations. I hope we can achieve it through understanding; through an understanding of the needs and the views of the people of Israel, and at the same time through an understanding of the needs and the views of the Arab people. I hope we can involve in such processes the government and people of the Soviet Union, because they have a stake in the Near East, as we have a stake in the Near East, as all people have a stake in the achievement of peace in the Near East. All the prestige and strength of our land must be devoted to that cause.

I agree with the Senator from New York that, as we long for the peace in Vietnam which seems perhaps to be within the grasp of our hands, we have perhaps a greater problem and a more severe task and a deeper challenge in the Near East. We must devote our greatest efforts

to that cause. I believe we can do so successfully.

Mr. JAVITS. I am very grateful to my colleague from California, who comes to us with a great reputation for a deep study of the need for a national purpose and with a lifetime sense of purpose with respect to peace in the world. I think that has been quite well displayed by the remarks he has just made.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from New York had told me he would speak today on this subject, not just to the question of the executions in Iraq, but that he would also make some suggestions toward a solution in the Mideast. I wanted to hear him, as I always do, although I shall not try today to respond directly to the proposals which he has made, and which he believes might lead to peace in that troubled area.

I am aware also of the deep sorrow and concern by which our colleague, the Senator from New York, is moved. Knowing his deep emotion, I have always admired the restraint that he shows when he speaks about affairs in the Middle East.

I know all of us, and people around the world, always feel a repugnance toward mass executions such as occurred in Iraq or the shooting of Arab women which occurred in the west bank last week. These senseless acts of violence lead to retaliation and to other incidents, and they serve only to exacerbate the difficulties and passions in that area.

Last fall I had the opportunity to serve as a delegate to the General Assembly of the United Nations, and I had responsibility for one item, in the Assembly, which dealt with problems of the Mideast—the matter of the Palestinian refugees.

As always in the course of such a debate upon any matter dealing with the Mideast, there developed a debate over the larger questions of that area. While I have not visited these countries in the Mideast recently, I felt more deeply than I ever had before the passion of the people of all those countries, the tensions, and the difficulties that attend any settlement effort in the Mideast.

I was impressed, as never before, that the Mideast is the most dangerous area in the world today, second to our own troubled concern about Vietnam. As President Nixon said in his conference the other day, the Mideast is a tinderbox that could erupt into a war which would not only affect the countries of that area again, but could bring about a confrontation between the two great nuclear powers.

So I would agree with the Senator from New York that our country and our people must understand the danger of the situation. While today I do not intend to advance any specific views and plans that I have come to as a result of my experience at the General Assembly, I would agree with the Senator from New York that I doubt that there is any possibility of a settlement there unless it comes about through the influence of the United States and the Soviet Union. I would hope that a settlement could be achieved through the United Nations, in the framework in which the effort has

already begun, but, I repeat, I doubt that any settlement will occur without the efforts, and the concerted efforts, of the United States, and the Soviet Union.

So I am happy to have heard the Senator's speech today. I share with him his sense of concern over these acts of violence in the Middle East. I hope very much that all of us in Congress and in the executive, working together, can urge our country to use its best efforts and, as the Senator says, some passion, toward the settlement of this tragic problem.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I am very grateful for the comments of my colleague from Kentucky, who has a worldwide reputation, as well as a reputation in this body, for his calm, just, and very balanced evaluation of international affairs. It gives me heart that he finds merit in the basic thesis I have laid before the Senate.

Mr. President, I wish to close the discussion. Before I do, however, it is very important to emphasize the positive. I have always been very strongly for assistance in the resettlement of Arab refugees, and for the economic and social development of the Arab States. I hope I always shall be. The Middle East has the possibility of becoming a tremendously fruitful, prosperous, and happy area of the world, and I wish devoutly for nothing more than that.

I recognize that Israel is a Middle East state, and that her fate is intimately linked with that area of the world. I look forward, on the affirmative side, to a tomorrow in which all the peoples in the area may benefit from modern technology, engineering, development, and finance, which will come to them in enormous measure once there is some resolution of these dreadful concerns, and of the megalomania which some Arab leaders have.

The small nation of Israel can be of tremendous aid in putting the whole Middle East on a modern path; and that is the dream that I have, Mr. President, that this may yet be done. I shall do everything that I possibly can to forward it.

The real concern of people like myself is the fate and future of all of the people of the Middle East—Arab and Jew alike—and I shall dedicate myself to endeavoring to bring about some condition of greater security, peace, and development for them all, and some effort to rescue the tremendous Arab masses from the sea of despondency, hopelessness, misery, ill health, malnutrition, and superstition in which they have been immersed for so long.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I commend the senior Senator from New York for his most timely and important statement. Like the Senator from New York, I am shocked by the executions of Iraqi Jews reported from Baghdad on Monday. Secretary of State Rogers spoke for all of us when he declared:

The spectacle of mass public executions is repugnant to the conscience of the world.

As the Secretary General of the United Nations has pointed out, such mass trials and executions are "particularly abhorrent and dangerous when

they are carried out in such a way as to inflame the emotions of the populace."

Mr. Thant put his finger on what is so disturbing to all of us who deplore the rising level of violence in the Middle East. This tragic act in Baghdad can only make much more difficult the pressing task of finding a way to peace between Israel and the Arab States.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. President, I would like to join with Senator JAVITS in his statement condemning the recent executions in Iraq.

I am profoundly shocked by the mass trial and public execution of 14 persons, including nine Jews, by Iraq. I am even more shocked that the leaders of Iraq intend to go ahead with further trials of this nature.

In my opinion, show trials and public executions have no place in the judicial system of any civilized nation. These repellent methods should be consigned to the scrapheap of history, along with the lash, the thumbscrew, and the rack.

Besides being morally repugnant, I think Iraq's action can serve only to further inflame the explosive and uncertain situation in the Middle East. It will create considerable public pressure within Israel, as it obviously already has, for further retaliatory actions. It can only increase tension and add to the danger of war.

I am pleased that Secretary of State Rogers and Secretary General U Thant both have promptly condemned the hangings.

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, the crisis in the Middle East has been seriously compounded by this week's mass hangings in Iraq. Secretary of State Rogers has spoken for all Americans, and I believe for all mankind, in condemning the outrageous group trials and public executions now taking place in that country. These actions can only contribute to further tension between Arabs and Jews. Although not all those executed as alleged Israel spies were Jewish, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that these actions represent a special vindictiveness against the small band of Iraq Jews and a distorted expression of hostility against the State of Israel.

There is reason to fear that additional executions will result from the latest charges against individuals said to be agents of the Central Intelligence Agency. From the outside it is impossible to assess the facts of the various cases, but it is evident that the practices and procedures involved raise profound questions of international law and morality.

Surely it should be clear to the leaders in Iraq and other Arab States that no civilized purpose can be served by such primitive exercises. Indeed they not only offend the conscience of nations who wish to achieve cordial and constructive relations with both the Arab States and Israel; they also tempt the leaders in Tel Aviv to find ways to retaliate for what they conceive as simple terrorism against their brothers in areas under Arab control.

Provocative and unjustified gestures of this kind must be avoided if peace is to prevail in this troubled region. It is hardly

sufficient for Iraq to claim that these show trials and executions are exclusively domestic matters beyond the reach of international concern. That a state has the power to torture and kill human beings under its control is plain enough; that it has absolutely no right to do so without regard to fair judicial process is also plain. And the sentiment of mankind is obviously and rightly aroused in opposition to Iraq's methods in this instance.

The time has come for every nation in the Middle East to cease indulging in measures which wreak vengeance without contributing to peace, which vent frustrations in ways which only generate new frustrations. If Iraq and other states in the area value their reputations in the world and the prospects for peace in their strife-torn lands, they must begin to apply greater prudence and restraint in their national and international policies.

The tragedies of this week display the worst and most vicious instincts which afflict the human race. All men of good will should lend their efforts to see that they are not repeated.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### SALARY INCREASES

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, in the Salary Act of 1967, a provision was included which established a Commission for the purpose of recommending a change of salaries for Members of Congress, the judiciary, and certain top personnel in the executive branch. That provision provided for the establishment of a Commission. The Commission, in turn, would report to the President its recommendations for changes in salaries.

The President, after receiving the recommendations of the Commission, would evaluate them and make his own recommendations, and, in turn, he was then authorized to submit those recommendations to Congress with the further proviso that the new salaries would become effective within 30 days after the President had submitted his recommendations to Congress unless during that 30-day period one House of Congress had taken negative action to disapprove this course.

In the budget as submitted on January 15 President Johnson sent his recommendations to Congress with the proposed increases ranging from 40 to 60 percent.

On page 167 of the budget for fiscal 1970, we find this language:

The new salaries will become effective at the beginning of the first pay period after February 12, 1969, unless Congress acts to the contrary.

Recognizing this, and as one who felt that we could not afford at this time to increase congressional salaries, judicial salaries, and salaries of the top echelon of the executive branch by 40

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to 60 percent as was proposed, I introduced a resolution the purpose of which was to express the disagreement of the Senate with these recommended salary scales.

I recognize that an argument has been made in justification of some changes in salaries. Nevertheless, as I have stated earlier today, we do not have a balanced budget for either fiscal 1969 or fiscal 1970, as has been proclaimed. On the contrary, we are confronted with a deficit at the end of fiscal 1969—next June 30—of around \$7 billion and a projected deficit of around \$10.5 billion or \$10.75 billion for fiscal 1970.

Inflation has been rather rampant in this country. Inflation is the second most serious threat to our country. I place the Vietnam problem first.

I felt very strongly that the first order of business of this Congress should not be to increase our salaries by 40, 50, or 60 percent but rather that we should get our financial house in order. There is no use kidding ourselves. We cannot increase congressional salaries by 40 percent, as is proposed in this plan, and increase the salaries of the judiciary by some 40 or 50 percent, as is proposed in this plan, and increase the salaries of the top echelon in the executive branch by 40, 50, or 60 percent unless we at the same time are willing to face up to the reality that there will certainly be a request to increase the salaries of all civil service employees by at least 10 or 12 percent.

That represents an annual cost of \$4 to \$5 billion, or about one-half of the revenue to be derived from the 1-year extension of the 10-percent surcharge.

The Members of Congress and the members of the executive department should realize that if we increase our own salaries we cannot say no to the others. Carrying the matter a step further, if Congress increases its own salaries and the executive salaries by 40 or 50 or 60 percent and if we increase the salaries of other Government employees by 10 or 12 percent, the Government as the largest employer in the country cannot go to private industry and organized labor and say: "You should hold the line at a 4- or 5-percent price and wage increase in order that we may combat inflation."

Inflation is a great threat in this country. I think it has to be controlled; but I think the place to control it is in the Halls of Congress, and the top echelons of the executive branch must cooperate.

Congress should be willing to face up to these facts. The first order of business of the 91st Congress should be to put our financial house in order.

On that basis I introduced on January 15, 1969, the same day this recommendations came down, a resolution which read:

*Resolved*, That the Senate disapproves the recommendations of the President with respect to rates of pay transmitted to the Congress in the budget for fiscal year 1970 pursuant to section 225(h) of the Federal Salary Act of 1967.

Under the rules of the Senate, this resolution was referred to the Post Office and Civil Service Committee for action.

We find in the rules of the Senate—and this is the nearest rule we can find ap-

plicable to it—that under the reorganization plan of the Hoover Commission it was provided with respect to these recommendations of the President's that if there were a resolution of disagreement it would be referred to the appropriate committee, but the committee was supposed to report this resolution back to the Senate with either a favorable or an unfavorable report.

It provided:

If the committee to which it has been referred a resolution with respect to a reorganization plan has not reported it before the expiration of ten calendar days after its introduction, it shall then (but not before) be in order to move either to discharge the committee from further consideration of such resolution, or to discharge the committee from further consideration of any other resolution with respect to such reorganization plan which has been referred to the committee.

Mr. President, I want to be frank about the matter. After studying the rule and reading the law as it was put into the salary act I found it did not specifically spell out that the committee must take action within 10 days although it was understood by all Members that such would be the action taken by the committee.

After introducing the resolution I directed a letter to the chairman of the committee asking that the committee give consideration to this resolution and either take favorable or unfavorable action and then refer the matter to the Senate in order that the Senate itself could vote on the question.

I am disappointed that the committee, after holding this resolution 2 weeks, has decided that it will not take any action whatever. Apparently the plan is to let it die in the committee and thus let the 40 percent congressional salary increase become effective without Members having to answer a rollcall.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a copy of my letter addressed to the chairman of the committee be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

U.S. SENATE,

Washington, D.C., January 21, 1969.

Hon. GALE W. McGEE,  
Chairman, Post Office and Civil Service Committee,  
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: On Wednesday, January 15, President Johnson sent to the Congress his salary recommendations under Public Law 90-206. On the same day I introduced Senate Resolution 17, the purpose of which was to express Senate disagreement with these recommendations.

It is my understanding that the Senate has but thirty days in which to act on this Resolution, which means that we must take action before the Lincoln Day recess. For this reason I am asking that your Committee take action and report this Resolution with your recommendations either in the affirmative or negative.

I am not asking that hearings be held on the Resolution, but should the Committee so desire I would be willing to testify in support thereof.

Yours sincerely,

JOHN J. WILLIAMS.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. It is regrettable that no action has been taken by the committee. I have been officially

advised by the committee chairman that the committee does not contemplate taking any action and that it is their plan to let the resolution die in the committee. Presumably the plan is to prevent a Senate vote.

To accept this as the final conclusion would mean that we, the Members of the Senate, had delegated to the committee the right to make the decision for the entire Senate. All Senators should be allowed to express their own views on this particular subject. Certainly the question should be brought before the Senate, and I so expressed myself to the members of the committee.

Since the committee has decided that it will not take action I am now confronted with the question as to what steps can be taken to get a Senate vote. There are two steps which can be taken. One step is to submit a duplicate resolution and ask for its immediate consideration. I fully recognize that objection would be made to that unanimous-consent request.

Under the rules of the Senate—rule XIV—the resolution could be offered, unanimous consent could be requested for its consideration, and no doubt an objection would be made; but the resolution would automatically go to the calendar and be there for consideration on the next legislative day.

The second step that could be taken would be to offer a motion to discharge the committee from the further consideration of the resolution. In that event, the resolution would automatically be before the Senate.

The Senate has the responsibility to vote on these proposed salary increases. If a majority of the Senate feels that the resolution should be defeated and that the salary increase should go into effect let it so vote. Surely the Senate will not sit back and let the proposal become law by negative action, whereby all would receive a 40- or 50-percent salary increase but still be in a position to answer our constituents by saying, "I personally was against the salary increase, but the others were for it. I did not get a chance to vote."

I know Senators well enough to know that they are all eagerly waiting for an opportunity to vote on this most important question. I intend to give them that chance. So in order to initiate the steps for voting I submit a resolution which I ask to have read. Following the reading of the resolution I shall make a unanimous-consent request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be read.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

S. RES. 82

*Resolved*, That the Senate disapproves the recommendations of the President with respect to rates of pay transmitted to the Congress in the budget for fiscal year 1970 pursuant to section 225(h) of the Federal Salary Act of 1967.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I ask for the immediate consideration of the resolution.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Young of Ohio in the chair). Objection



ME SETTLE THE ISRAEL-ARAB BORDERLINE DISPUTES NOW

## HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 29, 1969

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, it appears that the majority of the nations who make up the United Nations' voting strength is aligned against independence for any nation who desires self-government. The international Communists seem to have more strength within the halls of the United Nations than the forces who are fighting for freedom and self-government throughout the world.

Nasser and his Middle East allies are part of this international Communist conspiracy and it is their intention to destroy the free nation of Israel either through blitzkrieg attack or through the slow process of undermining its economy and its progress toward independence and freedom.

The Iraqi Government vowed yesterday to hold more espionage trials despite protests over the execution of 14 men accused of spying for Israel. The Iraqi Government indicated today they will put 35 more prisoners, including 13 Jews, on trial for spying and sabotage. The Baghdad radio reported that other spies will be tried soon.

The Jewish population, not only in our country, but throughout the world, is unanimous in protesting the attacks and sabotage which have become an organized and almost daily occurrence against Israel. Israel is the only nation within the Middle East complex of nations who opposes tyranny and is fighting to preserve democracy and freedom for its people.

For 20 years, notwithstanding the armistice and cease-fire agreements, the Arab States have waged war against Israel. The organized assassins quartered in Arab countries are ordered by their masters to murder men, women, and children in Israel. This small free nation is engaged in a struggle for its life. The United Nations seem to have abandoned the purpose for which it was created—to safeguard justice and peace over the globe. Why does not the United Nations protest the Arab terrorists in their concentrated effort to kill Jews, not only in Israel, but elsewhere? For some reason the United Nations has disintegrated and is silent when the Arabs, by reason of their barbarous instincts, kill Africans by the tens of thousands in the Sudan, persecute citizens of Algeria, Egyptian pilots fly Soviet planes, and add flames to the murders in Biafra.

The Government of the United States, through its State Department and connections with other free nations, should start immediately with effective warnings against the Arabs to cease their international crimes and terminate their attacks to destroy their neighboring nation of Israel.

I am satisfied that the American people of all nationalities and categories will support all efforts to terminate the Soviet-Arab air conspiracy to annihilate a free neighbor.

An avalanche of actions by Nasser and his tyrannical associates will justify all steps that our Government will take to preserve the only democracy, the only nation with self government in the Middle East area. Israel is entitled to this consideration by the free world as a matter of right and justice.

## ATLANTIC MONTHLY ARTICLE SHOWS GRIEVANCE ARBITRATION A TRIUMPH OF FREE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

## HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 29, 1969

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, one of the greatest triumphs of American labor and management is the grievance and arbitration system, now written into about 100,000 separate company-union contracts, for settling disputes arising during the contract term. Because it works so effectively, this private system gets almost no public plaudits. However, in the Atlantic Monthly for January 1969, Ben Rathbun, the associate editor for the Bureau of National Affairs, Inc., has written a first-rate commentary on the system's importance to our economic stability. Mr. Rathbun, who also has written on labor matters for Harper's magazine and the Yale Law Journal, pays a well-deserved tribute—not only to labor and management—but to the private arbitrators who have contributed so much to making the system work.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Extensions of Remarks today.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

### LABOR ARBITRATION: BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

(By Ben Rathbun)

About a year ago at the Ford Motor Company plant in Dagenham, England, an employee was told to put a new drill in his machine, a simple chore he'd always done before. But now he balked for no apparent good reason. When he was suspended temporarily, 100 of his co-workers walked out in protest. Within two days, 9000 Ford employees were laid off because of the crippling effect of the walkout.

As is the case with about 95 percent of all the strikes in Britain, the stoppage was "unofficial," without the sanction of the national union. It could hardly be called illegal because almost no strikes are illegal in Britain. But legal or not, these "wildcat" strikes have been characterized by Lord Carron, the ex-president of the one-million-member Amalgamated Engineering and Foundrymen's Union, as "hammer blows at our [Britain's] existence." Largely because of the "quickie" strikes, the *Economist*, that fount of measured judgments, describes the labor relations picture in Britain as "a uniquely horrible mess."

If the Dagenham case had arisen, for example, at the Ford stamping plant in Cleveland, Ohio, it would have been handled differently. The recalcitrant employee's protest against being sent home would have been referred to a formal union-management settlement process for resolution. The odds

are 1000 to one against a strike, but if the episode had boiled into a crippling walkout, the United Auto Workers' national staff would have moved in to end the stoppage.

### GRIEVANCE

This private system for avoiding wildcat strikes about a multitude of issues from tardiness to the quality of washroom toilet tissue has been written into close to 100,000 separate private contracts between management and labor. It is founded upon a voluntary union pledge not to strike over so-called grievances arising during the period when the contract is in effect. Instead, union and management agree to the arbitration of all unresolved grievances. Those not settled by the supervisor and the union steward or by higher officials in joint conference are sent to a private arbitrator. The parties agree in advance that the arbitrator's decision must be accepted as final and binding.

Except in highly regulated industries like the railroads and the airlines, the entire system is strictly a matter of private agreements. Neither state nor federal law requires the no-strike pledges given and honored by unions, and only a relative handful of the more than 40,000 arbitration decisions rendered annually ever wind up in court. Each year literally millions of grievances are resolved peacefully. For those not settled at the local plant or office, the arbitrator's ruling is unreviewable, uncontestable, and unimpeachable. With the rarest exceptions, the incident is terminated utterly. In Alva Johnston's phrase, it's "like a building falling on a man."

There are basically two types of strikes in this country. The first is that which occurs in the legally authorized period after a contract terminates. When the parties cannot agree on new money terms and other benefits, the union has the right to strike.

The second is the strike over grievances that erupt during the contract term. This report deals only with the latter. And, make no mistake, these strikes are no mere side-show to the crucial emergency affairs. Despite the gravity of the questions raised by major strikes over new contract terms, most of today's ablest managers would regard the return of midterm "wildcat" strikes as an equally serious menace.

Management's willingness to pay a high price in return for strike-free day-to-day stability is generally overlooked by the press. This attitude was aptly summarized some years back by Harry W. Anderson, General Motors vice president for industrial relations at the time: "The public doesn't understand about these highly-publicized settlements: the big thing we're buying is the union's collaboration in making that grievance system work. That day-by-day union performance on dealing with grievances and keeping production going smoothly is a damn-sight more important than the money deal we make with Walter [Reuther]."

In Britain, no such gyro-stabilizer for day-to-day employee relations has been developed. As Theodore W. Kheel, the American labor troubleshooter, pointed out recently, the most important practical difference between the U.S. and British systems is the power of a local shop steward in Britain to "call a nuisance walkout any time he chooses." Recent causes of these walkouts include a welder's changing a light bulb instead of waiting for an electrician to do it; the installation of automatic tea dispensers to cut down excessive tea-break time caused by individual tea brewing; the disciplining of an Andy-Capp-like brewery employee who regularly "knocked-back" more than his two free pints of on-the-job bitter each day; the hiring of a Negro at Alcan Industries in preference to several white applicants; the reduction in the number of sausages at tea breaks at a Liverpool shipyard.

Harold Wilson's Labor government declared that a wildcat tie-up on the Royal Docks in

1967 was a major factor in driving the government to its November, 1967, devaluation of the pound sterling. The broader result of these walkouts is what Lord Carron called the "suicidal strangling of trade."

By contrast, as Kheel argued, the U.S. union leader uses his economic muscle to get big gains after the contract expires: "Because the U.S. union delivers the wage-and-fringe goodies when the contract is reopened at the end of its term, the union leader can say: 'Okay, you bastards, you can't strike for the next three years. Then we'll exercise our collective strength again and get something more that's really good.'"

Kheel raised a storm in Britain last year by declaring that the British employee relations system is "at least 50 years behind that of the U.S." Kheel indicated that Britain could be doomed economically unless there is a drastic revision of the current system under which anyone can call a strike anytime he feels like it. He noted that the economic damage of these wildcat strikes is enormous.

Kheel insists that British management fails to comprehend the need for "predictability" in its day-to-day relations with the employees. The British manager "doesn't know when the hell he's going to be hit by a strike," Kheel says, "and he has even less idea of how to settle it, except by giving in." As Kheel put it: "The ultimate consequence of this inability to plan" is to discourage industry from "going out and buying the machinery and making the other capital improvements that British industry desperately needs and isn't getting."

#### MINISKIRTS AND MOONLIGHTING

In this country, the agenda of issues going to arbitration gets ever longer. It includes disputes about math tests required for promotions; favoritism in overtime assignments; premium pay for five-foot, five-inch operators who can fit into the motor case of a NASA missile; company policy on long hair and beards; the right to take a second job (moonlight) at another company; the effect of miniskirts on production; and "civil-rights picketing as an excusable absence. Also on the arbitral agenda: the right to buy "numbers" tickets during working hours, on-the-job sodomy, and a blizzard as an act of God. From dolts to dope addicts, the arbitrators deal with all the variant personalities and problems in employee relations. Of the major issues, the staples are absenteeism, vacation-and-holiday scheduling, insubordination, abuse of sick leave, overtime, ability versus seniority in promotions, and discrimination against women in promotion, assignments, and so on.

Although arbitration of employee grievances in the United States ranges back to an 1865 steel puddler's case in Pittsburgh, only in the last twenty-five years has the system been broadly used. Prior to that, the New York cloak and suit industry, with Louis D. Brandeis as the arbitrator, under the famous 1910 Protocol; the newspaper industry and the typographical and printing pressmen's unions; and Hart, Schaffner & Marx, with its 1911 arbitration pact engineered largely by Sidney Hillman, the president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, did the most important pioneering with grievance arbitration. In the 1930's, Dr. George W. Taylor of the University of Pennsylvania attracted attention with his resourceful services as the arbitrator in the hosiery and men's clothing industries.

But the real breakthrough did not come until June 10, 1939, at a dramatic meeting of the United Auto Workers' General Motors Council in Detroit. The 119-day sit-down strike at GM's Flint plants in 1936-1937 was followed by GM's capitulation to John L. Lewis, the CIO president. But the auto workers were no more appeased than the Paris Commune had been by the Vicomte de Noailles's 1789 offer to surrender the rights

and privileges of the French nobility. Several frontized years followed in Detroit, Flint, and Pontiac.

One hundred and seventy wildcat stoppages hit General Motors between February and June, 1937. In 1938, there were at least 300. In most of the GM plants, the militant UAW members were cocked for instant strike action at the mere raising of a foreman's voice. They were about as concerned about GM's dependence on efficiency as H. Rap Brown is about the future of the Grosse Pointe Yacht Club.

By 1939, Walter P. Reuther, the head of UAW's GM Department, saw clearly that wildcat strikes could impair the infant CIO's opportunity to move into the economic and political big leagues. Advised by Sidney Hillman, Reuther began exploratory talks with GM officials. At the June 10, 1939, showdown of UAW's GM Council, Reuther spoke out against wildcat strikes: "I don't want to tie up 90,000 workers because one worker was laid off for two months. That is a case for the arbitrator." To many in the UAW, this was unacceptable appeasement, but Reuther managed to carry the day.

For its part, GM management was looking hard at the idea of a grievance-and-arbitration system before they'd even heard of Walter Reuther. They proceeded in the manner described by a longtime GM adviser from the investment house of Morgan Stanley: "When GM takes up a question, they don't just discuss it, they pulverize it." The result of Reuther's initiative and GM's homework was the 1940 agreement for a grievance-and-arbitration system.

#### RULE OF LAW

This agreement, coming at a crucial time, had an influential impact after America entered World War II. The War Labor Board, charged with handling wartime labor disputes, seized the occasion to write grievance-and-arbitration clauses into thousands of contracts. Despite their imposition at many companies as pure diktat, these clauses plainly answered what Justice Holmes has called "a felt need." They were widely embraced and became the sole point of labor-management unanimity at President Truman's post-war Labor Management Conference on the whole range of labor policy. Both the NAM and the CIO agreed on the desirability of private arbitration of employee grievances under a plan based on no-strike pledges by local unions.

The practical significance for management, unions, and the economy was summed up a few years ago by Archibald Cox, the former U.S. Solicitor General, now Boylston Professor of Law at Harvard:

"The extraordinary accomplishments of collective bargaining in the . . . years since [1935] . . . are all too easily forgotten. It is hard to think of any institution that has accomplished so much in the short span of [a few] years. . . .

"Take . . . the vital goal of establishing a rule of law in the mine, mill, and factory—the substitution of a rule of law [through the arbitration process] for the arbitrary and capricious power of the boss. Men have few greater concerns than this kind of justice. What equal example is there of extending a rule of law—both substantive rights and duties and also the machinery to administer them—into so large an area of human life affecting so many people within so short a time. Nothing less has been done by collective bargaining through the rules it brings into the shop and the industrial jurisprudence being made and administered through grievance procedures and arbitration."

In addition to Dr. George W. Taylor, who became a special adviser on labor relations to Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy, a remarkably able and wise group of arbitrators deserves credit for their role in the grievance-and-arbitration experiment. Most played important roles on the

World War II War Labor Board. Thereafter, many served as arbitrators for key companies and unions during the formative and trying stages of collective bargaining. For example, Ralph T. Seward at General Motors and International Harvester, Harry Shulman at Ford, Sylvester Garrett at U.S. Steel, Gabriel N. Alexander at GM, Harry Platt at Ford and Republic Steel, and Saul Wallen at Sylvania Electric Products and B. F. Goodrich contributed mightily to make the grievance systems work. Their constructive influence and example also were felt in many other fledgling relationships and were emulated by new arbitrators.

An arbitrator can be fired at any time by either party. He decides very few "great" cases, and his career can be lonely and often drab. But the luminaries in what is called the arbitrators' "College of Cardinals" move into the bright public light from time to time as White House mediators and fact-finders in the big labor-relations "spectaculars." In these national emergency cases, the role of the mediator is entirely different from that of the arbitrator, although many in the profession exchange the two hats with alacrity. The arbitrator makes like a judge and decides a case; the mediator makes like a high-level con man and tries to get the parties to resolve their differences themselves.

Others who have served with distinction in both categories include Ben Aaron, director of the Industrial Relations Institute at UCLA and a member of the Presidential Automation Commission of 1965; David L. Cole, President Eisenhower's Mediation Service Director; Archibald Cox; John T. Dunlop of the Harvard Economics Department, who is a dynamic legend even among his fellow "Cardinals"; N. P. Feinsinger of the Wisconsin Law School, who was chairman of the National Wage Stabilization Board; Robben W. Fleming, the president of the University of Michigan since 1968; Ted Kheel, who "plays God" in the tangled labor relations of New York City the way Dunlop did until recently in the construction and atomic energy industries; and W. Willard Wirtz, the Secretary of Labor under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

In some ways, the second wave of arbitrators has not been of comparable quality. The unions and management have been far too slow in extending their confidence to new arbitrators and in seeing to it that arbitration was made an attractive career. Some of the new arbitrators like Paul Hanlon, David Miller, Richard Mittenthal, and Rolf Valtin are excellent, but more are needed.

Today, about twenty-five years since arbitration was imposed from Washington on a reluctant management, the system is widely accepted. Although some procedures work poorly, and although the nature of the system, with winners and losers in every case, guarantees a hall of off-the-cuff contumely for the arbitrators, the system is under no serious challenge. The quick peek at the British "wildcat" strikes is bound to give pause to the harshest critics of the U.S. system.

THE HONORABLE PAUL F. SCHENCK

HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 23, 1969

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, I was saddened to learn of the passing of a former Member, the Honorable Paul F. Schenck, who so ably represented the State of Ohio here in the Congress of the United States for a number of years.

I thoroughly enjoyed serving with Mr.

Senator Melvin A. Steinberg.  
U.S. Marshal Frank Udoff.  
Al Weinstein.  
Philip Willen.

Among its various activities, the Safety First Club of Maryland:

Received a National Safety Council Trophy in 1959 "for outstanding contributions to traffic safety." This was a national award limited to the Safety First Club and 10 other organizations throughout the entire country.

Received a Certificate of Appreciation from the National Safety Council and the Advertising Council "in grateful appreciation for help given in the 1960 Stop Accidents Campaign . . . A campaign designed in the public interest to save lives and thereby make America a safer place in which to live."

The Safety First Club campaigned for several years for the adoption of a statute specifying that Driver Education courses be offered in Maryland's public high schools. Bill was approved by Maryland Legislature and signed by Governor Tawes on April 24, 1961. Governor Tawes subsequently declared: "The major credit for the adoption of the Driver Education bill belongs to the Safety First Club of Maryland because of its inspired leadership and vigorous and effective campaigning for this safety education measure."

Since its inception twelve years ago, the Safety First Club of Maryland has worked diligently for the adoption of traffic safety legislation to help reduce accidents on our highways. The organization has advocated:

- Employment of Meter Maids.
  - Point System.
  - Seat Belts.
  - Reflectorized motor vehicle tags.
  - Installation of devices on motor vehicles to eliminate air pollution from this source.
  - Adoption and enforcement of a Pedestrian Safety Program in Baltimore City.
  - Annual grant be made available by the State of Maryland to study, in depth, reasons for traffic accidents.
  - State Accident Control Records Bureau—established several years ago, and a valuable instrument in the field of traffic safety.
  - Compulsory chemical tests for drivers "under the influence."
  - Laminated photographs on drivers' registration cards.
  - Re-examination of drivers every four years.
  - Regulations for motorcycles and motorcycle operators.
  - Expansion of driver education programs.
- Many of these recommendations have been adopted; others have not. The Safety First Club has learned through experience that campaigning successfully for traffic safety legislation is a long and arduous task.

The Safety First Club believes that traffic supervision and control belong in the sphere of duly-constituted experts and authorities; out, nevertheless, such groups as the Safety First Club of Maryland can render services through planned and consistent safety programs, campaigns and activities aimed at helping to reduce our mounting traffic toll.

Safety First Club's major objectives are:

1. Help reduce traffic fatalities and injuries.
2. Stress the importance of traffic safety among our youth.

3. Work for the passage and enforcement of statutes aiming to reduce our tragic traffic toll.

4. Give proper recognition to the deserving for attainments in the field of traffic safety.

In an article published in the Congressional Record, Congressman Samuel N. Friedel stated:

The Safety First Club of Maryland advocates that "Safety Is Everybody's Problem." How I wish that it might be possible to instill this thought in consciousness of every man and woman, boy and girl, who lays a hand on the steering wheel of an automobile,

truck, or other automotive vehicle, releases the brake and steps on the gas, that each one of them is part of that group called everybody; and that it is highly essential for them to operate that vehicle with utmost care, that they may not snuff out either their own lives or the lives of innocent victims."

## CONGRESSMAN TUCK WELCOMES WESTINGHOUSE AND COMMENDS VIRGINIA ELECTRIC & POWER CO.

HON. W. C. (DAN) DANIEL  
OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, January 29, 1969

Mr. DANIEL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, in 1961 the Commonwealth of Virginia adopted an aggressive policy of encouraging the upgrading of existing industry and of actively seeking new industry. A principal purpose for the adoption of this policy was to create additional jobs for the young people graduating from our high schools, technical colleges, and institutions of higher learning. The industrial and business leaders of America have invested millions of dollars in plants and equipment in the Commonwealth since that time.

Westinghouse broke ground for a transformer plant in Halifax County, near South Boston, Va., on November 9, 1967. The plant currently employs 213, with a projected employment of 450 within the next 12 to 18 months. We are proud to have this new corporate citizen in the district which I have the honor to represent. Through the leadership provided by Mr. Ellis Cox, plant manager, and the dedicated employees, the first transformer was delivered to the Virginia Electric & Power Co. on December 19, 1968. At the ceremonies recognizing this milestone, former Governor and then Congressman William M. Tuck delivered an address which it is my pleasure to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM M. TUCK, AT THE DEDICATION CEREMONIES OF THE WESTINGHOUSE TRANSFORMER PLANT IN SOUTH BOSTON, VA., DECEMBER 19, 1968

Ladies and Gentlemen: It is a genuine privilege and pleasure for me to be here with you on this auspicious occasion when the first transformer produced by the Westinghouse Plant at South Boston is being turned out and delivered to the Virginia Electric and Power Company.

I appreciate the fact that my friend, Ellis Cox, could still introduce me as Congressman from the Fifth Congressional District of Virginia. I am just a temporary Congressman and I am getting more temporary every day. Although I enjoyed my associations in Washington, I look forward to leaving the confusion and dissension existing there and to returning to this picturesque and tranquil Southside Virginia community where I can enjoy the pleasure of a closer association with my friends after such a long and somewhat tempestuous career as a public official. I hope that when I am relieved of the heavy burdens and responsibilities, as well as the time-consuming duties, of the office of Congressman that I will be enabled to see more of you and I trust that you will not hesitate to command me freely and fully to assist in every appropriate manner in all community projects.

We are delighted to have the great Westinghouse Corporation in Halifax County,

Virginia, and the City of South Boston. In fact, this corporation and its dexterous and skillful personnel are already a very important part of this splendid locality. We regard them as our own.

Virginia is quite fortunate in the great industrial growth and development which we have experienced in the past several years. It is due not only to the foresight and the activity of our Chambers of Commerce and our industrial committees, but is due to the exemplary government which we have provided and with which we are blessed here in this grand old Commonwealth. We have enjoyed, and will continue to enjoy, splendid labor-management relations. Although I do not have at hand the exact figures for the present year, I do know that in recent years the record will show that there is probably fewer strikes and work stoppages in Virginia than in any of our neighboring states or our sister Southern states. At the same time, our people have had full employment and are blessed with satisfactory hourly, daily or weekly wages.

We are delighted to have these industries here. We have fair management-labor relations laws in Virginia, but best of all we are blessed by the fact that those employed in industry here desire to see Virginia progress along the best lines of safe and sane betterment. We are greatly indebted to the officers and directors of the Westinghouse Corporation for the establishment of this plant in Halifax County.

We are also proud of our other industries and our public service corporations such as the two splendid railroads that serve this community; and particularly the Virginia Electric and Power Company serving approximately 3/4 of the Commonwealth of Virginia. This organization has probably done more to stimulate the growth of industry in Virginia than any other group. My public duties throughout the years have enabled me to observe closely the methods of the operations conducted by the officials of VEPCO. I know that these gentlemen who manage this company are devoted and dedicated to the highest public service and interest. The management of these organizations to which I have referred has done much to enhance the cultural, economical, and educational development of the people of our State. We are delighted to have their representatives here amongst us today. We have cooperated with them 100 per cent and I am convinced that we will continue to cooperate with them to the end that this fine Southside Virginia community may maintain in the future a desirable balance between industry and agriculture and may give full employment to the people of this region.

I thank you very much.

## THE DETERIORATING SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, January 29, 1969

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, I share the apprehensions of many of my constituents of the 22d District of California about the deteriorating situation in the Middle East, and what we feel is a failure on the part of the United Nations to examine recent events there in their total context.

We are disturbed that the United States concurred in a Security Council resolution which can only be viewed as a one-sided condemnation of Israel for recent acts on her part. The December 31 resolution, the catalyst of which was



# THE RELIEF IMPASSE

Despite proposed safeguards, the Biafrans have consistently opposed the surface relief corridors the Federal Military Government has offered. Most observers view surface transport as the only means of conveying adequate supplies to the needy in Biafra. The Federal Government was initially opposed to the air corridors preferred by the Biafrans because of concern that they would be used to bring in military supplies as well. In September the Federal Military Government made a temporary agreement with the ICRC for regular daylight airlifts but the Biafran authorities refused to accept last.

The most recent example is 500 tons of foods collected in the New York area and loaded aboard the Norwegian freighter *Forra* on January 12. In addition, the *Forra* will carry 347 tons of goods and medicines from Israel, Britain, and the Netherlands as well as 2,000 more tons of food donated by CARE, and the National Catholic Welfare Organization to Sao Tome. The food and medicines will then be flown to Biafra.

In early November the Federal Military Government told the ICRC that it would agree to daytime relief flights to Uli if no arms flights occur at the same time. The Biafran authorities responded that daytime flights could occur only if the relief agencies created an airstrip to receive them. If both parties continue to disagree over badly needed air and surface relief corridors, one of the most terrible famines in modern times appears inevitable.

On January 13 the International Committee of the Red Cross hinted it would have to consider ending its relief work in Nigeria should it continue to be prevented from aiding Biafra. A week before, the ICRC halted its airlift to Biafra because Equatorial Guinea banned the carrying of motor fuel on the ICRC planes. The ICRC is now negotiating with Caritas, the Roman Catholic International Aid Organization, to fly in the fuel needed for Red Cross trucks as a stopgap solution.

## U.S. POLICY

Because humanitarian, political, and military factors are interwoven, it has been the policy of the U.S. Government to avoid political-military involvement by channeling support for the international relief effort through the nonpolitical ICRC and those agencies, including UNICEF, operating under its aegis. Both the Federal Government of Nigeria and the Organization for African Unity—OAU—have taken the position that all international relief efforts should be coordinated through the ICRC.

The feasibility and probable effectiveness of a possible referral of the problem to the U.N. General Assembly has been strongly influenced by the views of the Secretary General and the African states that the matter should continue to be dealt with by the OAU under chapter VIII of the U.N. Charter. If the Assembly were prepared to take up the matter, it has been U.S. policy that the United States would cooperate fully in seeking U.N. action.

No political consideration is of greater importance than the prevention of

wholesale famine in Nigeria. Former President Johnson consistently backed efforts by the OAU and the ICRC to bring about agreement on the opening of land and air relief corridors to the needy in Biafra. He has appealed to the parties to set aside the political issues of the war in the interest of reaching agreement on relief. The former President publicly backed the December 21 appeal to both sides by the Emperor of Ethiopia for a 7-day truce.

## CONCLUSION

On September 10, 1968, President Nixon stated:

Until now efforts to relieve the Biafran people have been thwarted by the desire of the Central Government of Nigeria to pursue total and unconditional victory and by the fear of the Ibo people that surrender means wholesale atrocities and genocide. But genocide is what is taking place right now—And starvation is the grim reaper. This is not the time to stand on ceremony and to go through channels or to observe the diplomatic niceties. . . . The destruction of an entire people is an immoral objective, even in the most moral of wars. It can never be justified; it can never be condoned. . . . The time is long past for the wringing of hands about what is going on. While America is not the world's policeman, let us at least act as the world's conscience in this matter of life and death for millions.

With only 200 tons of food a day reaching a people whose minimum relief needs are estimated at 2,000 tons a day, it is obvious that much needs to be done. I believe that the United States must find a way to bring relief to those in need without directly involving our country in the war itself.

Thus, as a cosponsor of this concurrent resolution, I call upon the President to significantly increase U.S. relief assistance to Nigeria-Biafra.

By passing the proposed concurrent resolution, the Congress will give public support to increased Presidential efforts to meet the human needs of those caught in the Nigeria-Biafra conflict.

## SAFETY FIRST CLUB'S YEAR-ROUND DRIVE TO TRIM TRAFFIC TOLL

### HON. GEORGE H. FALLON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 29, 1969

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, the Safety First Club of Maryland, a citizens' organization crusading for safety on our streets and highways, has established an excellent record for itself during the past 12 years. Headquarters of the group are located in Baltimore, Md.

With the Safety First Club now preparing for its 13th anniversary, it is fitting to call attention, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, to the work of this fine group, as described in an article originally published in the Baltimore Beacon of January 1969:

#### SAFETY FIRST CLUB'S YEAR-ROUND DRIVE TO TRIM TRAFFIC TOLL

The Safety First Club of Maryland, co-founded February 13, 1956, by J. O. Shuger, Past President (1956-62), and Maurice R. Shochatt, Executive Vice-President, crusades for safety on our streets and highways.

The Safety First Club is now making preparations to mark its 13th anniversary on February 13, 1969, the exact date of its founding.

The prominence of the leaders from various walks of life affiliated with the organization, the traffic authorities who serve as members of the Advisory Board, the traffic safety statutes to which the organization lent its efforts prior to their adoption, the calibre of speakers who address the club meetings—all indicate that the Safety First Club of Maryland has played a leading role in Maryland's traffic safety sphere for over a dozen years.

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Senior Vice-President: David Gordon.  
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Chairman of Executive Committee: J. O. Shuger.  
Vice-Chairman of Executive Committee: S. Sylvan Farber.  
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the Beirut bombing raids by Israel, failed to take account of the very real threat to the survival of Israel caused by activities of various Arab Nations surrounding Israel and including activities originating in Lebanon.

If we are sincere in our pursuit of an honorable Arab-Israel peace, and I believe we are, then we must profit from mistakes of the past, on our part and on the part of the United Nations. In 1956 and 1957 our Government exerted great pressure on Israel to withdraw its forces from the Sinai. To the later regret of President Eisenhower, promises made at the time were not fulfilled and they were breached—to Israel's severe disadvantage.

Since that time Israel's survival has been continually threatened by constant raids into her land by Arab guerrillas, guerrillas operating from states that have maintained a state of war with Israel for 20 years and which harbor and officially encourage terrorism.

One needs only look at the events which precipitated the 6-day war of 1967 to realize the injustice of the recent U.N. condemnation.

In May of 1967 Egyptian troops massed on Israel's borders with more than 100,000 reservists. Nasser imposed a blockade against Israel ships to the Red Sea through the Gulf of Aqaba; he dared Israel to go to war over the move knowing well that the gulf was an international water and the lifeblood of Israel. Harassment from Syrian raids continued on Israel's borders. Incredibly, Secretary General U Thant chose that time to withdraw U.N. security forces from the area.

Since the cease-fire after the 6-day war, there have been 1,002 incidents of guerrilla attacks against Israel with more than 259 Israelis killed and 1,005 wounded—many of them civilians. Even since the December 31 U.N. resolution condemning Israel, six more Israelis have been killed by terrorist attacks.

Throughout all this, the Arab States have maintained their boycotts and blockades. The United States, a Nation which understands well the importance of freedom of the seas, should appreciate the significance to Israel of Arab attempts to blockade international waterways. We should likewise understand the implications of the hijacking of planes. When Arab terrorists from Beirut attacked an El Al plane in Athens with machine guns and Molotov cocktails, they killed an innocent passenger, wounded another, and endangered the lives of 49 others, including American citizens.

Israel, a nation fighting for her life, made clear to the Arab governments supporting the terrorists that she was prepared to defend her sky lanes to the outside world, and that she would not allow her enemies to isolate and strangle her.

It must be made clear that Israel's Beirut air response came after she had complained to the U.N. Security Council following the El Al plane attack, and after she received a silent and indifferent response from this world body.

Mr. Speaker, I share the fear of many of my colleagues in the House that the

U.N. resolution will encourage the Arabs to intensify their terrorism, secure in the knowledge that a sympathetic Security Council will protect them by threatening anyone who tries to resist them. I share the fear that the Soviet Union will exploit the censure of Israel to whip up international opinion against Israel and to intensify pressures for a Soviet-dictated settlement which would force Israel to withdraw from occupied territories without requiring the Arab States to enter into a genuine peace with her.

We owe it to ourselves and to the Arabs and the Israelis to take strong measures to curb terrorism and to bring Arabs and Jews to the peace table.

### CAMPUS RIOTS

#### HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 29, 1969

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of my colleagues to an article which appeared this morning in the Washington Post, expressing some of the thinking of the distinguished lady from Oregon, Representative EDITH GREEN.

It is recognized by all Members that this lady's knowledge of our educational programs is superior. I commend to you her thoughts and recommendations concerning those students who are recipients of Federal loans and at the same time are disrupting orderly campus procedures. I also commend the distinguished gentlewoman upon her forthrightness and I support the premise that no student who incites rebellion on our campuses should receive our taxpayers' money in the form of grants or loans.

The article follows:

CAMPUS RIOTS IRK REPRESENTATIVE GREEN  
(By Ellen Hoffman)

Students who disrupt college campuses should not receive Federal aid for their education, Rep. Edith Green (D-Ore.) said yesterday.

"I'm sick and tired of a minority... making it impossible for the majority who want to attend classes" to do so, Mrs. Green, chairman of the House subcommittee on higher education, said.

As a result, she plans to hold hearings next month to take "a total look at higher education," focusing on campus disorders.

Mrs. Green believes that other members of Congress "feel much more strongly than they did last year" about denying aid to demonstrators because of continuing campus unrest.

Last year, Congress authorized college administrators to withdraw Federal loans and scholarships from students who disrupt campuses. Mrs. Green said she wants to find out how often funds have actually been cut off.

"We are faced with the fact that we have romantic revolutionaries, anarchists who are simply out to destroy" the colleges and universities in which they are enrolled, Mrs. Green said.

Before the rioting at Columbia University in the spring of 1967, Mrs. Green recalled, she preferred to leave decisions on Federal aid completely up to campus administrators.

But when she saw that "the same agitators who were at Columbia were in Chicago" at the Democratic National Convention last summer, Mrs. Green decided it was time for Congress to re-examine the law.

"If a person on a college campus is not there to gain a college education, he does not have a right to an education" paid for by taxpayers, Mrs. Green said in an interview.

She sees the question of supporting demonstrators with Federal aid as part of a larger issue raised by recent studies of higher education: "That every qualified student is entitled to an education."

Congress should determine who is "qualified" for support by taxpayers, she said. Special programs that encourage minority students to enter college by lowering admissions standards should also be studied, Mrs. Green said.

She said she has heard that some of these students cannot read or write.

Although no higher education laws are up for renewal this year, Mrs. Green believes "it's high time we took a look" at the Federal programs.

College students, faculty and administrators as well as sociologists and other experts will be called to appear before the subcommittee. Details of the hearings have not been worked out because new members have not been assigned to the subcommittee yet.

### AMEND FEED GRAIN ACT OF 1965

#### HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 29, 1969

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a bill today to provide the same statutory right for feed grains producers to receive prepayment for cooperation in feed grain control programs that cotton and tobacco enjoy.

The fact that these producers have had some chance of receiving this in the past was only because my colleague from Minnesota was able to amend the original Feed Grain Act of 1965, to give discretionary authority to the Secretary of Agriculture. My bill makes it mandatory, effective with the passage of this bill.

The cost of producing corn today is in the neighborhood of \$40 to \$60 an acre.

With farm credit facilities being taxed to the hilt, and with the high interest rates that now prevail, farmers have a very definite need for receiving some prepayment at the time of signing the contract to curtail their production.

It is significant to note that the outgoing administration, in its budget that was submitted to us on January 15, specifically eliminated all prepayment for feed grains in 1970, and cutback one-half of the prepayments for this year. Thus if farmers do not receive their full one-half payment this year, it can truthfully be said that it was because of the recommendation of President Johnson.

This is a bookkeeping trick of an outgoing administration—it does not save any money—it only transfers the financial transaction from one fiscal year to another. Therefore, it becomes only a political trick to try to deceive farmers into blaming this on the newly elected President and Secretary of Agriculture.

It would seem folly to have to come up

with emergency funding programs for many of our farmers later this year—when it may be largely avoided by simply passing this bill now.

# "PUEBLO": ORGANIZATIONAL FAILURE

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 29, 1969

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, many of my constituents have phoned me while home in the district or written me after reading and hearing press accounts of the naval board of inquiry's investigation of the *Pueblo* affair. I find there is considerable misunderstanding among the general public as to just what the issues are. It's quite natural, I think, for emotions to be aroused when one such as Commander Bucher, who has undergone such a trying experience, finds himself put on the pan, so to speak, and asked to undergo the kind of interrogation that is reported from the naval board of inquiry. I have made the point that from what disclosures have been made thus far, it would seem that Commander Bucher is headed for a court-martial, but I certainly don't mean by saying this that I believe this is what he deserves by any stretch of the imagination.

The Navy inquiry is limited in scope to matters wholly within the jurisdiction of the Navy, but it's quite possible that other branches of the Department of Defense shared in responsibility for the policies and conditions under which the ship operated. I don't think this will ever be disclosed fully unless we have an appropriate committee from the Congress conduct our own independent investigation and airing of the facts. Ultimately blame will have to be fixed but it is quite obvious to me at this juncture that we cannot permit Commander Bucher alone to shoulder this responsibility. It is quite understandable that the Navy should want to know from a captain of one of its ships why he turned it over to a foreign power without firing a shot and what options were available to Commander Bucher, notwithstanding his being shortchanged topside so far as defensive weapons were concerned, air cover, sea support, and adequate destruct equipment aboard for disposing of the secret and sensitive equipment aboard. Over and above this concern, we as Members of Congress want to know and I think the American public is deserving of knowing just who were those responsible in varying degrees for nakedly exposing this ship and making those decisions which obviously led to this most sorry chapter in our naval history.

Mr. Chuck Dancey, editor of the *Peoria Journal Star* and himself a colonel in the Marine Corps Reserves, makes a good point in his editorial of January 27 entitled: "*Pueblo*: Organizational Failure" and I, Mr. Speaker, include the full text of that editorial at this point in the Record:

## "PUEBLO": ORGANIZATIONAL FAILURE (By C. L. Dancey)

The bystander focus on the court of inquiry into the *Pueblo* incident is naturally and instinctively on the personality, the personal trials, and the performance of Commander Bucher—but that is not the key role of the court.

The key role, and one suspects the major problem in this event, is not an individual or personal assessment, but a review of the organizational structure and over-all systems used. A system which failed, whether Commander Bucher failed in any respect or not in his place in that system.

His place in it put him in a pretty horrible situation which was hardly his sole responsibility. Nor was it his task alone to extricate himself.

As far as the Commander, himself, is concerned, the only thing that he has testified to which is professionally shocking is his comment that he never thought about or considered the possibility of being attacked.

(This is belied somewhat by his request for "destruct" equipment.)

### SHOULD DESTROY AUTOMATICALLY

Nevertheless, it was a strange answer, because in military doctrine which must certainly be taught as basic to every officer the very first automatic responsibility of every unit commander is to provide for the "local security" of his unit.

One suspects that the larger question may be, however, how his security was to be protected within the over-all military setup in the areas where he operated.

And at this point it appears that nothing whatever existed of that nature.

It would begin to look as if the favorite game of the "Whiz Kids" who took charge of the admirals and generals in recent years was to bypass the regular military establishment and play with intelligence operations and special operations themselves.

If such was again the case in the operations of the *Pueblo*, the very people who might have and should have been responsible for both its operations and its protection were left on the outside of the whole deal, in no position to plan, to be prepared, or to accept responsibility for a prompt reaction.

### SYSTEM CONFUSED

Washington is a very long way off, and unless the area people have a responsible part to play it is already too late to prepare systems when something happens. That preparation needs to have been made in advance.

It is hardly a coincidence that confusion has surrounded two ships of the *Pueblo* type, the *Pueblo* and the *Liberty*, at opposite ends of the world, with tragic consequences in both cases.

One cannot help but suspect that there is something basically wrong with the organization structure and systems by which these special operations are controlled—and that it arises from the recent tendency of civilian brain boys to enjoy the freedom of bypassing professional military establishment and "go it alone."

This is a dangerous practice indeed and unfair to its victims. It should have been abandoned after the Bay of Pigs—where it began. It seems to be a continuing disaster.

## LAW AND ORDER AND THE SCHOOLS

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 29, 1969

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, former Commissioner of Education Harold Howe has never been noted for his

reluctance to speak out on major issues. The consistency with which he insisted on "telling it like it is" was, in my judgment, a very refreshing quality during the years he headed the Office of Education.

I was pleased to read in the *New York Times* recently that Dr. Howe's departure from Federal service has not prevented him from continuing to speak his mind on the issues with which he is familiar. I refer to a letter to the editor of the *Times* of January 19 in which Dr. Howe gives the new Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare some good advice on the subject of law and order as it relates to school desegregation.

For the benefit of my colleagues who may not have read Dr. Howe's letter, I include it at this point in the Record:

[From the *New York Times*, Jan. 19, 1969]

### FINCH'S ALTERNATIVES

ASHLAND, N.H.,

January 11, 1969.

To the Editor:

Your Jan. 11 issue reports that Secretary-designate Robert H. Finch of Health, Education and Welfare is considering alternatives to the withholding of Federal funds in school districts where desegregation is an issue.

Certainly every effort should be made by Federal officials to work with local school authorities to desegregate the schools without depriving children of the benefit of Federal programs. The outgoing Administration has made much effort and has achieved some progress in bringing about voluntary compliance with the law.

But the record clearly shows that voluntary compliance is not likely to be successful unless backed up by the willingness to use the legal procedure to withhold funds in places where racial discrimination continues. Indeed, the mere suggestion by Mr. Finch that he is considering using other methods will almost certainly encourage those currently practicing discrimination in the schools to continue it until he clarifies his views.

Mr. Finch needs to remember some facts as he makes up his mind about these matters:

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act requires the withholding of Federal funds from any grantee practicing discrimination on the basis of race; even if Federal funds are withheld, school districts have a constitutional obligation enforceable in the courts to cease discriminatory practice; the courts have firmly upheld the principles embodied in the H.E.W. guidelines for school desegregation.

The incoming Secretary of H.E.W. can do the new Administration and the cause of law and order a service by making it clear that he intends to enforce the law, even if it is not very popular in some quarters. If the law is not enforced by those whose duty it is to do so, what can we say to those who choose to disobey laws which are not agreeable to them?

HAROLD HOWE 2d.

## "HOOSIER," A WORD WITH A HISTORY ALL AROUND IT

HON. JOHN T. MYERS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 29, 1969

Mr. MYERS. Mr. Speaker, the term "Hoosier" is one of the most distinctive of all State nicknames. As a native of the Hoosier State, I am well aware of the



high school. She also talked to Mrs. Williams who was then Miss Claire Gage and speech instructor at the school at the time. Mrs. Doren told us: "I thought both Mr. and Mrs. Williams might remember Bill Rogers as a young 'hell raiser' or possibly some kind of a major problem. To my disappointment they didn't. They remembered him as a very good student, very bright, well behaved and no problem at all. I was disappointed. So often a great success like Bill Rogers has skeletons in his youthful closet and youthful escapades which make a good story. He was so well behaved that no one suspected he would ever become Secretary of State."

Bill Rogers joins three other Northern New Yorkers who reached the exalted position of Secretary of State: Secretary Kellogg who was born in Potsdam, moved to Minnesota with his family when a small boy, served as Secretary of State under President Coolidge; Robert Lansing, Secretary of State under President Woodrow Wilson; John Foster Dulles who served as Secretary of State in the Eisenhower Administration.

St. Lawrence County and Northern New York are proud of Bill Rogers and sincerely wish him a highly successful career in the high position to which he has been named. Those who know Bill Rogers have no doubt that he will be a great Secretary of State.

—F. R. L.

[From the Pulaski (N.Y.) Democrat]  
WILLIAM PIERCE ROGERS

The State of New York has provided many political leaders of national prominence over the years. Every resident can easily compile a long list of men from this state who have held high posts in the United States Government in addition to those men elected to Congress.

William Pierce Rogers, who will be Secretary of State in the administration of Richard Nixon, is a New York State man, and of even greater interest to Pulaski residents, he is a North Country man.

Rogers was born in Norfolk, St. Lawrence County, on June 23, 1913, lived in Canton, where he was first in his high school graduating class; received his Bachelor of Arts Degree from Colgate and his Bachelor of Law Degree from Cornell Law School in 1937. He served as a Lt. Commander in the U.S. Navy.

William Rogers became part of Governor Thomas E. Dewey's staff and later achieved prominence as Special Counsel to the Senate War Frauds Investigating Committee. He was Assistant Attorney General under Herbert Brownell and became Attorney General during the last three years of the Eisenhower administration.

Four other Secretaries of State have had North Country ties. John W. Foster, who owned property at Henderson Harbor, served under President Benjamin Harrison. His daughter, Eleanor, married Robert Lansing of Watertown, who became Woodrow Wilson's Secretary of State. Another daughter of Foster's, Edith, married Reverend Doctor Allen Dulles whose son, John Foster Dulles served under Eisenhower. Frank Billings Kellogg, who was born in Potsdam in 1856 was Secretary of State in the administration of Calvin Coolidge.

The rural and recreational land areas on the banks of the St. Lawrence River and the shores of Lake Ontario have brought forth many men of strong character and of high caliber.

The people of the North Country are proud that President-elect Nixon has selected William Pierce Rogers to become Secretary of State of the United States of America and our prayers and best wishes go with him as he assumes his high office.

[From the Massena (N.Y.) Observer]

WILLIAM P. ROGERS AS SECRETARY OF STATE  
Selection of William P. Rogers, native of Norfolk, by President-elect Nixon as secretary of state in the new administration pleases everybody throughout the area.

But this appointment is more than the recognition of the ability of a man who was born in Norfolk, graduated from Canton High School, Cornell University Law School and has since held responsible positions in government and in private enterprise.

It is more than just recognition of the splendid job Mr. Rogers did as attorney general in the Eisenhower-Nixon administration.

This appointment is assurance that the office of secretary of state will be conducted in the best possible manner.

President-elect Nixon wants a successful administration; he wants to solve the problems of the world, or at least to alleviate them as much as possible.

And he is selecting top men on his team. William P. Rogers, our man from Norfolk, is a top man for this job.

[From the Oswego County (Mexico, N.Y.) Weeklies]

U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE FROM NORTHERN NEW YORK

Secretary of State, William P. Rogers of Canton, New York is the fifth United States Secretary of State in history to have upstate New York ties.

Secretary Rogers was born in Norfolk, New York on June 23, 1913. He graduated from Canton High School and received his BA degree from Colgate University in Hamilton, New York. He graduated from Cornell University Law School in 1937.

Upstate New Yorkers should be proud that these important men in history were from our area.

[From the Jefferson County (Adams, N.Y.) Journal]

THE NEW SECRETARY OF STATE

William Pierce Rogers, born in Norfolk, Northern New York on June 23, 1913, will become the third secretary of state from this area when he takes office in the administration of Richard M. Nixon on Monday, Jan. 20.

It is noteworthy that leaders in the federal government have three times chosen their secretary of state from this section of the country. The first named was Robert Lansing in the World War I Woodrow Wilson administration, and then John Foster Dulles in the Eisenhower era. Both were from Watertown, New York, and both served with distinction through some of the most trying times the Republic has ever known.

William P. Rogers, a lawyer who has had wide experience before the bar and in government office, will also serve during some of the most critical times of the nation as did his predecessors from Northern New York. We have every confidence that when his chapter in history is written he will rank with Lansing and Dulles as among the greatest Secretaries of State; all three men born within 70 miles of Adams.

Mr. Speaker, two other northern New York newspapers recalled Secretary Rogers' boyhood, calling upon the memories of old-time friends and neighbors.

THE ST. LAWRENCE PLAIND DEALER, CANTON, N.Y.

The St. Lawrence Plaindealer which is published in Canton, N.Y., the community where Mr. Rogers spent part of his boyhood, reflected the pride felt by the long-time friends of the new Secretary of State.

Mr. Rogers, in letters to Canton residents, said "I will never forget what won-

derful people there are in Canton," the newspaper reported.

The Plaindealer noted Mr. Rogers was graduated first in his class from Canton High School where he played varsity basketball and managed the school football team. A close friend of Dr. Eugene Bewkes, under whom he had studied at Colgate University, Mr. Rogers returned to Canton in 1959 to receive an honorary doctorate in law degree from St. Lawrence University during the Bewkes presidency there.

Canton residents recalled Mr. Rogers' pleasing personality as a boy. Among them cited by the Plaindealer is Atwood Manley who recalled:

I remember him as a handsome, polite boy who used to walk past our home on his way to High School every day, often eating an apple as he walked.

Dr. Bewkes, now retired, recalled:

Mr. Rogers was an extremely able lawyer, with a very broad legal base. As a student he was quick, bright, and later, in the government of General Eisenhower, he proved to be a very able, tough negotiator, tied to no man.

Another Canton friend, Roy H. Bassett, remembers Bill Rogers' early days in northern New York and recalled "He always was a leader when he was a boy here," recalled the Plaindealer.

THE ADIRONDACK DAILY ENTERPRISE, SARANAC LAKE, N.Y.

The Adirondack Daily Enterprise of Saranac Lake, N.Y., reported a glimpse back into Mr. Rogers' early days as a businessman. Danny Sheehan, a Saranac Lake friend, remembers Bill Rogers with a fondness that time fails to diminish.

"Young Bill," as Mr. Sheehan refers to him, was a 15-year-old junior high school student when he asked if he could join the mobile summer photography unit operated by Mr. Sheehan and a partner who specialized in taking pictures of business houses and personnel and selling the finished photos back to the owners in lots of a dozen or more.

Bill Rogers got reluctant permission from his parents to take the summer job and traveled through towns from Massena, N.Y., to Burlington, Vt., taking picture orders and setting up appointments for the camera specialists who followed.

Some days, the Enterprise commented, Mr. Rogers was picked to hold the explosive flash powder tray and once or twice scorched a ceiling causing the crew to move on faster than usual.

Mr. Sheehan recalls the new Secretary of State was quick to learn. The Enterprise said:

Tell him something once and that was it. He must have developed a photographic mind from taking pictures with our company.

ME  
LET US SAVE THE LIVING: IRAQI GOVERNMENT, PLEASE NOTE

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 29, 1969

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, 14 men are dead because the revolutionary court of

the Government of Iraq so decreed. These deaths, against the canons of law, reason, and humanity, are irreversible. Nine of these men were of the Jewish faith. What of the remaining Jews in Iraq? The Jewish community once numbered 150,000 in Iraq. Now there are approximately 2,500. We have been able to learn that of the 2,500, hundreds are in jail. Others are under house arrest. All of them are subject to curfews and economic and social deprivation. The Iraqi Government will not let them leave. They are imprisoned within a land that will neither permit them to live a normal life nor permit them to seek other lands where they can begin anew their shattered lives.

In short, the Jews of Iraq are being held as hostages in a conflict not of their making, only because they are Jews. Certainly the world is not so bereft of conscience that it cannot, through the medium of international agencies, devise ways and means of persuading and influencing the Iraqi Government to permit the remaining fragment of Iraq's Jews to depart.

We have every reason to fear that these will not be the only hangings. In fact, we know that another trial behind closed doors is already in process and that the suspects are accused of working with the CIA. Who these accused are, we do not know, but the pattern has already been set. There are willing hands throughout the world ready to give asylum. It is at least conceivable that the government of Iraq would not be completely deaf to concerted world opinion. At the very minimum, we must try.

The condemnation by our State Department was forthright. The people of the United States were quick to applaud the vigorous statement of Secretary Rogers. We have set an example which others will surely follow. Let the nations of the world now join together in the rescue of the living Jews. All governments who have engaged in persecution of the Jews have claimed this to be an internal matter. Is it, or is it a matter of the collective humanity of mankind?

#### ECOLOGY AND THE INTERRELATION OF THE SCIENCES

**HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.**

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 29, 1969

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, more and more, public attention is being directed toward the field of human ecology and the interrelation of the sciences, the advancement of technology and the forces of change on man and his environment.

It is becoming increasingly apparent that rather than being independent, our society and our economy is interdependent. No longer can areas of our national life be considered wholly detached and isolated from other parts of our society because, invariably, there are substantial side and filter-down effects that go far beyond areas of immediate concern.

One of the first conference on human ecology was conducted at Airlie House near Warrenton, Va. It think it significant that this landmark step should occur in the Commonwealth of Virginia, which traditionally has placed great emphasis on history and conservation of natural and human resources. I believe the remarks of Charles C. Johnson, Jr., Administrator, Consumer Protection and Environmental Health Service, Public Health Service of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, are most significant, and place in perspective the question of human ecology in a modern technological society. For this reason, I wanted to bring it to the attention of the membership.

#### REMARKS BY CHARLES C. JOHNSON, JR.

First, let me again say how pleased and grateful I am to have you here at this Symposium. My staff and I look forward to our discussions with you. I hope that in the years to come you will be able to look back on these few days as a gathering of minds that truly marked a turning point in our national approach to the problems of human ecology.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has established the Consumer Protection and Environmental Health Service to provide a new and broader kind of national leadership in dealing with these problems and specifically to provide that focus on man without which all ecological considerations become purely academic.

We approach our new task, not with optimism—for no one who looks at what we have done to ourselves and our planet in a comparatively few years can be guilty of optimism—but with determination. Secretary Cohen has charged the new Service with making this "a cleaner, safer, more healthful land for all." And we do feel sure that it can be done. Man, as a rational being, did not set out deliberately to destroy or contaminate the earth that gives him life, and surely he cannot, once the consequences are made clear, persist in a course which clearly leads to environmental chaos or even self-destruction. We are therefore moving ahead as quickly as possible to create a program whose impact will be felt throughout our society.

As we set about creating such a program, we need the best advice, the best guidance, possible. That is why I have asked this outstanding group to come together and consult with us. I am confident you will be able to give us a deeper insight into the man-environment relationship, assist us in defining the constants and the variables of human ecology, and help us avoid the pitfalls which surely lie ahead.

We live in troubled times, and they show all too clearly the terrible interplay of forces between man and the whole biocommunity of which he is a part. We find ourselves today catapulted into a new kind of world which we approach as strangers in a strange land. At times, the very structure of society seems in danger of being overwhelmed by a torrent of technological change which man has set in motion but sometimes seems incapable of controlling. Urbanization, a soaring population, and inequities nurtured in the darkness of the past and long ignored have released a slumbering discontent which jars the very foundations of the American dream. In our cities, this discontent has shown itself in attempts to destroy what no longer seems tolerable. Among our young people, there is a kindred frustration—and they would turn their backs on a society which they find "irrelevant."

In the year 1968, the greatest nation in the world must face a harsh and frightening fact: in spite of our tremendous ad-

vances in medicine, in science, engineering, and technology; in spite of a lengthening span of human life through improved health services and victories over communicable disease; in spite of affluence and high standards of living; in spite of all these things—perhaps even because of these very things—we have not succeeded in creating a physical, social, and cultural environment in which we can find that satisfaction for the "whole man" which was surely the purpose of all our strivings.

With regard to the physical environment, we have reached, or at the very least are rapidly approaching, a critical point. Every year, pollution gets worse, rather than better; the threat from unsafe food, drugs, water, and a variety of consumer products is increasing; the quality of American life, particularly urban life, is deteriorating in a morass of environmental problems so complex as to appear almost beyond remedy.

In the image of our adventurous ancestors, we are always drawn to the distant frontier and find it easy to close our eyes to the unplowed field that lies in front of us.

We are challenged by the potential miracles of organ transplants—while we drop steadily backward in such measures of medical progress as infant mortality. (We ranked sixth among the nations of the world in 1950 and by 1961 had moved down to about fifteenth place.)

We are about to land a man on the moon—and have not yet figured out what to do with the growing mountains of trash that litter our countryside.

Believe me, I do not question the value of these explorations whether they be in space or in medicine—but I am reminded, and I think our generation needs to be reminded, of that old proverb: "A man gazing at the stars is at the mercy of the puddles on the road."

Certainly our progress in meeting human needs has been great, but it has been uneven and our failure to come to grips with our consumer and environmental problems has—as the saying goes—been worse than a crime; it has been a blunder.

Let me, very briefly, review for you just a few more of the problems that demand our attention:

Toxic matter is being released into the air over the United States at the rate of more than 142 million tons a year, or three-quarters of a ton for every American. It comes from 90 million motor vehicles, from factories, power plants, municipal dumps and backyard incinerators.

The use of food additives to impart flavor, color, or other qualities has increased 50 percent in the past ten years, and each of us now consumes an average of three pounds of these chemicals yearly. Pesticides leave residues on food crops, and traces of veterinary drugs occur in meat, milk and eggs—all this in addition to the chemical barrage that reaches us from other parts of the environment.

Over two million Americans are stricken with illness each year from microbiological contamination of food; increased use of "convenience" foods requiring little or no heating in the home complicates this problem.

Not counting industrial and agricultural wastes, we discard more than 165 million tons of solid wastes every year. Auto graveyards mar our landscapes; smoking, foul-smelling dumps pollute the air; no-return bottles, cans, and other packaging that cannot be recycled create mountains of trash. In low-income urban areas, garbage breeds rats, disease, and filth.

Every year, more than 500 new chemicals and chemical compounds are introduced into industry, along with countless operational innovations; thousands of workers suffer from cancer, lung disease, hearing loss, dermatitis, or other preventable diseases be-

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violence from political assassinations to highway accidents. Here are some highlights: "The Commission has heard testimony from student protest leaders who defend the legitimacy of violent law-breaking, and who urge that rightness of the ends they seek and 'illegitimacy' of the present social order entitle them to oppose both prosecution and punishment. It has also heard a distinguished academician say that from the standpoint of the social order it is unwise to prosecute and punish every act of civil disobedience."

"Those who would violate valid laws to win rights they are now denied must stop to consider how those rights can be preserved in a society where their opponents are free to follow the same course. One must ask whether any society can survive if its members rely on genuine disobedience of the law as a source of political energy."

"Those who believe in the rule of law cannot rest content with condemning those whose conscience commands them to defy the law. Law itself must be responsible to social change and to the correction of injustice. Our legal system has not yet corrected the injustices our society inflicts on minority groups . . . If respect for law is to sustain the social order, we need to sharpen the ability of the law to clear the paths to peaceful change."

"In a democratic society where ultimate power resides in the people, access to the mass media is essential for groups desiring peaceful social change. If important, discontented segments of our society are denied the right to be heard, subsequent resort to violence by these groups may perhaps be expected."

"The key to much of the violence in our society seems to lie with the young. Our youth account for an ever-increasing percentage of the population. The thrust of much collective violence—on the campus, in the ghettos, in the streets—is provided by our young people."

"The intricacies of crime statistics have little meaning for the average citizen . . . He appears less impressed with numbers and rates and trends than with the fact that there seem to be increasingly large sections of his city where he cannot walk safely even in daylight, much less at night, and that it is now dangerous in many communities for bus drivers to carry cash or for taxis to pick up fares in certain parts of town after dark . . . It has also prompted many citizens to arm themselves for self-protection."

"Of the automobile accidents that account for 50,000 deaths each year in the United States, there is evidence that a substantial number result from the psychological and physiological effects of alcohol upon drivers, as well as from other factors in our culture and in the psychology of driving that promote and urge to violence."

## MASS EXECUTION

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, yesterday in a public square the Iraqi Government hanged 14 men. Nine of the number were Jews.

It is difficult to express with words the shocks and abhorrence that grip civilized men when they learn of such an inhuman act. We must forcefully condemn this deed of the Iraqi Government. And if, as Israeli Premier Eshkol said, "the sole and only crime of these nine martyrs consists in their being Jews," then we must bring to the attention of the world the Iraqi Government's policy of heightened discrimination against Iraqi Jews during recent years.

Secretary of State Rogers correctly stated:

The spectacle of mass public executions is repugnant to the conscience of the world.

To my way of thinking a mass public execution can only be described as a senseless act of barbarism.

But let us see this sorrowful event in its even larger setting, as did U.N. Secretary U Thant when he said:

Mass trials and executions are always to be deplored, and are particularly abhorrent and dangerous when they are carried out in such a way as to inflame the emotions of the populace.

The Middle East hovers at the edge of full-scale war—a war that could become so broad and bitter as to encompass the great and small nations of the world.

Clearly there must be a peace treaty that acknowledges the permanent nationhood of Israel, her territorial boundaries and other rights.

Mr. President, genuine peace—the United Nations fervent call for a "lasting peace"—depends on a political settlement.

Unfortunately the day when fruitful negotiations and such a settlement will help give the world security and much needed calm is made more distant with the event of cruel acts such as that of the Iraqi Government yesterday in Baghdad's Liberation Square.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I rise today and join the Senator from Connecticut to deplore the public execution in Iraq of 14 persons accused of spying for Israel.

Mass secret trials, followed by public executions, can only inflame emotions and decrease the opportunity for peace and stability in an already troubled region of the world. The explosive situation in the Middle East is all too well known. President Nixon in his press conference yesterday referred to the need to defuse that situation.

I agree with Secretary of State William Rogers who declared:

The spectacle of mass public executions is repugnant to the conscience of the world.

Such actions are abhorrent to the conscience of civilized mankind and detrimental to the efforts of men of good will to reach a just and peaceful accord.

In the past, Arab guerrilla raids into Israel have posed a continuing threat to Israel's very existence. This latest tragedy represents a most dangerous escalation.

## THE FITZGERALD AFFAIR

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, last Friday the Washington Star editorialized about the case of Mr. A. E. Fitzgerald. On November 13, 1968, Mr. Fitzgerald testified before the Subcommittee on Economy in Government of the Joint Economic Committee, of which I am chairman.

He testified at our request. He had no prepared statement; but answered questions which the committee put to him. He was asked about the cost overrun of the C-5 airplane. He testified that it was \$2 billion more than was the original estimate.

At that point in the hearing and before he answered the question, I asked a representative of the Air Force if Mr.

Fitzgerald was authorized to answer the question. The Air Force said that Mr. Fitzgerald did have such authority and that it was proper for him to testify on any C-5 cost overrun.

But shortly after the date of his testimony, on November 25, the Air Force said that a September 6, 1968, notice that his status was changed from schedule A to that of the career service was a mistake. It was called a "computer error."

Still later, a memorandum was written from the administrative assistant to the Secretary of the Air Force, Mr. John Lang, to the Secretary detailing three ways "which could result in Mr. Fitzgerald's departure." One of these was suggested but "not recommended since it is rather underhanded," the memo read.

As the Star rightly points out, this issue transcends even the problem of Mr. Fitzgerald's future employment. That is important, and it is of great consequence both to him and to us all.

The issue at stake is the right of Congress to perform its constitutional function. If an employee is penalized for giving testimony when asked by an appropriate committee of Congress, then our system will be unable to function as it should.

I hope that very soon we will receive assurances that Mr. Fitzgerald will not be fired nor penalized. That would be one way for the Pentagon to reassure Congress that its right to ask for and receive appropriate information will not be abridged.

I ask unanimous consent that the very fine editorial on the Fitzgerald case, published in the Washington Star on Friday, January 24, 1969, be printed in the RECORD.

[From the Washington Star, Jan. 24, 1969]

## THE FITZGERALD AFFAIR

Harold Brown, then Air Force Secretary, received a most extraordinary memorandum from his administrative assistant the other day. It described three alternative techniques for firing A. Ernest Fitzgerald, the efficiency expert whose testimony to a Senate subcommittee on the burgeoning costs of the C-5A super transport plane has embarrassed the Air Force.

The Pentagon has long been noted for its back-stabbing and ingighting. But we had always supposed that these things were accomplished with some finesse. Thus we are more than a bit taken aback that such delicate business as how best to fire an employee would be written up in a memorandum. May we also assume that the author made extra copies for the files?

The Air Force's bureaucratic ham-handedness is unfortunate. But the substantive issue is rather more serious. The apparent plot to fire an efficiency expert for his candor represents grossly improper behavior on the part of the public officials involved. Moreover, it hardly speaks well for the military's efficiency in administering its whale-sized chunk of the federal budget.

The new Secretary of Defense should call on the carpet those individuals responsible for this regrettable incident.

## PROPOSED EEC TAX ON SOYBEAN OIL AND MEAL: A THREAT TO THE U.S. FARMER AND THE NATION

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I have always believed in the benefits of the reciprocal trade program initiated in 1934 by Secretary of State Cordell Hull. I still believe in that program for several im-



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portant reasons. When trade between nations is as free as possible, industries are made stronger and more competitive, the consumer is given a wider choice of products, monopolies are thwarted, and the general welfare and incomes of people are improved in all the trading nations. All this can take place, however, only if trade barriers by all nations are reduced on a reciprocal basis. If one country reduces its trade barriers unilaterally while others increase theirs, domestic industries, employees, and farmers in the country which reduces its barriers are injured.

Mr. President, I am sure that the 91st Congress will express its concern over the impact of foreign goods in our markets. Last year, more than 90 Senators sponsored or cosponsored bills to impose mandatory quotas on imported products. Already a number of quota bills have been introduced in the 91st Congress.

During the import quota hearings before the Senate Finance Committee, Executive branch spokesmen told us that foreign countries not only would retaliate if we passed those bills, but also would have the right to retaliate under the General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade. Therefore, those countries which threatened to retaliate against us should realize that we, in turn, cannot condone actions on their part which adversely affect our commerce. Trade must be a two-way street.

In this regard, Mr. President, a most disturbing situation has developed which could affect my State severely and a number of other States with high levels of agricultural production. In addition, Mr. President, the situation affects the entire Nation, because it threatens a \$500 million export market which is critical in our struggle to maintain a surplus in our balance of payments. I am referring, Mr. President, to the European Economic Community's proposed internal tax on soybean meal and oil. This \$60 a ton tax on soybean oil would constitute an effective tariff barrier of over 50 percent, which would cut severely our exports of soybeans. The proposed tax is without doubt a protectionist measure on the part of the European community, to which we must react.

It is appropriate to review our trade policies since World War II, and our relationships with the European countries. We all know the poverty and devastation which World War II wrought on Europe—these nations were penniless after the war, with neither gold nor productive facilities to supply their needs. We responded generously with Marshall plan and other economic assistance amounting to over \$20 billion, much of which was on a grant basis. We also adopted a deliberate policy of lowering our tariffs without demanding reciprocity from those war-torn countries. International agreements, such as the General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade were concluded, with certain built-in biases to aid European economic recovery. Among these biases were the GATT provisions regarding import quotas, subsidies, and the waiver from the most-favored-nation obligation in the case of common markets. The European countries and Japan were allowed to retain and expand

their import quota and licensing arrangements, to subsidize their exports, and to impose special border taxes on imports—as we dismantled our tariff barriers.

Looking at what we did then from today's vantage point, one might say the only mistake we made was in assuming that those countries would always be down and unable to repay us, while we would always be so rich and powerful that we would never need to be repaid. This has not been the case.

It is this fundamental change in economic relationships which has been responsible for the views of many in this body with regard to our troop commitments in Europe, and many other matters incident to the commercial relations between the United States and Europe.

While tariffs have been reduced by all the developed countries, other barriers which are even more protective have been allowed to stay, and in some cases have grown while these tariff reductions took place. One such barrier which cuts into our own exports is the variable levy system of the European economic community.

The EEC common agricultural policy, which is being progressively extended over wider areas of foreign products, is aimed principally at making the community self-sufficient in agriculture. In order to make this policy effective, the EEC has adopted variable import levies and export subsidies, which restrict imports and cause unfair competition with our exports to markets in other countries. The latest proposed proliferation of the community's protective agricultural policies endangers one of the principal agricultural products in America—soybeans. In 1968, our soybean, vegetable oil, and meal exports to the European Common Market totaled \$457 million—one third of our agricultural exports to that market. A loss of that market would hurt the U.S. balance of payments severely.

I frankly do not understand how we can afford to maintain our six divisions in Europe in the face of European policies which cut off the main sources of foreign exchange earnings.

Mr. President, to condone such an action by the European community would not be in the interest of free trade. If we do not react, but turn the other cheek, other countries who wish to safeguard their domestic interests at our expense will be encouraged to increase their own protectionism. The result of a failure to react to the proposed agricultural policy of the European community would be to invite protectionism on a grand scale by others. This is not fair to American farmers, industries, and workers; and it must be avoided.

Mr. President, the adverse effects of the EEC agricultural policy have been recognized by the Congress as far back as 1962. When the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 was being considered, a provision was included in that act which warned the foreign countries that we would not condone an increase in their nontariff barriers, including variable import levies. Remedies under that act were invoked

during the now famed "chicken war" a few years ago. Unfortunately, section 252 of the Trade Expansion Act and the chicken war have not been a sufficient warning to these countries. Therefore, I am afraid we may have to invoke the provisions of that section again unless the EEC rejects the proposed tax on soybean products.

And, Mr. President, retaliation on a \$500 million scale will make the so-called chicken war—which involved only about \$22 million—look, in comparison, like a skirmish between quarreling children.

Hopefully, our European friends will see reason, as many of us did, when they threatened to retaliate against us if we imposed mandatory import quotas. We did not act, and now, they must realize that the shoe is on the other foot. To avoid retaliation, they must not act.

Mr. President, I urge the President, and the departments of Government responsible for maintaining healthy trade relationships throughout the world, to use all the powers available to them to prevent a decision by the EEC which would threaten our volume of soybean exports.

I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Record the texts of communications I have received from Mr. L. C. Carter, Mr. Rodney L. Borum, and former Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman.

There being no objection, the communications were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

ARKANSAS GRAIN CORP.,  
Stuttgart, Ark., December 19, 1968.  
Hon. J. W. Fulbright,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.:

We are seriously concerned relative to the imposition of taxes on soybean meal and soybean-oil in the EEC. The proposed tax will directly affect Arkansas farm income. Buyers in these countries are major customers of Arkansas Grain Corporation. While disguised as a "domestic internal tax" on these commodities, it amounts to the same as an import tariff. For complete explanation contact F. Molner, Soybean Council of America, Washington, D.C. Respectfully request your immediate attention to this matter which is so vital to Arkansas soybean producers.

L. C. CARTER,  
Executive Vice President and  
General Manager.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,  
BUSINESS AND DEFENSE SERVICES  
ADMINISTRATION,  
Washington, D.C., January 7, 1969.

Hon. J. W. Fulbright,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR FULBRIGHT: This is in reply to your letter of December 26, 1968 to Secretary Smith concerning the possible imposition of a domestic tax on soybean meal and oil by Northern European Nations.

Apparently the concern of your constituents relates to a proposal for a tax on certain domestic and imported oils, meals and oilbearing materials consumed in the European Common Market.

This proposal was made by Vice President Sicco Mansholt of the Commission of the European Communities to the December 10 meeting of the Council of Ministers of the European Economic Community. The particular problem that the proposed tax is designed to alleviate is the huge butter surplus which has arisen as a result of the Common Agricultural Policy.

THANK YOU, MR. PRESIDENT

Few men, if any, have had a more colorful career in politics than Lyndon Johnson. Born in Texas, but Capital Hill has been his home most of his life.

Mr. Johnson became President in one of the most tragic moments in American history. He proved his leadership ability and the fact that he had what it takes to be President in but a matter of hours after Mr. Kennedy's death.

It would probably be safe to say that Mr. Johnson received a greater mandate from the people than any other President, and because of the mandate and his political skills, he had more power than any other President with the possible exception of Roosevelt in 1936.

Americans can be grateful that the President used the power to make America more conscious of the plight of many who were in need rather than yielding his leadership role to the self-interest groups.

This has been a difficult time in American history to be President. The strain and tension must be more than the average person could bear. President and Mrs. Johnson deserve a rest and an opportunity to enjoy the fruits of their labors.

Washington will miss them. From what we understand, national politics will not be the same. As you go Mr. President, we would want to thank you for your interest in our city which belongs to everyone, but cared for but by a few. We want to thank you for your interest in the welfare of the American people, their education, their health, their housing, their employment. You have done more than any other President for the general welfare of the people.

We want to thank you for your interest in man's freedom, in the individual rights of private citizens.

We want to thank you for your interest in the national resources of our land and for all that you and Mrs. Johnson did to help preserve these resources.

It truly can be said that no person ever tried harder to accomplish more for the good of all.

It is our hope that you both will enjoy good health and much happiness.

## IRAQ'S ACT OF BARBARISM

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1969

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I rise to express my sense of shock and outrage at the news of the execution by the State of Iraq of 14 persons, nine of them Jews, on charges of spying for Israel. The circumstances surrounding this barbarous episode gives cause for the gravest concern. The trials upon which these men were convicted were held in secret. The executions were carried out before a multitude under circumstances which bespeak more of the Dark Ages than of the 20th century. Mr. Speaker, quite recently the Security Council of the United Nations saw fit to censure the State of Israel for an attack upon a neighboring state. In that censure there was no mention made of the grave provocation which preceded that act. Violence, whoever the perpetrator, is to be condemned and abhorred, particularly in an area of the world in which tensions are so high. Therefore, Mr.

Speaker, it seems to me that this House should express to the world its revulsion at the actions of the Iraqi Government and our highest concern of the effect of its action upon world peace. If the State of Israel is to be condemned by the world community for seeking to safeguard its commerce, it seems to me that the State of Iraq should be condemned for this act of barbarism.

## WHEN TOO MUCH KNOWLEDGE BECOMES A DANGEROUS THING

HON. LOWELL P. WEICKER, JR.

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1969

Mr. WEICKER. Mr. Speaker, I feel that the tragic events in Nigeria-Biafra where an estimated 20,000 persons die of starvation each day require that I speak out for positive action to prevent the extinction of a generation. Following is an address I delivered at the University of Bridgeport, Bridgeport, Conn., on Friday, January 24, 1969:

### WHEN TOO MUCH KNOWLEDGE BECOMES A DANGEROUS THING

(A commencement address of the 1969 mid-winter class of the University of Bridgeport; Bridgeport, Conn., by the Honorable LOWELL P. WEICKER, JR., Member of Congress)

On Monday of this week I had the privilege of being a participant in what was to me and I am sure to millions of Americans from Washington, D.C. to the tip of Alaska a thrilling and awe-inspiring event—the inauguration of a President of our United States.

There were two occurrences and one impression that registered rather forcibly on me during that one hour of what is now American history.

The occurrences were in this order:

The singing of the Irving Berlin Song, "Give Me Your Tired," by the Mormon Tabernacle Choir and the spotting of my two sons, aged 8 and 11, in a crowd of over 100,000 people, mostly adult.

The song registered because it had been so long since I had either read or heard those words of a nation in its youth:

"Give me your tired, your poor,  
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,  
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.  
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,  
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

Secondly, finding my children in that sea of anonymous faces was a moment to remember because when I did spot them they looked unconcerned with the solemnity of the occasion, but rather had on their faces the happiness of young children occasioned by finding their father rather than seeing a President of the United States or a Congressman from Connecticut. And as I saw them and others of their age in that crowd of adults they looked excitedly expectant and mighty small.

The impression that I came away with was that on that day as was the case four years ago and will be the case four years from now, our United States was being born again with the only restriction on what our nation will accomplish being limitations of our own choosing.

I suppose that the words common to my experiences of January 20, and to yours on

this important evening of your lives are hope and heart, and it is those traits and how they relate to knowledge that occasions the subject matter of my talk this evening.

Remember; A verse that expressed a young unsophisticated nation's willingness to take the world's trampled to its heart.

Remember; Children that enjoyed the health to be happy; that loved and were loved.

Remember; A Ceremony that dedicated the awesome strength of this country to a new start.

A small child lying in the dust looks up at the hot African sun. She summons all the strength left in a body made grotesque by starvation for one more cry of help to the unanswering desolation around her before closing her eyes for the last time.

At the same moment much of the diplomatic world after deliberation and thought comes to the scholarly conclusion that the most humane way to end the Nigeria-Biafra War is to participate by inaction in a policy geared to the "Quick Kill" of Biafra as being the humane resolution of an awkward situation.

The United States of America, meanwhile, has during the past year accomplished the following: Sent three men a half million miles around the moon and returned them within 7,000 yards of their landing objective; paid farmers millions of dollars not to grow crops because of an over abundance in our agricultural economy; produced more new drugs and pharmaceutical products for the cure and alleviation of disease and pain than all the rest of the nations of the world put together; built, at Marietta, Georgia, the largest cargo plane in the world.

It is not my purpose tonight to touch upon the governmental rights and wrongs of the Nigerian-Biafra War. What *their Governments* do while 20,000 children die each day is not worthy of one-minute discussion. What our Government does to assure that ten million live—is.

Let me give you a few facts.

It is estimated that two million people or almost the entire population of Connecticut have died from starvation since the outset of the conflict.

At the present time relief agencies fly in 150 tons of food a day—5,000 tons are needed daily.

Incidentally, do you remember 1948 when America set its heart and mind to the task of feeding Berlin? We flew 9,000 tons of food a day into that isolated city. It's now twenty-one years later and knowledge has created better planes—but is the end product of that knowledge worth the striving if there is no heart to guide its use?

The diplomats and politicians are presenting some very sophisticated arguments as to why nothing should be done. Arguments that are steeped in over one thousand years of diplomatic practice and learning. And I propose to you this evening that it is at this point that too much knowledge has become a dangerous thing.

For, ladies and gentlemen, if we accept as valid and respectable such knowledge as teaches our country to remain silent while 20,000 people die each day then as a nation we repudiate the origins of our own greatness and cast our lot with those countries who long ago found existing preferable to achieving.

And history will show that it was during just such a time of diplomatic maneuvering, with the "raison d'etre" of the European nations being to exist, that the United States grew and became strong as it relied on instincts of the heart and the common sense so abundant in the American mind.

There are those who will say it can't be done.

I'm reminded of the story told by Charles Kettering, one of the early founders of General Motors, "When I was Research Head of

General Motors and wanted a problem solved, I'd place a table outside the meeting room with a sign: 'Leave slide rules here.' If I didn't do that, I'd find some engineer reaching for his slide rule. Then he'd be on his feet saying 'Boss, you can't do it.' "

Is it food we lack?

Is it planes we lack?

Is it placing the food on the mark that we can't do?

Our status in all these areas as described before, resounds "NO" to all these questions. Is it not that we have become so sophisticated in international politics that the paper consequences are freezing our natural reactions of help for the suffering and love for children everywhere?

What happened to that young brawling nation that had strength far beyond the numbers of its population or the taught wisdom of its people because it was engaged in living the highest purposes of God and man?

Certainly, I do not advocate a diminishing of our educational efforts or an acceptance of a high school education as being sufficient.

What I am saying is that the purpose of learning and education is to send one more man and one more woman into a world of desolation to share that knowledge with compassion and flexibility with the thousands, who, in the words of Victor Hugo, "Exist in physical and spiritual night."

I want a world that runs to even one lonely child dying in the dust and takes it to its arms of concern—to its table of food—to its hospitals of care.

It is not on the words of old diplomats but on the happiness of these children yours, mine, the world's that this nation should premise its journey of the next four years.

Cease fires, truces, the reconciliation of regions, summit talks is the business of months.

The task of the minute is to give life where there is repetitive death.

As the snow covers our New England with a mantle of white let the parachutes with their cargo of food cover both Nigeria and Biafra so that the world understands while we gained in knowledge we also gained in love.

#### MAIL-ORDER SALES OF PORNOGRAPHIC MATERIAL

#### HON. JOE SKUBITZ

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Tuesday, January 28, 1969

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing, for full and deliberate consideration, legislation that would regulate mail-order sales of pornographic material.

The need for effective legislation is never more apparent than today. Throughout the United States local and State law officials, educators, and civic organizations are waging a never-ending fight against the sale of smut to school-age children. Parents are advocating, and justly so, vigorous enforcement of existing obscenity laws.

I strongly feel that there are countless numbers of parents in this country who do not want their children's sex education to be influenced by smut merchants. The heavy volume of constituent complaints attest to the fact that something must be done to bring about an end to this problem. The future of our Nation and the world depends on the youth of today.

The current legislation, Public Law 90-

206, provides for the person receiving pornographic material to report it to the local postal authorities. After a considerable amount of time, energy, and money the total result from the complaint results in the fact that the smut merchant has lost a name from his mailing list.

In checking with the postal authorities, I find that in 1968 alone over 165,000 formal complaints had been registered. These persons were recipients of unsolicited offensive mail. With the number of complaints rising each week the need for more effective legislation must be dealt with by this Congress.

I, therefore, have introduced legislation that would give the postal authorities strong, effective powers to stop the dealers of pornographic material from pushing their unwanted material on the American people.

The legislation would:

First, prohibit mail-order sales of obscene material to children of school age.

Second, it would provide that a family with children under the age of 16 who receive, or are solicited to receive, hardcore pornographic material would have the right to bring action against an offender in which the crime would be deemed a Federal crime, punishable by a fine and jail sentence.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this legislation in order for protection to be provided for American families and their school-age children. I respectfully request that committee hearings be scheduled as soon as possible.

#### WOMEN'S JOB CORPS CAN HELP

#### HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1969

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, one of the truly visionary innovations of recent years is the Job Corps. In years ahead, we will look at its results with the same pride we now place in the GI bill of rights, which was so controversial following World War II. This Nation has learned there is no way to lose when the investment is in people.

Many times I have commented on the value and contribution of Job Corps to the U.S. Forest Service and the Department of the Interior. Those have been cases of young men who are serving as firefighters and conservationists while learning.

Job Corps has been bolstered by a group called Women in Community Service—volunteers who have dedicated themselves to helping those girls who join Job Corps. The teamwork of the Government and these volunteer citizens was dramatically spelled out in a recent article in the Aberdeen, Wash., Daily World. I would like to place this in the RECORD.

#### WOMEN'S JOB CORPS CAN HELP

(By Lillian Van Syckle)

Good jobs seldom just fall into your lap. They're hard to find. A young woman applying for a job nowadays needs special training in her field, trim clothes, a knowledge of

good grooming and a desire to make a better future for herself.

This might be an overpowering list of qualifications for a girl who left school before she had learned special skills and whose wardrobe and self-confidence were nearly nil—that is, it might be if it weren't for Job Corps.

The desire to make a better future for herself is the only qualification the job applicant needs after she is accepted by Job Corps. The others will have been achieved by the time she is graduated from the corps.

Girls from 16 through 21 years old are eligible for the Job Corps if they are out of school and can't find work.

In the Harbor area, girls may inquire about Women's Job Corps from Mrs. Helge Erickson or Mrs. Aaron Wise, both of Hoquiam, volunteer workers for Women in Community Service.

Working in teams, WICS volunteers seek out girls who might profit from the opportunity to leave home and prepare for a more promising future. They explain the Job Corps residential centers to the girls and their families on home visits.

WICS volunteers interview candidates, engage professional help for health examinations and aptitude tests, then guide and help girls through the various steps on the way to enrollment. The final selection is made by the Job Corps in Washington, D.C.

After a girl is accepted by the Job Corps she is assigned to one of the Job Corps residential centers—the closest one to Grays Harbor is at Tongue Point, near Astoria, Ore. Then she begins her training.

With the conviction that "every girl needs a chance to be somebody," the Women's Job Corps Center is like a new home where new people and attractive surroundings give life a new meaning.

There will be some studying—reading, writing, speaking, math. Recruits will learn how to do a job, in a hospital, an office, in selling or communications, sewing, cooking, institutional household arts. Counselors will help decide which job is best for the girl.

Material will be provided and trainees will be taught, if they wish, to sew new clothes for themselves. Ample time is allowed for recreational activities after study and work periods.

Girls in the centers get spending money while they train, an allowance of \$14.34 every two weeks, and special points can be earned to raise this allowance.

When girls complete their training at the center they receive \$50 for each month they spend in the corps. They may have part of their money sent home to help take care of the family, and the Job Corps will match what they send home. Or the money may be used for living costs while the girls are looking for jobs.

"It's a wonderful program," Mrs. Erickson says with conviction when people ask her about Job Corps. "It gives girls a real chance in life when they are young enough to get years and years of benefit from it."

"The program is a rewarding experience also for the WICS volunteers who recruit, screen and assist the girls in finding work after the training period. We can always use WICS volunteers."

#### SALUTE TO DR. BEEKEY

#### HON. GUS YATRON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1969

Mr. YATRON. Mr. Speaker, so much has been said about disorder on the college campus of today that it is with pride



administered. Will the Member-elect appear in the well for the purpose of having the oath administered to him.

Mr. HANNA appeared at the bar of the House and took the oath of office.

### ME THE DISPLAY OF BESTIALITY IN IRAQ YESTERDAY

(Mr. FARBSTEIN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, eight Jews and six others were hanged in Iraq yesterday in a public display of bestiality reminiscent of the days of the Nazis.

When several airplanes were destroyed in Lebanon we heard of a crisis of anguish throughout the world. Is this same world less concerned about the destruction of human lives than of property? If we are more concerned about humans than of property, then we dare not stand mute in the face of this return to the age of barbarity. If we remain silent, there is a likelihood that our silence may encourage further such acts against others imprisoned for alleged espionage which, it is charged was committed by Jews who were under house arrest since 1967.

Private pleas to stop this mass murder have been proved to no avail.

I trust that the civilized world and our Government will raise objection more vocal than has been done to date to avoid further such savagery.

Only a roar of condemnation that will descend about the heads of the rulers of the Iraqi Government will, in my opinion, prevent similar acts of mass murder and further destruction of innocent human souls for similar false reasons.

### URGENT NEED FOR EARLY ACTION ON COAL MINE HEALTH AND SAFETY LEGISLATION

(Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, at 6:55 a.m., at the break of dawn today, a portion of the roof fell in No. 7 Christopher Coal Co. mine near Mount Morris, Pa., on the Pennsylvania-West Virginia border, triggering an electrical fire which trapped a number of men.

Within the last 15 minutes, fortunately, it has been officially announced that the last of the men have successfully and safely emerged from the burning mine.

The fiery near disaster underscores the urgent need for early passage of coal mine health and safety legislation. I make a plea to the chairman of the appropriate committees of both this body and the other body to start hearings on the proposed coal mine health and safety legislation at the earliest possible date. Each day that passes subjects the coal miners to new dangers of being crushed, burned, buried or gassed, as well as being exposed to the ravages of the deadly pneumoconiosis—black lung.

The Congress can no longer afford to delay. We cannot afford to fiddle while coal miners burn. In the name of hu-

manity, this Congress must act to pass effective legislation on coal mine health and safety.

### PRESIDENT-ELECT OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES: DR. PHILIP HANDLER

(Mr. MILLER of California asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Philip Handler, James B. Duke professor and chairman, Department of Biochemistry, Duke University, has been declared president-elect of the National Academy of Sciences. Dr. Handler, who is 51, will begin a 6-year term as the 18th president of the Academy on July 1. He succeeds Frederick Seitz, who has served in that position since 1962. Dr. Seitz was named president of the Rockefeller University in 1968 and will be serving in both capacities until Dr. Handler takes office.

The announcement was made January 17 by Dr. Detlev W. Bronk at a luncheon in the State Department Building honoring the winners of the National Medal of Science. Dr. Bronk, who was one of the medalists, was president of the Academy from 1950 to 1962.

Dr. Handler has not only had a distinguished career in enzyme research but has also played an energetic role in national scientific affairs in recent years. He has been a member of the National Science Board since 1962 and chairman since 1966. From 1964 to 1967 he was a member of the President's Science Advisory Committee.

The National Academy of Sciences is a private organization, established in 1863 by an act of Congress to elect to membership the outstanding scientists and engineers in the Nation and to serve as an independent adviser to the Federal Government on questions of science and technology. Its present membership is over 800, but its advisory activities involve more than 5,000 scientists and engineers, as well as a staff of more than 750. Its annual budget, including that of the National Research Council which serves as its principal operating agency, is over \$25,000,000.

Mr. Speaker, let me bring out at this point that Dr. Handler has been both an effective and distinguished friend and adviser not only to the Congress in general but to the committee in particular.

Because he is chairman of the National Science Board, we have had reason to be in close liaison with Dr. Handler and we have benefited very considerably from our collaborations with him—formal and informal.

It is with genuine pleasure that I and, I am sure, all the other members of the Science Committee take cognizance of Dr. Handler's election to the Academy presidency. We confidently hope to continue our working relationship with Dr. Handler in his new capacity. We are indeed fortunate to be able to do so.

### IRAQ WEARS THE MARK OF CAIN

(Mr. PODELL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1

minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, Hitler's hand has reached from Gehenna and sprung the traps from under those innocent victims Iraq has just put to death. Clear and visible upon the brow of Babylon is the mark of Cain. There is no defense for what they have done.

It is one thing to make war. It is another to come in stealth across a Nation's borders at night to murder, destroy, and burn. It is again another to threaten that nation's very existence, up to and including genocide. All this and more have the Arabs done or threatened to do to Israel.

But what the Iraqis have perpetrated here is solely an act of murder against a group of Iraqi citizens because they happened to be Jews. This is an act straight out of the Gotterdammerung of the Wagnerian twilight of Nazi Germany.

Mark well the methods utilized by Iraq. Public execution, a method long ago dispensed with by civilized nations, who extend even to the condemned the right to die privately. But the Iraqis tore a page from the book of the Middle Ages.

Not content with this barbarism, they draped a sign around the neck of each of the condemned, noting his religion—Mr. Speaker, his religion. If this is not damning proof of the reason for their execution, then there can be none. So much for the Arab argument that they make war only upon Zionism, rather than upon the religious faith of Judaism.

The next act of this brutal and gory scenario involves the public display of the hanged men. I am certain their families have had this marked indelibly upon their memories. I can only recall the hostages suspended from lampposts after their execution by the S.S. in a dozen different European countries during World War II. It calls to mind the horrors of Lidice, Malmédy, Babi Yar and Belsen.

But the final act was the most revolting. Iraq was not content with going back to the Middle Ages or even the Dark Ages. She was not even content with Hitler's methods. She instead reached back to the mists of man's tribal history as she removed the bodies and hanged them from a gate overlooking the capital city of Babylon. How horrible. How degrading to the human spirit. How demeaning for all mankind.

Mr. Speaker, where is the action of the U.N.? Where are the howls of indignation to match those we heard when the Israelis destroyed planes at Beirut? Everywhere throughout the Arab world the Jewish remnant languishes in prisons or lives in fear of a repetition of this atrocity. Where are those who condemned Israel for fighting to stay alive? Where are the bleeding hearts of yesterday? Where indeed.

They are in the same place they were in when the Jews were massacred for the 2,000 years of the Diaspora. They are gone. They are where they were when Jews were butchered by the Crusaders and the Turks—by the Inquisition and the Moors—by the Czars and the Soviets—by the Nazis at Auschwitz and the synagogue burners in New York City.

Where is the conscience of the world? Where is the guilt of mankind? Where

is the idealism the bible and organized religion speaks of? Where is the humanity of the holy Koran? Where are the honorable and compassionate men?

Mr. Speaker, a nation and a people have a right to live, including defending that right by violence and bloodshed. This applies to Israel and the Jewish people as well as to all others on earth.

Mr. Speaker, I call upon the Attorney General to open our gates to the agonized remnants of the Jewish communities of the Arab States. In this emergency I call upon the United Nations to negotiate the release of those Jews in these lands who wish to depart from their bed of agony and torment. This is a simple humanitarian gesture that is practical and easily arranged. Further, it is a perfect outlet for the Arab States. They accuse many of their Jewish citizens of being Israel spies. This is their opportunity to easily, cheaply, and quickly be rid of any more potential Israeli spies and Jewish martyrs. Because Israel was founded as a refuge for the persecuted, these Jews are automatically Israeli citizens if they choose to go to Israel. Further, the immigration quotas for these Arab States to our own country are, I am sure, not filled; they would easily accommodate these pitiful refugees, if they were allowed to go. The choice is simple and the chance to act is now.

#### WILLIAM M. McMILLAN

(Mr. STEED asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, on December 30, 1968, the postal service and this Nation lost, through retirement, a truly outstanding and dedicated public servant—William M. McMillan, Assistant Postmaster General for Operations.

I suppose it was destined that a man who was born in a town named for the first Postmaster General—Ben Franklin, Tex.—and who chose to make the postal service his career, should become one of the most respected and knowledgeable officials ever to serve the U.S. postal service.

Mr. McMillan started his career as a substitute clerk in the post office in Albany, Tex., on July 1, 1927, and over a span of 41½ years rose successfully through the ranks to be a postal inspector, inspector-in-charge of the Fort Worth inspection service, regional director of the Wichita and Dallas postal regions, and finally in February of 1964 was nominated by President Johnson and confirmed by the Senate to be the Assistant Postmaster General for Operations. During his 5 years in this position, he was responsible for the collection, handling, and delivery of nearly 400 billion pieces of mail, employing over 700,000 people in over 34,000 post offices throughout the United States.

As chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee for Treasury, Post Office, and the Executive Office of the President, I have personally observed Mr. McMillan's dedication to our great postal service and the many contributions he

has made to it. I can attest to his leadership, his wise counsel and advice, his unflinching integrity, and the deep concern he has always demonstrated for adequate and responsible public service. Over the past 5 years he has appeared before our committee many times to explain and justify the Department's request for the appropriation of billions of dollars and I always found him well prepared, extremely knowledgeable and highly practical in his solutions to problems of the Government. He was always vitally concerned with the kind and level of postal service provided this Nation, but equally cognizant of his responsibility to taxpayers of this country whose moneys were entrusted to him to pay for the service they expected.

Over the years he demonstrated a rare talent for understanding the postal service needs of this country while at the same time not losing sight of his fiscal responsibility as a steward of public funds. This, Mr. Speaker, is a very desirable and much needed trait in these days when too often the expedient rather than the hard but responsible approach to problems seems to be the order of the day.

Speaking for myself, Mr. Speaker, as well as for the members of my committee, I want to say that the void left by the retirement of Mr. McMillan will not be easily filled. This Government has lost a good and faithful public servant. His devotion to public service, his ability to handle the tremendous burdens placed on his shoulders, his concern for people—postal workers as well as the public he served—and his own high standard of personal integrity will stand as a benchmark for those who follow him.

I wish him every happiness and contentment in his well earned and richly deserved retirement.

#### THE CRIME SITUATION IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

(Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, in my opinion the crime situation in Washington, D.C., has reached the point of—I do not know how to express it. It is intolerable.

I do not see any help in the future for the citizens of this Nation's Capital.

The President was quoted in the paper last night as having said that he could not even walk around the White House for fear of bodily harm.

I am today offering a resolution providing for the deployment of two companies of U.S. Marines on the streets of Washington, D.C. I hope this resolution will be considered seriously. As I see it, it is the only hope for the law-abiding citizens of the District.

Our police department has done the best it could. They have been hamstrung by guidelines from the Mayor and the Commissioners and court decisions.

If Members will stop and think, it will be just a few months, perhaps a few weeks, before the high school students will be coming to visit the Nation's

Capital. I hope that none will come from my district. I have warned all school principals not to send any up here for fear that they might be injured. But now is the time to take action. I say to you, in my opinion, if the U.S. Marines cannot protect the Nation's Capital, then there is no hope for law-abiding citizens in Washington, D.C.

#### JOSE MARTI—CUBAN PATRIOT

(Mr. FASCELL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, today marks the anniversary of the birth, in 1853, of Jose Marti, the Great Cuban statesman, teacher, philosopher, and poet who inspired and led his people in their struggle for independence.

Born in Cuba of Spanish parents, Marti devoted most of his life to fighting against the country of his forefathers. He was banished time and again from his homeland for his political and revolutionary activities, and spent much time in Spain, Guatemala, and in the United States.

He arrived in New York in 1881 where he set about uniting the Cuban exiles, renewing and reviving the revolutionary spirit of his compatriots, and drafting a democratic constitution for his nation.

In 1894, Marti attempted to lead a company of armed Cuban revolutionaries from the United States to Cuba but was intercepted. The following year, however, he succeeded in reaching Cuba and joined the forces of General Gomez Baez. He fell in battle on May 19, 1895, near the little town of Dos Rios, giving his life for Cuba's freedom.

Mr. Speaker, Jose Marti will always remain enshrined in the hearts of the Cuban people, not only as a great political leader and a revolutionary, but also as one of the most gifted poets and writers of the Western Hemisphere. It was his writing, more than anything else, that has endured to nurture the flame of freedom in the hearts of his countrymen.

As the inscription on his monument in New York City says—he was the "Apostle of Cuban independence—Leader of the peoples of America and defender of human dignity."

Mr. Speaker, the anniversary of Jose Marti's birth brings to mind the tragic plight of the Cuban people and their continuing struggle for liberation from the tyranny of Castro's brand of communism.

This struggle is of great import and concern to all Americans—from Hudson Bay to the Strait of Magellan. For if freedom is allowed to be permanently suppressed in Cuba, the consequences of that state of affairs will, in time, be tragic for all of us.

As John Donne once wrote, "No man is an island entire of itself." Neither is a country. And the loss of freedom in Cuba diminishes freedom for all of us.

Mr. Speaker, a new administration has taken the reigns of our Government. According to President Nixon's pre-election statements, this administration is not only dedicated to, but also prepared to

overall accomplishments of the occupants of the White House. And history will undoubtedly look on these 38 years of service by Lyndon Johnson somewhat differently than today's critics.

Here in the Congress, where he himself served as an employee, Congressman, Senator, and Vice President, Members will long remember his Presidency. Like others, I found myself in agreement with some legislative proposals, and in disagreement with others. At all times, however, there was a deep understanding by the President of the independent role of the Congress, and its individual Members. And there was at all times a genuine interest in mutual problems, as well as a friendship with each Member.

Mr. President, as Liz Carpenter said last night, there will soon be two parades through the streets of Washington—one toward 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, the other away and toward a quiet riverbank in Texas. I think that parade watchers should observe the smile on both leaders. That on the face of the new resident of 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue who is obviously proud and full of expectation; and the face of the former resident, who can just as proudly know that for 38 remarkable years his successes outnumbered his disappointments, because "we tried."

#### PHARMACIST PHILANTHROPIST

### HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, January 17, 1969

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Willis Frankhauser, a small businessman who operates a pharmacy in Lyons, Kans., recently received the good news that he was winner of nearly \$5,000 in stocks in a contest sponsored by a drug firm. Mr. Frankhauser is deeply committed to higher educational opportunities for our young men and women, and to further this personal commitment he has decided to use the proceeds from the stocks to provide a scholarship fund for deserving students.

In these times when we are striving as a nation to improve education and assist young people who might not otherwise attend college, it is essential that private giving be encouraged. Mr. Frankhauser has set a fine example.

Under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Hutchinson, Kans., News which pays tribute to the philanthropy of Willis Frankhauser:

#### PHARMACIST PHILANTHROPIST

Willis Frankhauser is proprietor of his own pharmacy in Lyons. He has learned that he has won common stocks with a value of just under \$5,000 in a contest sponsored by an eastern drug firm that is one of his suppliers.

Frankhauser well could have used his prize money in covering the cost of the education of his two daughters who are now undergraduates. He could have spent it on a long winter vacation trip for him and his wife and he would only have proven a typical man had he done so.

But Frankhauser is an unusual sort of person. For him his prize money will not be a

demonstration of easy come and easy go. Rather than using the \$5,000 for himself, he will set up a fund with it to help deserving college students.

True it is that with present educational costs the sum he has set aside will provide only token help for deserving students. But the token is important because it represents an act of humanitarianism.

The world would be better off if there were more Willis Frankhausers.

#### ISRAEL AND THE ARABS

### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, January 17, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, following are excerpts from two editorials on the current Middle East crisis, which appeared last week in, respectively, the British weekly the New Statesman, and the conservative London Daily Telegraph.

I should like particularly to call attention to the London Daily Telegraph editorial which quite properly states that while the Arabs, with full Soviet support, are preparing for the next war of revenge, they have made the various guerrilla organizations their main offensive weapon against Israel.

The excerpts from the two editorials follow:

#### ISRAEL AND THE ARABS

THE NEW STATESMAN

Israel exists and is entitled to preserve herself from extinction—the avowed aim of the Arabs. Three times they have tried with their regular forces to destroy her, and have failed. Now, unwilling for the present to risk further state-to-state conflict, they permit, in some cases encourage, terrorism. Israel can get no redress at the U.N., which she understandably regards as a hothouse of hypocrisy....

[The raid on the Beirut Airport] unleashed a torrent of international abuse and moralizing on the heads of the Israelis—notably from such countries as Britain, which bears the brunt of the insurance, and America and France, which have large financial holdings in the battered airlines.

It is significant that no such indignation was voiced after the Athens incident, in which an Israeli was killed.

#### THE LONDON DAILY TELEGRAPH

Given the customary double-dealing at the United Nations, it was a tactical mistake on Israel's part to lash out on quite such a scale against Beirut Airport. As for the bias against her, a comparison between last August's Security Council vote on the abortive resolution against Russia's unprovoked aggression on Czechoslovakia and the present prompt and unanimous condemnation of Israel's reprisal tells its own tale.

The democracies judge each case either in a lofty moral ivory tower or on the basis of their own immediate special interests; the Communist states vote solidly together, supported except on the rarest occasions by the great majority of the Afro-Asian countries.

It is disgraceful that the British and American delegates did not insist on some condemnation in the resolution of systematic Arab terrorism and of the attacks on Israeli aircraft.

The fact is that during the interim period while the Arabs, with Russian help, are preparing for the next war of revenge they have

made the various guerrilla organizations their main offensive weapon against Israel.

It should not be necessary to quote Sarajevo as a reminder that governments have always been held responsible for such activities conducted from their territories—or of the dangers of overplaying this particular gimmick. In this case the Lebanese Prime Minister has himself accepted responsibility. Allowance must be made for the strain imposed on Israel.

#### ALWAYS ON MONDAY

### HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, January 17, 1969

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, it was my great honor to sponsor the legislation that became the Uniform Monday Holiday Act of 1968.

By providing that four nonreligious holidays will fall on the same specified Mondays in every year beginning in 1971, this popular law will afford our citizens more leisure and opportunity to visit historic shrines and will benefit schools and businesses.

The merit and wide support of the bill were indicated by the final vote of 212 to 83 for its passage in the House of Representatives and by its passage by voice vote in the Senate. And the President voiced high praise for the bill in signing it into law on June 28, 1968.

However, the Congress deliberately wrote this law, Public Law 90-363, to apply only to Federal employees and the District of Columbia. So—as Pennsylvania did just last month—each of the 49 other States must pass companion enabling legislation to make the same holiday schedule apply to its residents. Hopefully, they will do so before 1971, when the four new 3-day holidays will be observed in most of the country.

These and other important points about this new law are thoroughly spelled out in a brief brochure, "Always on Monday," that has been made available by the National Association of Travel Organizations for distribution in the States. I include the text of that brochure at this point in my remarks:

#### ALWAYS ON MONDAY: FIVE AUTOMATIC 3-DAY WEEKENDS A YEAR

No more disruptive and disappointing Tuesday, Wednesday or Thursday single-day holidays when Washington's Birthday, Memorial Day, Veterans' Day and Columbus Day haphazardly fall in midweek and provide no time for meaningful observance.

Three-day weekend holidays will become a reality for federal employees and residents of the District of Columbia starting in 1971 under provisions of the Uniform Monday Holiday Act which Congress overwhelmingly and bipartisanly passed after thorough hearings and which the President signed on June 28, 1968. However, if residents of your State are to be guaranteed the benefits of Monday Holidays, your State Legislature must now enact a holiday law paralleling the federal legislation.

#### WHY MONDAY HOLIDAYS?

Creating these automatic three-day holidays will make these non-religious holidays work for people instead of the other way around. Consider just some of the benefits:



Developing a sense of patriotism in America's younger generation by providing additional time for families to take their children to national shrines and historic sites, and time for communities to hold patriotic pageants commemorating these holidays. (Recognition of this benefit led many Congressmen with distinguished military records to strongly support this legislation.)

Providing additional leisure time so people can enjoy fuller participation in hobbies as well as educational and cultural activities.

Encourage family cohesiveness by providing time for families to be together with sons in the service, children at college. Today, school, job, military and social obligations pull family members apart. They need these family get-together breathers.

Reducing industry and school absenteeism which now surround one-day, midweek holidays.

Permitting business and school operation over four consecutive weekdays, thus avoiding costly mid-week shutdowns and startups.

Providing substantial sums of extra tax money in towns and cities throughout the United States, in the form of local taxes paid by tourists and travelers on gasoline, cigarettes and other purchases.

At the White House on June 28, President Johnson summed up benefits of Monday Holidays when he said, "The Bill that we sign today will help Americans to enjoy more fully the country that is their magnificent heritage. It will also aid the work of government and bring new efficiency to our economy."

#### WHAT THE 1971 CHANGE WILL BE

Here's what the federal holiday calendar will look like when the law goes into effect in 1971:

Washington's Birthday on the Third Monday every February.

Memorial Day the last Monday in May.

Columbus Day the second Monday in October.

Veterans' Day the fourth Monday in October.

In addition, Labor Day will continue to be the first Monday in September, making a total of five long weekends each year.

#### WHAT WON'T BE CHANGED

Such religious holidays as Christmas, Easter, and Thanksgiving, plus Independence Day are not affected. They stay as is.

#### IS THIS CALENDAR TAMPERING?

Not at all. Already, because of the vagaries of history and the two calendars used during the Christian era, many holidays are celebrated on "wrong" or arbitrary dates having little or no connection with the events they commemorate.

For instance, Washington's Birthday, going by the Julian calendar in use at the first President's time, was actually February 11, not February 22.

Memorial Day was originally set for eulogizing the dead of the Civil War, but since World War I it also has commemorated the dead of other wars. So May 30 is not fully significant to the now broader purpose of the observance.

Veterans' Day was first Armistice Day, marking the end of World War I. But in 1954, it was changed to Veterans' Day to salute veterans of all our wars. So the November 11 date might just as well be May 7 (the German surrender in World War II), September 1 (Japanese surrender) or July 27 (Korean armistice). Moving observance of these events to regularly fall on Mondays represents no lessening of historical significance.

As a case in point, since Canada moved observance of the Queen's birthday and all other holidays except Christmas and New Year's Day to fall on Monday, awareness there of the importance of these commemorative days has increased.

#### NEVER ON MONDAY FOR YOU?

Remember, this highly popular new law applies only to federal government employees, wherever they work or are stationed, and to the District of Columbia. In other words, federal agencies, their regional and field offices, Federal Reserve banks, military posts, post offices and many other facilities will be closed on these five Monday Holidays every year.

#### WIDESPREAD ENDORSEMENT

In the comprehensive hearings Congress conducted, support for Monday holidays was voiced by such diverse organizations as: Air Transport Association, Amalgamated Transit Union, American Federation of Government Employees, American Hotel & Motel Association, American Petroleum Institute, American Retail Federation, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Government Employees Council, AFL-CIO, National Association of Food Chains, National Association of Letter Carriers, AFL-CIO, National Association of Manufacturers, National Association of Motor Bus Owners, National Association of Travel Organizations, National Recreation and Park Association, U.S. Civil Service Commission, U.S. Department of Commerce, U.S. Department of Labor.

#### WHAT YOU CAN DO

In a spirit of state-federal cooperation, Congress deliberately wrote the law to leave conforming action up to the individual States. Encourage your State Legislature to act now to make your State holiday calendar conform to the new national holiday schedule and the schedule which other States are adopting. Prompt passage of your State law is essential so that all of us will share the same national holidays—and benefits—starting in 1971.

### MARIHUANA—A CALLING CARD TO ADDICTION

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, January 17, 1969

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, the Law Enforcement Bulletin of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, always an authoritative and informative publication, carried an article in its November issue of extreme importance to all Americans, not just law-enforcement officers. The article, written by the Honorable Henry L. Giordano, Associate Director of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs of the Justice Department, is entitled, "Marihuana—A Calling Card to Addiction." It dispels, with finality and authority, the canard that marihuana is harmless, and that its open sale should therefore be legal.

Under unanimous consent, I insert the article at this point:

#### MARIHUANA: A CALLING CARD TO NARCOTIC ADDICTION

(By Henry L. Giordano, Associate Director, Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs)

Today, America may be "sleeping" while antisocial activity grows in intensity. Certainly this is true concerning the increasing problem of marihuana abuse.

Dozens of news clippings, editorials, and magazine articles in recent months have proclaimed the virtues of marihuana. But most writers fail to present a full and objective discussion of the other side of the coin—the side indicating marihuana abuse is harmful

to the health, safety, and welfare of our society. If such writers give a complete distortion, they are indulging our communities in a very dangerous gamble. By presenting only the pro-marihuana arguments, which sell copy, the public has been deprived of the real, vital and objective facts necessary to make an intelligent choice about marihuana.

Law enforcement officers appear to be the sole voice in the wilderness warning that today's growing permissive attitude about marihuana leads to an increase of all types of drug abuse rather than to its control. Law enforcement officers who defend society from the depredations of drug dependence have a responsibility to show to the people what is happening and correct errors and misconceptions about drug abuse.

There is nothing to prevent acceptance of this challenge, and this article will highlight points against marihuana. Marihuana is not only an extremely dangerous drug—it is a menace to public health, safety, and welfare.

When discussing marihuana, it is imperative to define the sometimes confusing terminology. The term "marihuana" embraces all the fancy and vernacular names you hear—the so-called "American type," the so-called "Mexican type," "hashish," "bhang," "ganja," "charas," "cannabis," "cannabis resins," "cannabinol," "cannabinol," "tetrahydrocannabinol," "pot," "tea," or "weed."

The potency of the drugs ranges from the limited effects of poorly harvested marihuana to the severe effects of "hashish" or "charas." Most of the marihuana consumed in the United States is made up of the leaves and flowering tops of the marihuana plant. To a lesser extent, "hashish" is also being consumed by the users in the United States. But whether a person is using the so-called "Mexican-type" marihuana or the more potent "hashish," the potential for abuse is ever present. The only difference is that a user of "hashish" need not smoke as much to reach the desired result.

Marihuana differs significantly from the drugs in the opium family in that it does not produce addiction of the morphine type. Abstinence does not produce a physiological withdrawal syndrome in the user. However, its use does result in a psychological dependence and, according to Dr. David P. Ausubel, chronic users go to great lengths to insure that they will not be without the drug. Deprivation may also result in "anxiety, restlessness, irritability, or even a state of depression with suicidal fantasies, sometimes self-mutilating actions or actual suicidal attempts," which are all symptoms of a psychological withdrawal syndrome. For these reasons, marihuana is more often said to be habituating than addicting, although a recent investigator claims there is little difference from a psychiatric point of view.

#### NO MEDICAL USE

In the past, efforts to find a proper medical use for marihuana were not successful. As the American Medical Association's Committee on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence indicated, "marihuana has no known use in medical practice in most countries of the world, including the United States."

It is also interesting and significant that the United Nations 1961 single convention on narcotic drugs placed marihuana in a special category with narcotic drugs particularly liable to abuse and to produce ill effects and lacking offsetting therapeutic advantages possessed by less harmful drugs. The decision to include marihuana among other exceedingly dangerous substances was based upon the judgment of drug experts. This same convention established requirements whereby the United States maintains special measures of control over marihuana and prohibits "the production, manufacture, export and import of, trade in, possession or use of the drug except for amounts which

lency Archbishop Cooke and his devoted assistants. I am confident, too, that the memories and ideals of our late Governor and Cardinal will be carried on by generations as yet unborn.

Your Excellency, I am grateful to you for inviting me to address this gathering tonight in memory of our dear departed friends. And, I hope you will extend to me the same privilege they did—to call upon me as much and as often as you think the efforts of this humble servant can advance the cause of God's mercy—here on earth.

#### NEW YEAR'S STATEMENT

### HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, January 17, 1969

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, at the beginning of a new year and a new session of Congress, it is fitting to take a look at the past and to see what must be done in the future.

Mr. George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, in his new year's statement has made these reflections. In his statement he pledges American organized labor to do its utmost to "help solve the tremendous problems which face America's people, her cities, and her future."

Mr. Meany further pledges labor's support to "house the homeless, feed the hungry, succor the sick, protect the consumer, educate the young, provide the elderly with an old age free from fear, continue the march toward equality, and improve the lot of the Nation's workers and their unions."

These are noble pledges and I think they should be of interest to Members of Congress and the readers of the Record. Accordingly, I include Mr. Meany's new year's statement in the Record at this point:

#### NEW YEAR'S STATEMENT

(By George Meany, President, AFL-CIO)

American labor faces the new year in a spirit of determination—determination to continue to push for progress at home and an honorable peace in the world.

On the domestic and international scene, the future is uncertain. A new, untried Administration and a legislative branch of different political viewpoint are being called on to work together for the nation's benefit. How effective this division of power will be, only time will tell. But all Americans, no matter what their political beliefs, owe it to their country to support responsible efforts of the new Administration and the 91st Congress to meet the problems of our time.

The labor movement will do so. We will do our utmost to help solve the tremendous problems which face America's people, her cities and her future.

At the collective bargaining table, the unions of the AFL-CIO will be seeking contracts that guarantee to workers their fair share of the fruits of the enterprise.

In the halls of Congress, we will work on behalf of sound measures to house the homeless, feed the hungry, succor the sick, protect the consumer, educate the young, provide the elderly with an old age free from fear, continue the march toward full equality and improve the lot of the nation's workers and their unions.

We intend to support, with all our strength, the efforts of the most exploited workers in our nation—the farm workers—to achieve the protections and benefits that

workers have a right to enjoy in a free society. The farm workers and the AFL-CIO will not rest until this goal has been won.

That means we will seek new programs where necessary, urge the broadening of existing programs that are too narrow to be effective and insist upon the adequate and proper financing of such measures.

In the state legislatures, AFL-CIO central bodies will be seeking adequate unemployment and workmen's compensation laws, adoption of state consumer-protection laws, modernization of factory and mine safety legislation, as well as the elimination of election and registration procedures designed to deny the ballot to citizens.

On the international scene, the AFL-CIO will continue its support of this nation's pursuit of peace with honor and its defense of freedom. We will continue to work in the developing countries with free, democratic trade unions secure in the belief that by helping build strong, free democratic institutions we are simultaneously helping building democracy and freedom for all.

It seems to me proper to add to these views of the coming year, labor's high regard for a great American who is about to lay down the burdens of office, President Lyndon B. Johnson.

No President has ever done more for the poor, the homeless, the elderly; no President has achieved more in the fields of education, civil rights or health care; no President has suffered so many unfair, unjustified attacks.

The American labor movement owes President Johnson a deep debt of gratitude and, on behalf of the AFL-CIO, I am honored to acknowledge it.

#### BOYD L. RASMUSSEN CITED FOR DISTINGUISHED SERVICE

### HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, January 17, 1969

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Department of the Interior held its 37th honor awards convocation on December 11, 1968. In Oregon we are very proud that in a short 2½ years Boyd L. Rasmussen, Director of the Bureau of Land Management, has so distinguished himself in the complex management of land and natural resources that Secretary Udall cited him for distinguished service. Those of us who know him personally and know of his dedication to public service are particularly proud that he has earned this award.

Boyd is from Ontario, Ore. He is a graduate of our Forestry School at Oregon State College, began his conservation career in Oregon. His mother, Mrs. J. R. Rasmussen, continues to live in Ontario.

As Director of the Bureau of Land Management, he is directing the monumental classification of public lands required by the Classification and Multiple-Use Act of 1964, plays a prominent role in the United States-Japanese log exports situation. He traveled to Tokyo in February 1968. In October 1968 he appeared before the Brazilian Academy of Science in Rio de Janeiro to set forth the American experience in public land management.

Mr. Speaker, I insert in the Record at this point Secretary Udall's citation of

Boyd S. Rasmussen for distinguished service:

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR,  
Washington.

"Citation for distinguished service to Boyd L. Rasmussen in recognition of an eminent Government career in the management and conservation of the Nation's land and natural resources.

Mr. Rasmussen came to the Interior Department as Director of the Bureau of Land Management, one of the Nation's largest land owners. A professional forester and career civil servant of many talents, Mr. Rasmussen brought to the Bureau's operations a wealth of experience in land and resource management with the Department of Agriculture. As an outstanding Public Land Administrator and foremost authority on multiple use management of the public lands, he demonstrated technical competence and extraordinary leadership in the Bureau's varied programs. Under his direction, the testing stage of land classification operations under the 1964 Classification and Multiple Use Act was completed. The land classification program gained wide participation and approval. Department goals have been met and by August 31, 1968, 104 million acres were classified for multiple use management. Mr. Rasmussen received wide recognition for these achievements and has been invited to appear before the Brazilian Academy of Science to explain the objectives of the Multiple Use and Classification Act, and review accomplishments to date. He has a prominent role in the United States-Japan log export crisis. Through his guidance, the Bureau's highly competent participation in meetings, conferences and negotiations became a major factor in coping with the log export issue. He had a most effective part in February 1968, in Tokyo, at the second meeting of representatives of both countries to discuss possible solutions to the softwood log export problem in the Pacific Northwest. As a tribute to his distinct contribution to the Bureau of Land Management, Mr. Rasmussen is granted the highest honor of the Department of the Interior, its Distinguished Service Award.

STEWART S. UDALL,  
Secretary of the Interior.

#### ISRAEL RETALIATION POLICY A MUST

### HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, January 17, 1969

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, I insert at this time in the Record an article from the Washington Evening Star of January 16, 1969, by the distinguished columnist Ralph McGill. I do so because I think it clearly brings into focus the underlying weakness of the position taken by the U.N. in adopting its censure of Israel. I commend to all my colleagues careful attention to the reasoned statement by Mr. McGill:

#### ISRAEL RETALIATION POLICY A MUST

(By Ralph McGill)

No more transparent mixture of hypocrisy and weakness has been paraded on the international stage than the plea of Jordan and Egypt for peace in the Middle East.

It is hypocrisy because, even as the talk goes on, Nasser, in particular, is building and training his re-supplied army and air force for a "get-even" war against Israel. To a lesser extent, this is true of Jordan, Algeria and Syria. They want peace—for a while—

missioner Murphy, leader of Tammany Hall, had indicated he favored the nomination of William Randolph Hearst for the Governorship but the county chairmen and leaders north of the Bronx line, and the City too, were most enthusiastically in favor of Governor Smith being the candidate in that election. There was much tension around the hotel in Syracuse where the delegates were congregated because many of the leaders and prominent Democrats feared they would be placed in the position of having to support Mr. Murphy's choice of Mr. Hearst and none of them wanted to face that decision. I was visiting in Governor Smith's rooms in the Onondaga Hotel with several of the leaders when it was announced that Congressman Bourke Cochran of New York was calling on the Governor. I shall never forget the Congressman standing at the foot of Governor Smith's bed, where he was resting, when he delivered the second best oration I ever heard on why Governor Smith, for the sake of the Party on that ticket, should be willing to accept Mr. Hearst on the ticket as United States Senator, because at that time it was apparent that Governor Smith would be nominated. The Governor listened patiently to the Congressman's appeal. When Mr. Cochran concluded Governor Smith delivered the best oration, without exception, I ever heard, in language and voice which shook the walls, explaining why he would not accept Mr. Hearst on the ticket.

The counter-blast of the Governor left the Congressman speechless and he bowed quite gracefully and left the room. Suddenly, however, the door opened and there was the Congressman again, smiling, and he addressed the Governor as follows: "Governor," he said, "I want you to understand distinctly that I did not come here of my own volition"—indicating to the Governor that he thoroughly agreed with the position he had taken in inferring, of course, that he was there to deliver the message although he was wholeheartedly in favor of Governor Smith's position.

His last point is my first point. I, too, did not come here of my own volition. His Excellency Archbishop Cooke indicated that since both Governor Smith and Cardinal Spellman were among my oldest and most intimate friends that I speak as much in the vein of reminiscence of an old friend as of their great stature as a statesman and a religious leader.

I first met Al Smith in 1918, over fifty years ago. As Rockland County Democratic Chairman, I among others urged his candidacy upon Commissioner Murphy and he was nominated at the State Convention in Saratoga. Incidentally, I was a delegate to every State Convention where he was nominated for Governor.

As the 1918 campaign opened, a major epidemic of Spanish influenza raged throughout the country, and of course this State. Only on rare occasions were large public meetings permitted by the State Department of Health, and then only in the open air. We had such an open air meeting in Orangeburg in my own County of Rockland where I introduced him. He made his usual splendid response and it was well received.

At the end of it I said to him, "Al, I'm optimistic". He growled and looked at me and said, "Jimmy, about the campaign or about the influenza?" "Both", I answered.

He was elected Governor and the influenza subsided—but the Republicans didn't.

The Republicans secured control of the legislature in the Harding landslide in 1920 and they abolished my job at Port Warden to which the Governor had appointed me early in 1919, by reducing the number of wardens from nine to five. We were ready again to battle in 1922. Governor Smith won a great victory over Governor Miller. It is interesting to recall that as County Chair-

man I was unable to get anyone to run for the Assembly on the Democratic ticket in Rockland County that year, and I felt obliged to accept the nomination myself. I was elected and was, of course, a beneficiary of the Smith landslide.

One of the most outstanding pieces of legislation passed in the 1923 term of the State Legislature was the repeal of the Mullen-Gage law. The State was prohibition-minded then and there was much agitation during the 1921 session of the Legislature to pass a law assisting the enforcement of the 18th Amendment and hence the Mullen-Gage Act. Governor Smith was committed to its repeal.

Although I was personally dry I voted wet, but it turned out the voters of Rockland County preferred a candidate who as personally wet but supported prohibition and as a result I was defeated in the next election. When Governor Smith was reelected in 1924 he appointed me to the New York State Athletic Commission where I remained until 1933 when I went to Washington as Postmaster General.

There are a lot of legends arising from the deadlocked 1924 Democratic National Convention when Governor Smith and Secretary McAdoo of California were candidates for the nomination for the Presidency. I shall always remember carrying the New York State banner for Governor Smith, after his name was presented to the Convention, around old Madison Square Garden at 28th Street, for so long a time that I felt like a six-day bicycle rider. The Convention, after 103 ballots, compromised on nominating John W. Davis. The story is that Governor Smith, in agreeing to the compromise, declared, "They say I've got smallpox and McAdoo has diphtheria—so they settled for a case of measles"—I did not hear him say it, and I doubt if he did. John W. Davis was one of the country's most distinguished lawyers and had served as Ambassador to the Court of St. James.

In 1928, I again carried the New York State banner at Houston, where I shall always remember that in ringing tones Franklin D. Roosevelt again nominated Governor Smith as the "Happy Warrior," a name which so suited him that as such he is known to history. I well recall that fateful election evening when Governor and Mrs. Smith came over to Mr. Roosevelt's headquarters in The Biltmore at the time when it was apparent that the Governor was losing his race for the contest for the Presidency. He was in an affable frame of mind when he congratulated Mr. Roosevelt on his successful campaign for the Governorship, and his apparent election by a very narrow margin.

Early in the post-election hours of the 1928 campaign there were many amusing incidents, but one which I shall ever remember was when fearing some upstate shenanigans by the Republicans we alerted the Democratic watchers and workers to be on their toes; the Socialists were screaming like mad that we were telling our watchers not to count their ballots, which, of course, was not so, and Governor Smith ordering the boxes impounded said, "Remember it is not the votes which are cast which win elections; it is the votes which are counted."

For all of the great personal warmth of Governor Smith, he was as rigid as a steel girder about building New York State and he made it a model. He called the best men and women in every field in, and asked them what was best for the people and promised them he would sponsor legislation that would enable them to carry out the program. He did that. From mental health to workmen's compensation, from public education to state highways, he revolutionized the State Government. New York State became and remains a model. Even more importantly, the method of calling experts to assist started with Governor Smith's Kitchen Cabinet.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt brought Governor Smith's idea to Washington where a similar group was called the Brain Trust. It has been said that Jimmy Kiernan, a well known New York Times reporter, coined the term.

This deep concern for the Common Man, the man who had to work for a living to take care of his wife and children was the core and heart of Governor Smith's philosophy. He once said, "I don't want to know what a raise of one cent a quart of milk means to the industry, I want to know how many kids will have to do with less milk."

In a deep sense, therefore, Cardinal Spellman and Governor Smith were alike in mind and spirit. Both devoted their lives to helping the great masses of people build a future for themselves and their children.

I first met Cardinal Spellman in 1933, when my late wife and I had an audience with his Holiness Pope Pius XI.

I recall full well listening to the radio before going over to the nine o'clock mass that Sunday morning in 1946, at St. Patrick's Cathedral, and hearing the announcement of Archbishop Spellman's elevation to the Cardinalate, with three other American Archbishops—Glennon of St. Louis, Mooney of Detroit and Stritch of Chicago. After Mass that morning I called at the Archbishop's residence to offer congratulations and he invited me to join his party for the Consistory. I shall ever be grateful to His Late Eminence for making it possible for me to be present on that never-to-be-forgotten event in history.

With the Cardinal's other guests on that trip to Rome, I was privileged to attend all the ceremonies at St. Peter's and the various functions associated with it. One that will ever remain in my memory was the official dinner in the Quirinale Palace in honor of the newly elevated Cardinals—given by King Umberto II, who was reigning at that time. It was attended by the other members of the College of Cardinals, the Papal Nobility and the Diplomatic Corps in Rome, all wearing their decorations. The impressiveness of that gathering will always live with me; it was the most spectacular grouping I have ever seen. And, I am sure that Dr. Martin Spellman, Mrs. Pegman, Mrs. Gerrity, John C. Kelly and others who may be in this room tonight like myself, members of Cardinal Spellman's party, would have the same recollection.

I feel it can be safely said without fear of contradiction that no member of the Catholic Hierarchy in the United States rendered as much service as Cardinal Spellman not only to the New York Archdiocese but to the State of New York and the country as a whole. His yearly visits overseas to the men and women in the military service will be remembered by those whom he visited, throughout the world where our service men and women were located and also by members of their families and friends.

It was characteristic of Cardinal Spellman to commemorate Governor Smith's devotion to his fellow man and to public service by instituting the Governor Alfred E. Smith Memorial Dinners. I shall always remember that I was Chairman of the first dinner in 1945, and I have attended every dinner except one in 1946 when I was out of the country on business. Down through the years they have resulted in the raising of millions of dollars for St. Vincent's Hospital and the Archbishop's manifold charitable activities.

I count it the greatest of honors, therefore, that Archbishop Cooke in carrying on Governor Smith's and Cardinal Spellman's noble ideals, has permitted me to pay tribute to both my old and dear friends and the causes for which they so untiringly worked. I am satisfied, as I know they are, that the work they started will be carried forward with undiminished vigor by the tremendous energies and clear determination of His Excel-



"Give us peace . . . we are not quite ready for war—almost, but not quite."

Their plea is a confession of weakness, because it is an admission that they, first of all, do not themselves wish to halt the commando raids on Israel. And, they are saying that even if they did desire to say "stop" to the commando-guerrillas, they could not enforce the order because of political repercussions.

In the weeks after the humiliation of the Arab military failure in the six-day war, Hussein, Nasser and others encouraged commando actions. That they have financed them and seen to it that these guerrillas had a share of the arms provided by the Soviets to replace those lost is not denied.

Arab governments cannot now give orders to these groups. They would not dare send military forces to crush them, because they—the Husseins and Nasser—consistently have encouraged and assisted such raids. The Arab peoples, glorying in these crumbs of violence, would rise in wrathful street protests if their own governments were publicly to put down commando units.

It is precisely this political impotence and hypocrisy of the Arab countries that has made Israel's program of retaliation necessary and inevitable.

Lebanon certainly knew of the commando group operating from her territory. It would be most surprising if there is not direct communication between the army of Lebanon and the guerrilla staff. This also would be true of similar clandestine fighters operating from Egypt, Jordan and other "neighbors" of Israel. One is reminded of a bit of humor that circulates in Czechoslovakia:

"Israel is a lucky country."

"Why is she lucky?"

"She is entirely surrounded by enemies rather than friends."

And so she is. There was, in retrospect, a little too much of holding up of protesting hands and too much of piety in the comments following Israel's raid at Lebanon's airport.

Arab terrorists, armed and given sanctuary by Lebanon, had attacked an Israeli airliner, killing one person and wounding others.

Where, then, should Israel have turned?

To the United Nations?

To Russia, Britain, France, the United States, or any other nation?

Let's not further pursue so painful a line of questioning. The U.N. is impotent to act in such matters. The world's organization for preventing aggression is impuissant because the powers themselves keep it so.

So much of the deploring was lacking in the essential quality of providing understanding. Israel is surrounded by enemies—not friends. Her friends are caught in the great game of power politics.

So, the candor of reality makes it necessary to admit that if Israel is not to be nibbled to death by raids and terrorists acts, she must retaliate strongly and well.

And, until the world powers attain moral puissance, let us quit being so pious.

## LONG BEACH MOUNTED POLICE: A RICH TRADITION

### HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, January 17, 1969

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, during the Inaugural Parade for President Richard M. Nixon on Monday, one of the most spectacular units in the parade will be a group of 30 matched golden palomino horses and their colorfully costumed riders.

This unit is the Long Beach Mounted Police from Long Beach, Calif., and it probably is the world's best-known equestrian parade unit. Every New Year's Day for the past 23 years, the civic leaders, businessmen, and sportsmen who make up the group have had the privilege of leading the Rose Parade in Pasadena. The 30 riders, 30 golden palominos and 30 American flags have become a familiar sight in millions of American living rooms on New Years Day.

As fully deputized auxiliaries of the Long Beach Police Department, the Mounted Police for 34 years have exemplified one of California's great links with the traditions of the State's pioneer days.

It is only fitting, then, that the 30 riders from the 100-plus member organization should represent California here in Washington for the Inaugural Parade honoring President Nixon, whose birth in Yorba Linda is only a short drive from Long Beach.

The Long Beach Mounted Police take part in nearly two dozen major parades each year, thrilling countless spectators with the beauty and excitement of their white-maned palomino horses and the gleam of their finely detailed, hand-crafted silver and black leather saddles and accessories.

Each rider is colorfully dressed in Western-style outfits—complete with 10-gallon hat, riding boots, embroidered boleros, decorated gauntlets, riding pants, handkerchiefs and silver-decorated gunbelts, holsters and good old-fashioned "six-shooters," while he guides his mount with skill developed in years of riding.

In the parade Monday the total value of the silver equipment will be over \$300,000 and the 30 horses are valued at nearly \$100,000.

The organization was found in 1935 by 16 men who combined affection for riding with pride in the city of Long Beach and a desire to help publicize their city by representing it in major spectacles. They also shared a desire to keep alive Western traditions.

Today, the members continue to share the organization's founding ideals. They meet each Sunday morning for an informal breakfast trail ride, unless, as is often the case, 25 or 30 or more members are riding that day in a parade. The men care for their own horses, van them to and from parades personally and then carefully saddle and gear their mounts themselves before beginning their precision marches.

Three charter members remain active in the mounted police, and there are many second generation members. There are even second and third generation palominos.

One of the most memorable rides in the organization's history came in 1953 when the troupe had an honored position in the parade marking the inauguration of Dwight D. Eisenhower as President of the United States. Two years ago, the unit toured Latin America on a good will mission on behalf of Long Beach and all of America, and the unit has appeared at least once in virtually every parade held in the West.

Now, the Long Beach mounted police return to the Nation's Capital to help

honor Richard M. Nixon on his inauguration. The President-elect is a southern Californian, which makes things absolutely appropriate.

Here is an alphabetical listing of the 30 riders and two alternates of the Long Beach mounted police who will ride in the Inaugural Parade in Washington, D.C., on January 20, 1969, with their residence cities and occupations. Each rider, as a member of the mounted police, is a fully deputized auxiliary of the Long Beach Police Department.

Dr. Charles Booth (Long Beach), orthopedic surgeon.

James Bragg (Long Beach), truck crane rental business.

Ollie Brown (Long Beach), real estate. Thomas Cole (Long Beach), market chain operator.

Walter E. (Bill) Cozart (Long Beach), beauty salon operator.

Fred S. Dean (Long Beach), wholesale electronics.

Norbert Dean (Long Beach), electronic engineer.

Paul R. Deats (Long Beach), member of Long Beach City Council.

John D. Downing (Long Beach), wholesale auto parts service executive.

M. L. Dunagan (Long Beach), oil drilling company executive.

John J. Dunn (San Fernando), automotive tires sales.

Conrad A. (Connie) Fischer (Rolling Hills), crude oil sales.

John D. Flanagan (Rolling Hills), mortician.

H. G. (Hal) Haney (Long Beach), offshore oil drilling contracting.

Carlton (Carl) Hess (Long Beach), heavy duty truck service.

Chauncey LeValley (Burbank), ready-mix concrete company president.

Mac C. McCoy (Huntington Beach) dredging.

Dean McLeod (Long Beach), Long Beach Police Department officer.

Robert McNulty (Long Beach), taxicab company executive.

George Mitchell (Long Beach), retired former auto dealer.

Earl G. Myers (Rolling Hills), retired former oil tool executive.

Fred M. Riedman (Long Beach), attorney.

Joseph W. Robinson (Long Beach), manufacturer.

Axel Springborg (Corona), operator of Glen Ivy Hot Springs.

Dr. Wilmer Starr (Rolling Hills), Long Beach physician.

Roger H. Stokes (Calmesa), retired former tool manufacturer.

Charles C. Sullans (Santa Ana), retired former polygraph expert for Long Beach Police Department.

\*Fred Taylor (Long Beach), display-decorations company president.

William C. Thomas (West Covina), ready-mix concrete company president.

Ward Thompson (Hawthorne), real estate investment.

\*(James A. Worsham (Long Beach), insurance executive.

Andrew M. Zurick (Anaheim), television sales and service.

\*Indicates Inaugural Parade alternate.

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—Extensions of Remarks January 17, 1969

A CUBAN REFUGEE ASKS, "WHERE WILL YOU GO?"

**HON. JOHN R. RARICK**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, January 17, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, in nearby Cuba within our lifetime free men should have been educated to the lesson repeated often times before in history—one that free men should never forget or forgive—the brutal force of totalitarian communism.

How can we forget so soon with the exiles still living in our midst?

A Cuban refugee here in the United States reminds us:

I was there. I saw it happen. I was on the list to be killed, for days they gave my name over Havana Radio and announced the price on my head. Today that price has gone up, believe it or not, you see I am a political refugee in Washington. But where will you go?

I include a letter from Dr. Mario Garcia Kohly to us Americans, as follows:

**SOMETHING AMERICANS SHOULD READ**

I was there, I saw it happen: I was on their list to die. For days the Havana Radio spelled out my name, over and over again. Even today there is a price on my head. I am a Cuban Political Refugee.

President Johnson said his greatest regret was his failure to get a Gun Control Bill. You applauded his statement.

You Frighten me when you try to disarm the honest citizens of this great Country of yours. For this Country is Humanities LAST HOPE. I was able to come here, but where will you go? Stop and think.

Let me first point out similarities between this administration and that of Gen. Fulgencio Batista.

Like President Johnson, Batista suddenly became extremely unpopular and subject to the most vicious attacks in speeches, the press etc. Nothing he did was right. It became popular to be anti-Batista, it is popular to be anti-Johnson here today. Almost over night. Who gave the order to force the TWO Presidents out of office?

Havanas University (Just like Columbia, Howard and many others here became a hotbed of rebellion an arsenal for revolution, Sit-ins, strikes, marches, parades and protest meetings about everything. Live Phosphorus was placed on seats in Buses, theatre and church seats, Brutal killings, Fires, Bank robberies all the signs of rebellions were present, just as they are present here today.

President Batista. Just like President Johnson gave orders to the Army to stay in their barracks, and to the Police to be gentle to avoid bloodshed, not to make arrests. This order of Batista was greeted with joy by the communists. Rocks, Molotov cocktails, insults were poured on the defenseless Police. Yet everywhere the cry was heard of "Police brutality" Along with the theme song of "We Shall Overcome" in Spanish it was "Vencemos".

Army hospitals were attacked and sick soldiers brutally murdered. Yet Pres. Batista (like President Johnson) tried to pacify the so called opposition. Don't shoot, don't arrest, conciliation was his "theme" but it was a useless effort against a trained and Russian Communist directed conspiracy. The "mobs" were taught to taunt the Police and men in uniform. "Yellow Bastards" (referring to the color of the armies uniforms) every effort was directed at breaking the principal of Government authority. Of respect for the

law. If you don't like any Batista law break it. (Reminds one of Martin Luther King)

Merchants were blackmailed into contributing to Castros, marches, parades and protest meetings under threat of bombing or burning or bodily harm to their wives and children. The Police were powerless to act, because of Pres. Batista's orders and his desire to bring about peace. Aggravated to the limit many resigned others even joined Castros gangsters as the only means of staying alive (will we someday see Washington policemen doing the same)

When Batista realized that the Army and Police had taken all they could and had become completely demoralized, that the principal of Authority had disappeared... he resigned and fled the Country. President Johnson also resigned, feeling he could not be re-elected.

Fidel Castro came to Havana unopposed, not one shot was fired. He was welcomed. Yet his first speech was one asking the people to disarm. Why? "Armas, armas para que" (translated) Arms, Arms what for? We have won the revolution (from within) no more killings. I don't want a single tear to be shed by a Cuban mother or wife because someone tries to take the law into his hands. We shall have "law and order" Register your guns, better yet turn them in, your rifles too. We are a civilized society, we are at peace.

The good citizens did just as Castro asked, they turned in their hand-guns, rifles and shot guns by the thousands. And felt real proud being good law abiding citizens.

Soon as Castro was sure that most arms had been turned over or registered or confiscated, came the forced labor camps, blood baths, collective farms, expropriation, homes and business: Hunger and misery and raping of white women, violent death all the wonders of Russian style communism, this all fell on the good law abiding citizens who disarmed themselves. Is that what you want for the good law abiding citizens of your wonderful United States? I am sure you do not. I am sure you are just as misguided as were most of my people.

Remember that Batista like President Johnson wanted peace, conciliation to unite his people, wanted to go down in History as a Social Reformer an advanced thinker a Liberal President. Wanted to avoid bloodshed... Castro didn't want a single tear shed by reason of armed citizens.

You see I am compelled to write you about what happened in Cuba when the good people are disarmed or guns registered so that when the Police of a communist "Government" takes over, they confiscate your only means of overthrowing them. Oh they are sweet about it, not a single tear, Hipocrits.

Remember, I was there, I saw it happen, I was on the list to be killed, for days they gave my name over the Radio and announced the price on my head. Today that price has gone up, believe it or not, you see I am a political refugee in Washington. But where will you go?

MARIO GARCIA KOHLY.

**THE NATIONAL MEDAL OF SCIENCE FOR 1968****HON. JAMES G. FULTON**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, January 17, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, this morning, the President of the United States presented the National Medal of Science for 1968 to 12 distinguished scientists who have served our country through their outstanding con-

tributions in the physical, biological, mathematical and engineering sciences. These medals were authorized by the Congress in 1959 to provide recognition for the important contributions to America's progress made by our scientists.

It is a pleasure to join with the President and the Nation in honoring these 12 men and I am placing their names in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD along with a brief description of their accomplishments:

**RECIPIENTS OF THE NATIONAL MEDAL OF SCIENCE FOR 1968****BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES**

H. Albert Barker, for his profound study of the chemical activities of microorganisms, including the unravelling of fatty acid metabolism and the discovery of the active coenzyme form of vitamin B<sub>12</sub>.

Bernard B. Brodie, for pioneering new qualitative concepts which have revolutionized the development, the study, and the effective use of therapeutic agents in the treatment of human disease.

Detlev W. Bronk, for his highly original research in the field of physiology and for his manifold contributions to the advance of science and its institution in the service of society.

Jay L. Lush, for bringing the science of genetics to bear upon animal breeding, and thus helping to remould the flocks and herds of America and Western Europe.

B. Frederic Skinner, for basic and imaginative contributions to the study of behavior which have had profound influence upon all of psychology and many related areas.

**ENGINEERING SCIENCES**

J. Presper Eckert, for pioneering and continuing contributions in creating, developing, and improving the high-speed electronic digital computer.

Nathan M. Newmark, for contributions to the development of powerful and widely used methods for analyzing complex structural components and assemblies under a variety of conditions of loading.

**MATHEMATICAL SCIENCES**

Jerzy Neyman, for laying the foundations of modern statistics and devising tests and procedure that have become essential parts of the knowledge of every statistician.

**PHYSICAL SCIENCES**

Paul D. Bartlett, for his leadership in advancing our understanding of the mechanisms by which chemical reactions take place, and for his success in training younger teachers and researchers.

Herbert Friedman, for pioneering work in rocket and satellite astronomy and in particular for his contributions to the field of X-ray astronomy.

Lars Onsager, for a brilliant variety of seminal contributions to the understanding of electrolytes and other chemical systems, especially to the thermodynamics of systems in change.

Eugene P. Wigner, for his many unique innovations in the physical, mathematical and engineering sciences ranging from quantum chemistry to nuclear theory and from reactor engineering to civil defense.

**RUSS PAPER TRAPPED IN BIG LIE****HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, January 17, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Ted Zierins, one of my constituents, recently

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cast electoral college votes for the nominees of their respective parties.

Discontinue referral of the election to Congress if no majority is obtained in the electoral college. This would be done by providing that if no candidate received a majority of the electoral votes, then a subsequent vote would be taken in the electoral college between the two nominees for president who received the highest vote. The winners of this second, or runoff, balloting would become president and vice president.

"This," said Martin's memorandum to the NAASS convention in Anaheim, Calif., "I believe to be more democratic, more effective and more likely to be accepted than total abolishment of the electoral college as such."

The association has appointed Martin to head an interim committee on election procedure, to function until the 1969 national convention.

His group is charged with compiling recommendations for corrective changes in election laws in general, with particular reference to presidential primaries and the electoral college system.

The nation will be hearing more of this plan, one can be sure, at a level and from a professional source in each state calculated to gain attention and interest. Sensible revision of the electoral college may be on its way at last, and with a Louisianian its author.

high seas last January was piracy, and thus an international crime. The beatings administered to the *Pueblo's* crew by their captors are a heinous violation of the Hague Convention on the treatment of prisoners and thus also an international crime.

How to administer justice to a renegade nation is, however, difficult. Armed retaliation, once the answer to international brigandage, is now almost unthinkable. The world is too uneasy a place to risk further upset.

Rep. Roman C. Pucinski (D-Ill.) has suggested to President Johnson that the free world impose an economic embargo against North Korea. Pucinski points out that North Korea exports about 3,100,000 tons of goods annually. About one-third of this total is sold to the free world.

The idea of imposing an economic sanction against North Korea is attractive. North Korea buys so little from the free world that it would not upset the free world economy. Nor would the Communist bloc nations be likely to be able to make up for the sanctions; like North Korea they too need capital from the free world.

President Johnson should give Pucinski's suggestion careful consideration. When it is impractical to hit a bully in the mouth it is sometimes as satisfying to kick him in the pocketbook.

ME

## NORTH KOREA CAN BE HURT

## HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, January 17, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, following the release of the *Pueblo* crewmen who were held captive by North Korea for 11 months, the entire free world was shocked to learn of the tortures and brutalities inflicted upon these American sailors by their Communist captors.

At that time I proposed that the United States lead the free world in imposing an economic embargo against the North Koreans for this inhuman treatment of prisoners.

The Chicago Sun-Times commented on my suggestion and I take the liberty today to include the Sun-Times editorial in the RECORD.

It is my hope that neither the United States nor the free world is going to permit this outrageous violation of all international law to go unpunished. I am mindful that the United States is now in a period of transition between administrations, but I am extremely hopeful that President-elect Nixon will, indeed, seriously consider asking our allies to join in an economic embargo of North Korea.

Failure on our part to take appropriate action against this brazen brutality against our American sailors will constitute an invitation to the Communists to engage in further piracy on the high seas.

The Chicago Sun-Times deserves the highest commendation for its reaction to the suggestion that an economic embargo be imposed against North Korea.

The Chicago Sun-Times editorial follows:

## NORTH KOREA CAN BE HURT

The United States has said that North Korea's seizure of the USS *Pueblo* on the

## IN DEFENSE OF ISRAEL

## HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, January 17, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to insert my remarks in the RECORD, I insert the following article from Time magazine, January 10, 1969:

## IN DEFENSE OF ISRAEL

Israel's most articulate advocate is Abba S. Eban, who as Foreign Minister has the task of explaining his country's actions to the world. Last week, in an exclusive interview with Time Correspondent John Shaw, Eban reflected on the reasons and possible solutions for Israel's present plight:

Will the adverse international reaction to the Beirut raid affect Israel's policy of retaliation?

We have no policy of retaliation. We have a policy of survival. If retaliation helps survival, we are for it. If someone could prove we could survive by giving Arab violence a free rein, then we would do so. But nobody has proved this.

The Israeli press has been invoking the history of the persecution of Jews in claiming that there is international discrimination against Israel. Do you think this attitude is justified?

The international attitude toward Israel cannot be entirely detached from traditional relationships between Jews and non-Jews. There is a stereotype of the Jews as passive victims of others' violence. Israel gives another picture, the picture of the Jews suffering but also resisting. World consciousness has not fully absorbed this change. I have no other explanation for the fact that the Soviet Union, which invaded Czechoslovakia, can condemn alleged Israeli "aggression" at the U.N. without the public gallery bursting into laughter.

Does Israel still believe in international order, or have you decided to go it alone?

The concept of international order is a Jewish idea we have been trying for 4,000 years to transmit to the rest of the world. It is an idea that works with great strength on

the Jewish imagination. It is, however, an idea, not a reality. The U.N. does not express that idea with any effectiveness in its present composition. My view after 20 years of U.N. experience is not far different from that of General Assembly President Emilio Arenales of Guatemala: he recently referred to the "frivolity" and "irresponsibility" of certain majority decisions at the U.N.

There is talk of the big powers imposing a settlement. What do you consider are the prospects for such a solution?

A settlement can only grow from within the region, we believe. Powers outside this region have surprisingly little capacity to make the states here act against what they consider to be their interests. But the big powers can do two things here. They can force Israel and the Arabs to turn to each other by excluding the possibility of an imposed settlement. And if the adversaries make an agreement, the big powers can support such a settlement.

Some of the reaction to the Beirut raid was caused by fear that it might lead to another war. How dangerous is the situation here now?

If the danger of war has increased, it is because of what happened in Athens, not in Beirut. World War II was not caused by Anglo-French reaction, but by Hitler's initial violence. I do not think the sequence of Arab violence and Israeli reaction, however drastic, necessarily means general war. Nations do not get drawn into war; they make general war only by cold decision. In May 1967, President Nasser decided to have a war. I don't think he has made that decision again yet.

What does Israel want or expect from the new U.S. Administration, whose Middle East policy, it is speculated, may be more "even-handed"?

American policy in the past has never shown bias toward Israel. Thus, if it is even-handed, it will remain the same, not change. Israel hopes for three things from the U.S. First, that the Administration will see to it that war is not invited by an imbalance of forces here. This means that Israel's defenses should be maintained in the face of the massive Soviet rearming of Egypt. Second, Israel wishes the U.S. to deter the Soviet Union from intervention or intimidation here. And third, we want the new Administration to maintain President Johnson's principle that there can be no Israeli withdrawal from the ceasefire lines except to secure and agreed borders. This principle has been restated to us in Washington recently, and has also been stated by Mr. Nixon on many occasions. We do not expect the Nixon Administration to depart from these three fundamentals, even if the application of them is appraised from time to time.

## WEYMOUTH JAYCEES

## HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, January 17, 1969

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, at a time when there seems to be a greater and greater demand upon the Federal Government to provide funds to cure a multitude of local problems, it is refreshing to find a community group working diligently to solve a pressing problem without aid of State or Federal moneys.

In 1964, the Weymouth Jaycees, a group of young men between 21 and 35 years of age, undertook a project deemed impossible by many citizens of Weymouth. These young men felt there was



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a need to build a school for the training of preschool retarded youngsters. They began work to raise \$60,000 for this project.

At this time, with barely one-third of the funds raised, two-thirds of the building has been constructed. This amazing progress has been made possible through the use of donated materials and labor with most of the volunteer work done on Saturdays after the laborers had completed a regular week's work on their own jobs.

The project was originally proposed to the town with a question: "Doesn't anyone care . . .". Since 1964, the Weymouth Jaycees have indeed found that many people care. The group is now nearing the end of its goal—a nonprofit school for retarded youngsters which is badly needed in the area.

### THE BICYCLE POLICE: LONG BEACH, CALIF.

**HON. CRAIG HOSMER**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, January 17, 1969

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the thought of a policeman patrolling on a bicycle evicts images of the London bobby pedaling through fog-shrouded streets. But the city of Long Beach, Calif., has come up with an imaginative new application for the bicycle in modern American police work.

In a recent issue of the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, Chief William J. Mooney, of the Long Beach Police Department, explains how his department is using plainclothes officers on bicycle to combat purse snatching, burglary, and automobile theft.

The bicycle is an ideal vehicle for these specialized patrolmen. It is quiet, easy to maneuver, economical to maintain and sufficiently fast to overtake suspects fleeing on foot without tiring the officer.

I am including Chief Mooney's article in the RECORD:

#### OPERATION OF A BICYCLE PATROL

(By William J. Mooney, Chief of Police, Long Beach, Calif.)

In November 1964, street crimes, particularly purse-snatching, in downtown Long Beach, Calif. (population 885,000), were extremely high.

In order to combat these crimes, we made a study to pinpoint the problem areas. In previous months strong-arm robberies, including attempts, were charted as follows: location; day of week; time of day; loss in actual dollars; victim's age group; and age group and ethnic group of suspects.

Our study clearly indicated that a sizable number of these offenses were committed on Friday and Saturday nights between the hours of 6 p.m. and 10 p.m. in the downtown area of our city. The city was divided into sections, and a pin map of the locations of these crimes by sector was kept. The map showed that a large number of the crimes were committed in a relatively small area of the downtown section. With this information we planned to reduce crime on the streets, particularly purse-snatching, by apprehending offenders at the scene.

#### METHOD USED

The purse-snatcher usually follows an elderly victim from a shopping area to a dimly lighted street, perhaps a block from the main thoroughfare, approaches from the rear, grabs the purse, sometimes knocking the victim down, and flees. The perpetrator is young and fleetfooted and wears tennis shoes.

Identification of purse-snatchers is rarely possible after they have made a getaway because they approach from the rear in dimly lighted locations, and their elderly victims (most are over 60 years) often have poor eyesight.

After studying purse-snatcher MOs and reports on previous crimes, we next had to determine what transportation our officers would use.

Patrol cars were out of the question, as even unmarked police cars are easily detected, and the appearance of a vehicle on the scene of a planned purse-snatching would only delay the action until the vehicle left. Even if not detected, should the officers in the unmarked police vehicle be lucky enough to see the crime committed, they would still have to run a footrace with the suspect. In all probability the suspect would have an ample headstart. A foot patrolman would be in no better situation. If he did observe the crime at the time it was committed, he would likely lose the suspect in a chase.

We decided that for this special enforcement task bicycles would be the best means of transportation for the following reasons: They are quiet in operation; they have sufficient speed to easily overtake fleeing suspects without tiring the officer; they are easy to maneuver and can be ridden in areas inaccessible to larger vehicles; they can be secured and maintained at a low cost. Three special bicycles were selected over other types because of their speed and ease of operation.

Having decided on the transportation to be used in our program, we next directed our efforts toward the selection of officers. Those we chose were experienced, aggressive men capable of strenuous physical exertion. Because of the additional hazards involved in the operation of this detail, they were selected from a list of volunteers.

#### POLICE PROCEDURE

The officers were briefed concerning the MO of purse-snatchers and the use of bicycles for transportation. They were instructed to wear light-weight (preferably dark-colored) clothing and tennis shoes. (Light-weight clothing was selected, as the exertion in operating the bicycles aids in keeping the men warm.) Officers were further instructed that the bicycles would not be equipped with lights, as part of the success of this program would be based on their not being seen by the suspects. Officers were cautioned to keep out of regular vehicular traffic for their own safety.

#### AREAS COVERED

Much of the riding was to be on sidewalks and in alleys. The officers were instructed to stay in the shadows and off the main thoroughfares whenever possible. They were reminded that purse-snatchers might have concealed weapons. Because the suspects are usually young and consequently do not tire easily, the officers were advised to ride their bicycles whenever possible when giving chase.

Our officers work in pairs. Each carries his badge, a small flashlight, handcuffs, black-jack, a gun in a holster, and a small transistor radio equipped with a converter for monitoring police calls. If the officers monitor a strong-arm dispatch for their patrol area, they may be able to apprehend the suspects.

#### METHOD OF PATROL

The two officers patrol their area by riding at an easy pace on separate north-south or

east-west streets one block apart. Each will ride two blocks, then crisscross and meet his partner. In the event a partner does not show up, the other officer goes back on his street to assist his partner if necessary.

While patrolling in this manner, each officer is advised to make his approach to alleys and intersections slowly and to check pedestrian movements. The most productive time of operation proved to be in the late evening hours.

Another method of operation is to follow possible suspects. If they appear to have a set destination and pass up potential victims without looking them over, officers should continue their regular patrol. Most suspects, prior to attempting a purse-snatching, generally give some indication of their intention just prior to their grabbing the victim's purse. This indication will generally go unnoticed by the victim or a casual observer, but not by the trained police officer. Aside from the fact that the officer can spot possible suspects by their youthful appearance and dress, our officers have spotted them by some of the following methods: No set destination in their travel; loitering around a high crime area; following women on foot with an obvious intent to overtake them at a particular location, usually near a corner or alley; closely watching their intended victims or other pedestrians and vehicular traffic on the street, including a quick glance just prior to the taking of the purse; and movement in adjusting a gun or other weapon.

#### SUSPECTS ARRESTED

We have not attempted to enumerate the actual number of purse-snatching suspects arrested during our use of the bicycle patrol because such figures would be meaningless without other pertinent information.

Arrests, of course, have not been limited to strong-arm robbery, but also include homicide (committed on the street during a robbery), burglary, assault, malicious mischief, and numerous other offenses.

This department has widened the scope of the bicycle patrol. Now, in addition to the night patrol, we have two officers riding bicycles during the daytime in the downtown business district and through the large public parking lots. They have been successful in reducing thefts from parked automobiles and in arresting thieves at the scene.

#### WE TRIED

**HON. PAUL G. ROGERS**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 16, 1969

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, few Presidents in American history served their Nation during such critical years as did Lyndon Johnson. Fewer still were as well prepared, or more dedicated and hard working.

The situation in Asia, Latin America, Europe, and the Middle East, as well as violence here at home, called for the full energies of an exceptionally energetic man. A noted TV commentator reflected the other night that many people will criticize President Johnson for one or two developments on which they disagreed with his actions, and fail to take note of dozens of important development with which they did agree. Perhaps that is human nature. History has a way of brushing aside these short term considerations, however, and looking at the

In company with Mr. Margolius, I am sure most of us would also say, "Well done, Betty."

Under unanimous consent, I herewith include the article referred to above, as follows:

WELL DONE, BETTY  
(By Sidney Margolius)

One of the biggest surprises to many people was the highly effective job Betty Furness did in representing consumers as the President's consumer assistant.

And one of the main concerns now is that there probably won't be anyone with the determination and ability of Betty or her predecessor, Esther Peterson, to represent at the White House the cheated or even just disappointed consumers. Our new President, Richard Nixon, so far has shown no interest or understanding of the real extent and seriousness of consumer problems today.

#### OUTSPOKEN AND SYMPATHETIC

When Betty was appointed consumer assistant to President Johnson two years ago, a lot of people thought she was just a glamorous actress. Actually, as we pointed out at the time, she was much more—a highly-intelligent, outspoken woman with a great deal of sympathy for the underdog (exactly what the consumer is nowadays).

As the government's top consumer representative, Betty spoke her mind frankly at Congressional hearings. She took to the road to tell business organizations what was troubling consumers, and to tell consumer groups what they needed to do to get protective laws. She made 90 speeches in less than two years.

Congressmen especially were surprised. They had not expected such expert testimony from the former movie and TV star. In all, Betty Furness helped get 11 consumer bills passed in the time she was in office.

In an interview before she left Washington, she told this writer: "The most important insight I got is that consumer problems are bigger, deeper and more complicated than I, and probably most people, had realized," she confided.

"In the beginning I honestly thought that industry was trying to please the consumer. I am not so sure any more. Now I think there is more manipulating than pleasing.

"I did not have a full concept of the degree of frustration many consumers undergo, like the family that buys a car, finds serious defects, but the dealer won't make good and the family is left with half a car."

Are consumer complaints on the whole justified? "Totally," Betty answers with conviction. "Manufacturers tend to blame product difficulties on consumers themselves. They say, 'Did they read the instructions? Are they doing it right?' But the difficulties most often are not the fault of the consumers."

She has told manufacturers the unvarnished truths as she found them. In one of her last speeches, to the National Association of Manufacturers, she warned: "You may be rejoicing over the approach of a Republican Administration, but I can tell you if consumer problems are left unattended over the next four years—and I hope and assume they won't be—the remedial action taken by some future Administration and some coming Congress will be even more severe than it would be if the problems are solved as they come up."

She also points out that most of the consumer-minded Senators and Congressmen like Magnuson, Proxmire, Hart, Nelson, Patman, Sullivan, Foley and others, are back in Congress. In fact, some like Leonor Sullivan and John Dingell, who campaigned on consumer issues, got 73 and 74 per cent of the vote in their districts.

#### COMPLAINTS HELPED

But Betty Furness believes that it is the aroused consumers themselves who are going

to make it impossible for any Administration now to turn its back on consumers.

"It's this new voice that's so startling," she says. "It's the fact that consumers used that voice articulately and vigorously that helped us pass the bills in the first place, and helped give the consumer more and more representation in state and local government, and helped the Federal Government to be more diligent in forcing consumer protection, and helped awaken industry to the fact that the consumer won't settle for an unsafe or unsound or dishonest marketplace."

Complaints about home appliances, their warranties and repairs brought the most letters into her office, Betty reports. Many warranties or guarantees tell the consumer what the manufacturer will do, but not what he won't do. Some warranties put an "unreasonable" time limit on the manufacturer's responsibility.

Sometimes, too, the warranty can be invoked only by "unreasonable effort or expense on the part of the buyer," Betty says.

Since she has left office, she has turned down a fortune in offers from manufacturers and sellers to do commercials and sponsor their products. She refuses to be involved in automatic payoffs.

"I won't do it," she told me. "I want to be free to comment. I wouldn't sponsor any product I could not investigate myself."

Betty Furness is going to lecture, and is considering doing some writing. She probably also will be back on the air.

When she does, we'll all be listening.

#### STATEMENT ON THE MIDDLE EAST

#### HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 16, 1969

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, January 3, 1969, I joined a number of my colleagues in the House of Representatives in signing a statement to the effect that the United Nations Security Council's censure of Israel was one-sided, and ignored the Arab terrorism which has been rampant in the Middle East. It is in our highest national interest to continue to pursue an honorable Arab-Israel peace, and I feel that the Security Council's action was harmful to our efforts to secure peace. Under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include the text of that statement:

#### STATEMENT ON THE MIDDLE EAST

The United States must continue the pursuit of an honorable Arab-Israel peace in her highest national interest. Accordingly, we believe that the one-sided decision of the United Nations Security Council to censure Israel and to ignore Arab terrorism is prejudicial to the attainment of a genuine peace. It is difficult to understand why the international community remains mute when Arab terrorists commit murder and finds its voice only when Israel undertakes to put an end to such atrocities.

The recent unfortunate incidents at Athens and Beirut have been torn out of context. Since the cease-fire after the six-day war of June 1967 to last December 20, there were 1,002 incidents of guerrilla attacks against Israel; 259 Israelis were killed, one-fourth of them civilians; and 1,005 wounded, all of whom required hospitalization. Since the United Nations Security Council resolution, six more Israelis have been killed by terrorist attacks.

In a parallel war against Israel's economy,

the Arab states have maintained their boycotts and blockades, have tried to deny Israel the use of international waterways and to divert her life-giving water supply. Arab terrorists hijacked an El Al plane and forced it to go to Algeria. Last week, Arab terrorists from Beirut attacked the same El Al plane in Athens with guns and Molotov cocktails, killing one of the passengers, wounding another, and endangering the lives of 49 others, including some American citizens.

Three days later, the Israel air force struck back at Arab airlines, destroying 13 planes at the international airport at Beirut. Great care was taken by the Israelis to protect human life. This has been described as a retaliation. In truth, this was a dramatic effort by Israel to inform the Arab governments, which have been supporting the terrorists, that Israel was prepared to defend her sky-lanes to the outside world, and that she would not allow her enemies to isolate and strangle her.

Both Israel and Lebanon complained to the UN Security Council. But the world body was silent and indifferent when the El Al plane was attacked. It was vociferously indignant when Israel replied. The Israelis have been unable to win UN Security Council support for their complaints because the Arabs are twice protected: the Soviet Union vetoes any resolutions directed against them and there are six members who do not have diplomatic relations with Israel.

In Jerusalem several weeks ago, 12 Israelis were killed and scores wounded, as a truck-load of dynamite exploded in a crowded market street. We were astonished that this outrage evoked no echo from the world's civilized capitals—neither sympathy for the victims, nor condemnation for the criminals.

The Arab governments have taken pride publicly in aiding and abetting the guerillas. Lebanese Premier Abdullah Yafi has recently reaffirmed his country's support for terrorist activity against Israel, calling it "legitimate and sacred." By relocating in Lebanon, which enjoys the reputation of a pro-Western moderate, allegedly aloof from the Arab-Israel conflict, Arab terrorists—such as the Palestine Liberation Organization, which used to have its headquarters in Cairo—obviously felt that here they would be immune from Israeli counter-terrorist measures.

The UN resolution will encourage, we fear, the Arabs to intensify their terrorism, secure in the knowledge that a sympathetic Security Council will protect them by punishing anyone who tries to resist them. Since the UN Security Council decision, Israel has counted more civilian casualties, and has buried six more dead. Some of the dead lost their lives to terrorists whose weapons were aimed and fired from Lebanon, a few hours after the UN censure vote.

So the threat to the peace will grow and there are ominous signs that the Soviet Union will exploit the censure of Israel to whip up international opinion against Israel and to intensify pressures for a Soviet-dictated settlement which would force Israel to withdraw from occupied territories, without requiring the Arab states to enter into a genuine peace with her.

We hope that our government will not participate in a dangerous collaboration with Israel's enemies which will prove subversive to the peace and inimical to the best interests of our own country. It is in America's interest to insure that the Soviet Union does not gain a dominant influence in the Middle East, and it is in America's interest that Israel be strong enough to insure her independence.

There must be no retreat from the struggle for a genuine Arab-Israel peace in the Middle East. Arab terrorism is gaining ground in Arab countries and if it continues to intimidate Arab rulers, then the Arab peoples themselves will be the worst victims. We owe it to the Arab peoples, as well as to the Israel-

an opportunity for a hearing. Amendments to an approved application would be subject to approval just as if they were original applications.

The United States would be entitled to recover from the applicant the amount of any payments made under a guarantee under this part. (The Secretary for good cause could waive this right of recovery.) The United States would be subrogated to the rights of the applicant upon its recovery of payments from the applicant. The Secretary would be authorized to subject guarantees under this part to the terms and conditions that he might determine to be necessary to carry out the purposes of this part. In order to protect the financial interest of the United States, the Secretary would be authorized to modify any of the terms and conditions of the guarantee.

Neither the applicant on whose behalf a loan guarantee is made nor any other person who made a loan to the applicant could contest any guarantee made by the Secretary, with one exception. Fraud or misrepresentation could make the guarantee contestable.

#### Payment of interest on guaranteed loans

The new section 624 would create a contractual right to each holder of a loan guaranteed under this part to receive from the United States (a) one-half of the interest rate which becomes due and payable, or (b), if lower, the interest which would become due and payable at a rate of 3%. Such amounts as might be necessary to carry out this section would be authorized. Contracts to meet the payments provided for in this section could not amount to an aggregate greater than the amount provided for in appropriation acts.

#### Limitation on amount of loans guaranteed

The new section 625 would establish a limit on the cumulative total of loan guarantees under this part that could be outstanding at any one time. For fiscal year 1970, the maximum allowable limit of outstanding loans guaranteed would be \$400 million; for fiscal year 1971, \$800 million, and for fiscal year 1972, \$1,200 million. These limits would apply unless appropriation acts specified a lower limit.

#### Loan guarantee fund

Under the new section 626, a separate loan guarantee fund for loan guarantees for the modernization of hospital and medical facilities would be established within the Treasury. The fund would be available without fiscal year limitation. Such amounts as might be necessary to provide capital for the fund would be authorized to be appropriated.

The Secretary would be authorized to borrow funds to discharge his responsibilities under guarantees issued under this part. In order to borrow funds, the Secretary would be authorized to issue notes and other forms of obligations bearing interest at a rate determined by the Secretary of the Treasury. The Secretary of the Treasury would be authorized to purchase these obligations issued by the Secretary. The amounts borrowed under this part would be deposited in the fund. The Secretary would also redeem from the fund, the notes and obligations issued under this section.

#### SECTION 3

Expansion, if not in excess of 10% of existing facilities and if in conformity with the State plan, is also eligible for loan guarantee and interest payments.

#### SECTION 4

Where it is determined that the need is equal between two or more institutions, priority will be given to teaching hospitals. A teaching hospital is defined as a hospital that allocates a substantial part of its resources to conduct, in its own name or in formal association with a college or university, formal education program(s) or

course(s) of instruction in the health disciplines that lead to the granting of recognized certificates, diplomas, or degrees, or that are required for professional certification or licensure.

#### SECTION 5

Amends the new section 631 to provide that the Federal Hospital Council will evaluate the effectiveness (including the innovation of new methods) of modernization under the Public Health Service Act and report at least annually to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and to the Congress with its findings and recommendations.

#### SECTION 6

This section of the bill would amend section 302(a)(2)(B) of the Federal National Mortgage Association Charter Act (added by the Participation Sales Act of 1966—Public Law 89-429), which authorizes FNMA to establish trusts for HEW with respect to certain loans by the Commissioner of Education, so as to authorize such trusts also with respect to loans under these new provisions of the PHS Act.

### GOVERNMENT REFORM MEASURES INTRODUCED

#### HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 16, 1969

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing two measures designed to improve the operation of the Federal Government. One, which should be considered absolutely top priority, would establish a Hoover-type commission with broad authority to study Federal organization, programs and activities. The commission would then propose improvements to modernize and simplify Federal operations, and ways to cut present costs and duplication.

The Federal program explosion of recent years has created near chaos for both the public and Federal personnel. The sudden proliferation of countless agencies, boards, and commissions has resulted in incredible confusion, excessive costs, public dissatisfaction to the point of disillusionment and sadly inefficient service.

Local and State administrators kept endlessly waiting for uncertain attention have often found the Federal Government to be the ship which never comes in from the sea of red tape. Somehow, this cumbersome and baffling system of loose ends must be tied up into a comprehensible and serviceable Federal package. The commission recommended, to be called the Commission for the Improvement of Government Management and Organization, is therefore a sound first step.

The commission would also be instructed to examine the desirability of block grants and revenue-sharing with State, county and city governments. Additionally, it would assist Congress in setting sounder priorities through its assessment of program costs and effectiveness.

The second measure introduced today would permit production of a single, comprehensive catalog—presently nonexistent—containing complete informa-

tion about all Federal assistance programs.

Disclosures last year indicate that present information on Federal aid programs is entirely inadequate to assist those they are intended to benefit. The proposed catalog would include, therefore, such basic information as a description of the program, the administering department, eligibility restrictions, benefits available, current level of funds available, officials to contact, mechanics of application and identity of related programs.

### "WELL DONE, BETTY"—TRIBUTE BY CONSUMER COLUMNIST SIDNEY MARGOLIUS TO BETTY FURNESS IN THE MACHINIST

#### HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 16, 1969

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most effective battlers for consumer causes over the years, and the first person to bring vital consumer information to the general public through a regular newspaper column devoted to this subject, is Mr. Sidney Margolius, whose column has been appearing for years in the newspaper of the Machinists Union, and is now published in a great many other periodicals. His books on consumer issues are widely sold. Mr. Margolius is also serving the consumer cause as a member of the National Commission on Product Safety created by the 90th Congress. His judgments are knowledgeable, critical, and fair, so those of us who have been steady readers of his column respect his integrity.

Therefore, of all of the compliments and praise heaped on Betty Furness as she leaves her White House assignment as Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs, a column by Mr. Margolius today will undoubtedly be regarded by her as among the most meaningful tributes she has received, for it is written by probably the foremost professional in the field of consumer education.

Mr. Margolius, incidentally, was one of the best witnesses to appear before my Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs of the House Committee on Banking and Currency in August 1967, in support of strong truth in lending, garnishment, and other provisions of my Consumer Credit Protection bill, H.R. 11601, which became Public Law 90-321. I am therefore particularly pleased to call to the attention of all of the Members of Congress who believe in the consumer cause the excellent article by Mr. Margolius about the able woman who now leaves the Federal Government after performing an outstanding job as the voice of the consumer in Government. As Mr. Margolius points out, Betty Furness and her pioneering, innovative, and imaginative predecessor in that job, Assistant Secretary of Labor Esther Peterson, both brought determination and ability to a terribly difficult assignment and did a fine job.



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lis, to take strong measures to curb terrorism and to bring Arabs and Jews to the peace table.

We have not given up hope for an Arab-Israel peace. We believe that there are peace-loving Arabs who would welcome mutual cooperation. We must help the Arab peoples to strengthen the hand of those who will vote for Arab-Jewish cooperation and peace.

#### SIGNERS OF STATEMENT

Addabbo, Joseph P. (N.Y.).  
Annunzio, Frank (Ill.).  
Ayres, William H. (Ohio).  
Barrett, William A. (Pa.).  
Bell, Alphonzo (Cal.).  
Blaggi, Mario (N.Y.).  
Bingham, Jonathan B. (N.Y.).  
Brasco, Frank J. (N.Y.).  
Burke, James A. (Mass.).  
Burton, Phillip (Cal.).  
Button, Daniel E. (N.Y.).  
Byrne, James A. (Pa.).  
Carey, Hugh L. (N.Y.).  
Celler, Emanuel (N.Y.).  
Clark, Frank M. (Pa.).  
Cohelan, Jeffery (Cal.).  
Conyers, John (Mich.).  
Dent, John H. (Pa.).  
Diggs, Charles C., Jr. (Mich.).  
Edwards, Don (Cal.).  
Eilberg, Joshua (Pa.).  
Farbstein, Leonard (N.Y.).  
Fascell, Dante B. (Fla.).  
Fish, Hamilton (N.Y.).  
Fraser, Donald M. (Minn.).  
Friedel, Samuel N. (Md.).  
Fulton, James G. (Pa.).  
Garmatz, Edward A. (Md.).  
Gilbert, Jacob H. (N.Y.).  
Green, Edith (Oreg.).  
Green, William J. (Pa.).  
Halpern, Seymour (N.Y.).  
Hays, Wayne L. (Ohio).  
Helstoski, Henry (N.J.).  
Horton, Frank (N.Y.).  
Joelson, Charles S. (N.J.).  
Kluczynski, John C. (Ill.).  
Koch, Edward I. (N.Y.).  
Lowenstein, Allard K. (N.Y.).  
McCarthy, Richard D. (N.Y.).  
Madden, Ray J. (Ind.).  
Mikva, Abner J. (Ill.).  
Minish, Joseph G. (N.J.).  
Moorhead, William S. (Pa.).  
Murphy, John M. (N.Y.).  
Nix, Robert N. C. (Pa.).  
Ottinger, Richard L. (N.Y.).  
Patten, Edward J. (N.J.).  
Pepper, Claude (Fla.).  
Podell, Bertram L. (N.Y.).  
Price, Melvin (Ill.).  
Rees, Thomas M. (Cal.).  
Rodino, Peter W., Jr. (N.J.).  
Rosenthal, Benjamin S. (N.Y.).  
Ryan, William F. (N.Y.).  
Scheuer, James H. (N.Y.).  
Stratton, Samuel S. (N.Y.).  
Symington, James W. (Mo.).  
Tiernan, Robert O. (R.I.).  
Vanik, Charles A. (Ohio).  
Wilson, Charles H. (Cal.).  
Wolff, Lester L. (N.Y.).  
Yates, Sidney R. (Ill.).

#### BILL BAGGS: A VOICE STILLED; A MAN REMEMBERED

#### HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 16, 1969

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, 9 days ago today a respected and resourceful voice for racial tolerance, international under-

standing, and quality journalism was prematurely stilled in this Nation. Bill Baggs, editor of the Miami News, died at the early age of 48 in the city of Miami, the city he shaped and loved.

But Bill Baggs was much more than a local man. The tributes to his memory and the causes for which he dedicated his life and his work have poured in from all over the world. They are ready testament to the global influence of the man.

His family, friends, and associates mourn him; the famous and those he befriended will miss him; those whose lives he touched and whose lives touched him will be the better for having met him along the way.

Bill Baggs, journalist, was more than a recorder and interpreter of events. He was involved and active in the causes and crusades of his day—he nudged history and left his imprint in an all too brief life time.

Bill made two trips to Hanoi as an unofficial peace envoy from the United States because he was concerned with the ever-increasing loss of life and daily suffering in that tragic war. Should the Paris peace talks end in a settlement of the Vietnam War, there is growing speculation that Bill Baggs will be known to have lent a hand in bringing the principals together.

The editor had political enemies who disagreed with his approach to and interpretation of domestic and world problems. Yet I knew of no personal enemies of Bill Baggs.

To those with the ready solution to complex problems, Bill often quoted a favorite phrase:

This is not a simple world, my friend, and there are no simple answers.

To those words I would add a favorite quotation that I keep on a small inscribed bronze plaque on my desk. The words are attributed to Etienne de Grellet—1773–1855—who immigrated to the United States from France:

I shall pass through this world but once; any good thing therefore that I can do or any kindness that I can show to any human being, let me do it now, let me not defer it, or neglect it, for I shall not pass this way again.

The greatest tribute to Bill Baggs was written by the man himself—he lived those words.

Mr. Speaker, I include at this point in the RECORD the announcement of Bill Baggs' death as reported in the New York Times of January 8, 1969.

Following the notice, I include the testimonial to the memory of Bill Baggs as written by his long-time friend and companion, the Honorable Fuller Warren, former Governor of the State of Florida.

And, because he so clearly captured the character and qualities of the man, I include the January 8 article by Miami News columnist John Keasler:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 8, 1969]

WILLIAM C. BAGGS, MIAMI EDITOR WHO WAS LIAISON IN HANOI, DIES

MIAMI, January 7.—William C. Baggs, the editor of The Miami News, who visited Hanoi in 1967 and 1968, and served as an unofficial peace envoy, died today in the Miami Heart Institute of viral pneumonia. He was 48 years old.

Mr. Baggs was stricken about 10 days ago with influenza, which worsened into pneumonia. He was hospitalized on Dec. 29.

On his second trip to North Vietnam last spring, Mr. Baggs and Harry S. Ashmore, executive vice president of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara, Calif., brought out of Hanoi the initial aide memoire that set forth North Vietnam's position on negotiations with the United States.

The aide memoire was turned over to Ambassador William H. Sullivan in Vientiane, Laos, on April 6. It stated that North Vietnamese representatives were prepared to meet those of the United States for "contacts," but that no business of substance would be transacted until a bombing halt had been announced.

Mr. Baggs and Mr. Ashmore, former editor of The Little Rock Gazette, had published last October a book called "Mission to Hanoi: A Chronicle of Double-Dealing in High Places," an account of their intermediary role in the negotiations.

Although their two trips—Mr. Ashmore also accompanied Mr. Baggs in 1967—were made with the knowledge and assistance of the State Department, the two editors believed that their efforts had been undercut by officials in the Johnson Administration.

#### A "CONCILIATORY" CONVERSION

After their first trip in January, 1967, the editors brought back reports of a "conciliatory" conversation with President Ho Chi Minh of North Vietnam and were subsequently given a State Department message to send to Hanoi. Mr. Ashmore later that year charged that President Johnson had "effectively and brutally canceled" the peace feeler by sending an uncompromising letter to the North Vietnamese leader. The Johnson Administration denied the charge.

Mr. Baggs' dispatches from North Vietnam on both trips appeared in his paper, The Miami News, and were distributed by The Associated Press. He had the first interview given by Ho Chi Minh to an American newspaperman in several years in 1967.

He described Ho Chi Minh as "obviously well-informed about political and economic events in America . . . cordial, even friendly, but he was politely firm in expressing the policy of his country. At times he became impatient with the translator and he turned and addressed his American visitor in faultless English."

Mr. Baggs was one of a few Southern newspaper editors who crusaded for Negro rights. His columns and editorials won numerous awards from human rights organizations. They also brought him the enmity of the South's right wing, and a number of threats upon his life.

A colorful editor in the early American newspaper tradition, he was more apt to answer his critics with barbed humor than with invective.

Regarding the Ku Klux Klan, he once wrote: "Of an estimated Florida population of 3.8 million, we have not quite 1,450 peeking out from behind the pillow case. This is encouraging. I would suppose that the ratio of philosophical idiots is higher in New York City."

Mr. Baggs, a lanky man over 6 feet tall, liked to tell people that he was "just a small town boy from Georgia." Early in his career he appeared regularly on a Miami television program, on which he dressed in rural clothes and played the backwoods philosopher.

#### WROTE ON MANY SUBJECTS

That image faded in later years, however, as his writings revealed his depth of interests on a wide range of subjects. In addition to his daily columns and editorials, he wrote articles for The American Scholar, the Encyclopaedia Britannica and The New York Times Magazine.

William Calhoun Baggs was born in Atlanta on Sept. 30, 1920. His parents were an Atlanta automobile dealer, the late C. C. Baggs, and the former Kate Bush of Colquitt, Ga.

He did not attend college, but he once told a friend that he began his real education when he became ill after finished high school and was confined to bed for a year. He devoted the time to reading history and literature.

His newspaper career began in 1941 when he worked on the copy desk of The Panama Star and Herald in Panama.

EDITOR SINCE 1957

During World War II he served with the 485th Bomber Group of the 14 Air Force in North Africa and Italy.

He worked briefly for The Greensboro (N.C.) News in 1945 and joined The Miami News as a reporter in 1946. He became a columnist in 1949 and was promoted to editor in 1957.

Among the many awards won by his paper during his editorship were three Pulitzer Prizes.

Mr. Baggs had appeared seriously fatigued since he returned from his second trip to Hanoi last March. He was hospitalized for a brief period in the fall for tests and observation.

Mr. Baggs is survived by his widow, Joan, and two sons, Craig and Mahoney.

[From the Miami (Fla.) News, Jan. 11, 1969]  
BILL BAGGS: HIS GOOD DEEDS WILL LIVE ON  
MIAMI.

TO THE EDITOR:

"He is gone and no man can fill his place." Of few men can this be truthfully said. But it can be truly said of Bill Baggs. He achieved a unique and useful place in this community that is unlikely ever to be filled.

It is hard to understand why he was taken at the meridian of his usefulness. Like another greatly gifted native Georgian, Henry Grady, Bill Baggs died just when Florida and the nation needed him most. All that is mortal of Bill has left this life, but the great good he did while here will live on for a long time.

Bill Baggs and John S. Knight did more than any other two newspapermen to expose the senselessness of the most senseless of all wars, which has already killed more than 30,000 American men and boys. They turned the revealing light of truth on this senseless slaughter. When peace comes, they will be entitled to some credit for bringing it about.

Henry Grady did more than any other American of his time to heal the wounds that festered in the hearts of Southerners after the Civil War. Bill Baggs did much to heal the wounds that hatred inflicts upon the human heart. He was the living embodiment of brotherhood. He believed all of us are children of the same Creator and, therefore, entitled to be treated as equals. And he was an eloquently articulate evangelist of his deep and abiding belief in the brotherhood of all mankind. Napaalming a Vietnamese infant was as sad and horrible to him as a similar atrocity to an American baby.

Perhaps most attractive of all the qualities that endeared Bill Baggs to so many friends and admirers, was his seemingly exhaustless sense of humor. He never caused anybody to cry, but he brought wholesome, healing, relaxing, uplifting laughter to many thousands of people. His imaginary dialogues between the racoon and the turkey gobbler out in the Everglades were as funny as Joel Chandler Harris' classic conversations between Brer Rabbit and the Fox.

On a December day in 1889, the South's greatest newspaperman, Henry Grady, 39, was buried in Atlanta, Ga. A sorrowing friend said of him:

"If I should seek to touch the core of all his greatness, I would lay my hand upon his heart. I should speak of his humanity—his almost inspired sympathies, his sweet philanthropy and the noble heartfulness that ran like a silver current through his life. His heart was the furnace where he fashioned all his glowing speech. Love was the current that sent his golden sentences pulsing through the world, and in the honest throb of human sympathies he found the anchor that held him steadfast to all things good and true. He was the incarnate triumph of a heartfelt man."

This must also be said of Bill Baggs.

Farewell forever: to a friend—a friend of mankind and a personal friend of mine and many others!

FULLER WARREN.

[From the Miami (Fla.) News, Jan. 8, 1969]  
"... THE MAN—LITTERED, LITERATE, UNIQUE;  
WAYSTOP BETWEEN A WILD IRREVERENCE  
AND A DEEP BELIEF"

(By John Keasler)

The start of his last column is still in his typewriter, marked "Baggs for Friday," and nobody thought of moving it, for it was unthinkable he wouldn't return. None of us could imagine that.

Now the long, yellow sheet of wire-service paper he favored hangs blankly in his office, which is so like the man—littered, literate, unique; waystop between a wild irreverence and a deep belief.

We weep he didn't get to finish. But we fear his sardonic editing of the maudlin more.

And all we know for sure, or begin to grasp in this bad time, is that it's not just every lifetime you get to meet and learn from a gentle maverick who somehow led the herd...

Empty is a word with more dimension now to those who knew Bill Baggs, newspaperman, always the stylist, most gregarious loner in the world; Georgia boy who became an intimate of the great and of the lowly, throwback editor of eerie agelessness, who had unbelievable hordes of friends and who drove his enemies further frantic because they sensed he rather loved them. And who prized individualism above all.

"Damn it, don't call this a product!" he exploded mildly—he could do, that—to a young journalist who once, in innocence, had referred to our newspaper as "the end product." Baggs pointed from his window down to the interminable lines of cars fretting along MacArthur Causeway, in the rush-hour. "Those are products," he said, and then waved a copy of The News. "This is a newspaper."

He meant it was alive. Certainly his was. He pridefully called it a writer's newspaper, a reporter's paper. All he asked of a staffer was that he be a pro. Over that, personal eccentricities in his people were no liability. If anything, he treasured them. The staff seldom disappointed him in this respect. Baggs always liked the comparison made by another editor, the late Stanley Walker when he was city editor of The New York Herald Tribune. He said running his staff was like getting up every morning and volunteering to be locked in a boxcarful of wild stallions.

"Can you imagine what a terrible shape the world would be in without newspapers?" Baggs would ask, looking around the shop. "Newspaper people would be unleashed upon the world, and, surely, this would create havoc in both factions."

Baggs puzzled people who saw baffling paradox in a man who, on the one hand, was weighted with solemn honors and, on the other hand, once bemused an important civic gathering by driving up in a tractor and giving an exhibition of barefoot toe-

typing for an encore. The puzzlement was pardonable in those who did not understand his fine simplicity, that he was simply big enough to have and show so many facets. Big enough to make the emptiness of now the worse.

He was my friend and he puzzled me. He had an eerie elegance of the past within. I could never fully figure this, and gave up trying, but I know this: It came from the days of Henry Grady, William Allen White and all the rest. And it showed up in his mannered style of writing, where he could and did use phrases like "ink-stained wretches" and so many of the cadences of yesteryear that it could not have sounded quite so right when he wrote it if something wasn't going on.

Millions of words he wrote, and caused good action, but one of the hurts we have left now is the knowledge that, like a column started on yellow paper for a Friday that won't come, it was, even with all that only the beginning.

And many words were written about him. I think our calm acceptance of his accomplishments is itself a mystery. What happened there, that a skinny kid reporter booming around stopped in Miami, helped change the face of a city and state and the thinking of a nation, was among other things nominated for a Nobel Peace Prize and left so many persons empty and simultaneously more fulfilled, as he moved on?

In all the old clips we fumble through, a sentence from a 1958 announcement of his coverage of the national political conventions jumps out at me.

"Baggs knows all the Democrat and Republican candidates personally," blithely state the facts, "and is respected by them for his integrity and knowledge of national political affairs."

I think the calm acceptance of what is, when you think of it, a true statement of startling scope, is the strangest thing of all.

(But, of all the clips on Baggs, my own favorite will forever remain the single sentence in a 1951 outline of a picture showing Baggs at a political meeting. It says only, "Bill Baggs, in striped suit, appears unconvinced.")

The multi-faceted man comes through in the varied tone stops of his typewriter and he never used a broadax if a scalpel nick would do; he did not find humor ineffective and had that in his quiver, too, and could say this about what looked like a political stampede, seeing the contrived landslide beneath:

"These political demonstrations are not to be taken seriously. They are as coldly calculated as a bank robbery and, indeed, the ends of both are similar."

Take this, for wrapping up a crowd story with local color:

"For a Florida-Miami football game in Gainesville it was a relatively quiet day with only six fist fights noted before the half, and times seem to be getting better as many of the whisky bottles have federal stamps on them."

Yet, this was the same man who, scrawling his copy in pencil aboard an airplane toward Washington hours after John Kennedy was killed, and that day looking as oddly old as most days he looked oddly young, wrote:

"John Fitzgerald Kennedy had learned a great sorrow, which was that the soaring optimism of bold young men cannot quickly batter down the ramparts of old prejudices within the country or suspicions among nations... you guess, or you believe, there is wisdom in such sorrow... for those who live on. Mr. Kennedy has left an obligation to finish what he began."

And I remember the cold Washington drizzle and walking with him through it, after he talked to the late Mayor Robert King High, and the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, and all he said, as we later drank silently,

January 16, 1969

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—Extensions of Remarks

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Atty. Gen. Elliot L. Richardson announced Friday that his office, after careful study, had found no grounds for undertaking criminal or civil proceedings "at this time" as a result of the legislative report. But criticism has centered on the unwarranted liberality of welfare legislation and not on any suspicions of law violations.

Actually, the period of operations most probed by the committee—and discussed in our series—ended July 1 last year, at which time the state took over all welfare costs from the cities and towns. But while the state needn't bear the brunt of criticism for what happened before July 1, it has found that the administering of welfare statewide will require considerably more in personnel and equipment than it now has.

State Auditor Thaddeus J. Buczko this week called the state's welfare laws "irresponsible." He pointed out serious departures from sound accounting practice in the system. Normal controls over distribution of funds to districts and their disbursement to recipients are not observed in the legislation that established the system, he said. Sen. Cohen, incidentally, has since filed a bill intended to remedy these shortcomings.

U.S. Sens. Edward M. Kennedy and Edward W. Brooke of Massachusetts both said, after the series, "The Crisis in the Welfare State," had appeared, they expected further action on Medicaid in the coming session of Congress. Both senators also are having staff members study proposals that include the federalizing of all welfare.

Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Wilbur J. Cohen says a uniform federal program would ease hardship and reduce migration from rural areas to cities already overburdened. While President-elect Nixon indicated last fall he might favor some such move, the matter of cost may influence his decision. The federal government is already paying about two-thirds of the \$6 billion spent annually on welfare in this country.

California Lt. Gov. Robert H. Finch, who will succeed Secretary Cohen, has said of the federal role in welfare, "Down the road we will probably have to assume a greater share of the burden. The question is how."

The question must also be: How long can we wait? The concentration of the poor in the larger cities, with attendant misery and unrest—and heavy financial burdens on the states whose welfare policy is the most humane—is a continuing and growing circumstance. The threat to the vitality of a great and powerful democracy is obvious.

Welfare is a federal task.

## CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

### HON. MIKE GRAVEL

OF ALASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 16, 1969

Mr. GRAVEL. Mr. President, I have recently sent a letter of cosponsorship to my distinguished senior colleagues, Senator MONDALE and Senator JAVITS in connection with their joint statement on the crisis in the Middle East. I ask unanimous consent that the full text of my letter be printed in the Extensions of Remarks in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JANUARY 8, 1969.

Hon. WALTER F. MONDALE,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I have studied the text of your recent statement on the crisis in the Middle East. I share your concern over the

volatile situation in that area and its grave implications for world peace.

On that account I wish to associate myself with the four-point program which you recommend as the basis for U.S. policy on a permanent peace settlement in the Middle East.

We must make it clear that we will accept nothing less than the full implementation of the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967 which recognizes the basic principle of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of every State in that area. Israel must be free to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries; she should not be required constantly to guard against threats or acts of force perpetrated by her Arab neighbors and their Soviet mentors. She must be guaranteed open access to international waterways—particularly the Gulf of Aqaba and the Suez Canal.

As a matter of policy we cannot live with the less fortunate Security Council resolution of December 31, 1968 which condemns Israel for her so-called aggression against Lebanon, when in truth Israel is the victim of daily harassment by guerrilla bands harbored in the Arab countries on her periphery. What choice has Israel but to resist the incursions of her sworn foes who persist after 20 years in their arrogant refusal to recognize her right to exist?

The United States must work for the implementation of the Jarring Mission whose goal should be a permanent peace without Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories as a necessary pre-condition for that peace. Israeli withdrawal can be conditioned only on specific and enforceable guarantees, never in return for idle promises.

The United States must continue to supply Israel with adequate weaponry and jet aircraft to offset the mounting Soviet military presence in the area, at the same time that we seek to negotiate with the Kremlin a mutual cessation of arms shipments to the combatants.

While recognizing Israel's embattled position, we must also give urgent attention to the tragic plight of the Arab refugees, especially those who were driven from their homes in the aftermath of the six-day war. The refugee problem continues to be a major source of friction between Israel and her Arab neighbors and it would seem that the United Nations through UNWRA or a new agency has a major role in the alleviation of human suffering and therefore in the achievement of more stable conditions in the Middle East.

Finally, United States policy must take into account the need for greater economic and technical assistance to the Middle East; even more significantly we can work toward the establishment of genuine economic cooperation among the several states in the area as a prelude to the political cooperation which is almost bound to follow. Whether an arm of the U.N. or a purely regional organization is best equipped to serve this end remains an open question.

Once again I reiterate my support for your position and would be happy to join with you in sponsoring a resolution if you wish to offer one.

Sincerely,

MIKE GRAVEL.

## A BILL OF RIGHTS FOR THE AGED

### HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 15, 1969

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Wilbur J. Cohen, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare has writ-

ten an excellent article, entitled "A Bill of Rights for the Aged," for the current issue of International, the magazine of the Seafarers International Union.

Secretary Cohen's article sets forth in detail the need to provide a wide range of opportunities for 20 million senior citizens. This article and its proposals display the same kind of compassion and reason that has marked the Secretary's years in public service.

I feel strongly that Secretary Cohen's thoughts are worth the attention of my colleagues and all Americans and, for that reason, wish to include that article and a related article in the RECORD at this point:

## A BILL OF RIGHTS FOR THE AGED

(By Wilbur J. Cohen, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare)

One of the greatest challenges of our time is to offer a growing aged population the opportunity to continue to share in the many benefits of an affluent, dynamic society. At the beginning of this century, only one out of every 25 Americans was 65 or over; by 1960 the proportion had grown to one of every 10.

Life expectancy at birth has nearly doubled since the 1800's—reaching about age 70 today. Dramatic breakthroughs in medical science hold the promise of extending many more lives. Major advances against cancer, stroke and heart disease, for example, could add months, perhaps years, to the life span of the average American. Although a larger aged population is a dramatic tribute to the nation's unprecedented living standards and modern medical science, longer lives create many problems, accompanied by the challenge to make these lives more meaningful to the older individual and society.

During this decade, the nation has become increasingly aware of and concerned with the problems of the older population. Reflecting this concern, a number of significant steps were taken by the Congress to solve these problems and to use the skills and knowledge of older citizens.

The 1965 and 1967 Amendments to the Social Security Act which increased the value of the average social security benefit, including Medicare, thirty-five percent in four years.

The establishment of Medicare which provided health insurance for 20 million older Americans.

The Older Americans Act, which stimulated a nationwide program of community planning to bring new and expanded services and facilities to older people in their own communities.

The inauguration of the Regional Medical Program, designed to attack heart disease, cancer and strokes—diseases which cause 70 percent of all deaths among older people.

The Amendments to the Manpower Development and Training Act, authorizing services to meet the special problems of older workers.

Amendments to the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, enabling the states and communities to assist the mentally and physically handicapped, including the aged, to return to independent living.

A rent supplement program and amendments to the Housing Act, providing more acceptable housing arrangements for the aged.

The Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967, outlawing age discrimination in employment.

Much progress has been made in the past decade, but much remains to be done. A bolder, broader, more dynamic program for Older Americans must begin. The plight of many of the aged is deplorable. Thirty percent of them live in poverty. Many are confronted with serious health problems and



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the cost of drugs has become a tremendous financial burden for many of the aged who have low incomes. Many live in dilapidated, unsafe housing. And too many of our older citizens are lonely and live meaningless lives.

The United States, the world's greatest democratic nation, must show greater concern for the well-being and happiness of its elder citizens. The nation must commit itself to a Bill of Rights for Senior Citizens which should include the assurance of these fundamental requirements for a decent life:

1. Adequate retirement income.
2. Modern and comprehensive health care.
3. Adequate and appropriate housing for an acceptable price.
4. Comprehensive rehabilitation services.
5. Opportunities for employment.
6. Better understanding of the problems of aging through medical and social research.
7. Meaningful participation in all institutions in society.
8. A wide range of leisure time activities.
9. Conveniently located and accessible community services.
10. Free and independent choices by Senior Citizens of what they wish to do with their lives in a healthy dynamic society.

#### INCOME

The first step in fulfilling this Bill of Rights must be to improve the incomes of the aged. The incomes of many of the aged are too low to allow them to live decently.

The Social Security program, the main source of income for the majority of the aged, must be improved. In spite of the significant increases in Social Security benefits over the past four years, 5.4 million aged social security beneficiaries are still poor.

As quickly as possible, the general benefit level should be raised at least 50 percent with an increase in the minimum benefit to \$100 a month. These actions would eventually take 4.4 million persons out of poverty, including 3.2 million aged persons. An immediate 15 percent across-the-board increase in social security benefits with a \$70 a month minimum benefit would immediately move about 900,000 aged persons out of poverty. Urgently needed, also, is the adoption of a method of automatically increasing benefits to reflect price increases. Retired people should be entitled to share in the rising standard of living provided by an expanding economy.

These improvements in social security benefits would make possible a reduction in assistance payments for 1.1 million social security beneficiaries who are also getting old age assistance because their Social Security benefits are too low. About 125,000 beneficiaries would be removed from the old-age assistance rolls altogether. The social security program must be steadily improved to keep pace with the nation's economic growth, which has been proceeding at an average annual rate of about five percent for the past few years.

Improvements in the social security programs would be sufficient to help most of the aged out of poverty. There are, however, people who may, for one reason or another, still require public assistance. Two million men and women are receiving old age assistance today, and their needs are not being met adequately. In addition to inadequate payments, residence and other restrictive measures, eligibility requirements are barriers to meeting their needs. Radical changes must be made in our welfare program.

One way to approach the problem would be to establish a Federally financed system of income payments with eligibility, the amount of payments and appeals determined on a national basis. This would overcome many of the problems of inequity and State-by-State variations and fiscal inadequacy which plague the present welfare system.

Through a combination of public and private programs, the retired worker should be entitled to an income related to his needs

which permits him and his family to participate fully in the community without being required to work and without the stigma of charity. For those who prefer to work and to supplement their basic retirement income with earnings, the economy should find a place for their continued services.

#### EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Improved health and longer lives require a change in attitudes toward mandatory retirement. The period of man's productivity is being extended, and the longer period of retirement that can be anticipated requires increased financial resources. Given the opportunity, many older persons would elect a longer working lifetime. Employers should be encouraged to replace rigid retirement age restrictions with flexible policies for hiring and retaining older workers.

Many persons aged 65 and over have difficulty finding satisfying employment within their skills or physical capacities. For these workers, the development of new and expanded opportunities in the service occupations offers great promise. Others may be helped to return to work through new and expanded education and training programs designed to meet the needs of older workers and older handicapped workers.

#### HEALTH AND REHABILITATION

Although older Americans have protection today against health care costs through Medicare, serious health problems still confront the aged. They spend proportionally three times more for drugs than persons under age 65. A high proportion of the aged suffer from chronic conditions, arthritis, heart disease; many are blind. Others are confined to their homes or need help in getting about. A broad program of comprehensive health services must be provided to meet these problems.

The extension of Medicare to include the cost of prescription drugs would relieve the aged of a heavy financial burden. The aged would also be helped if the entire Medicare program were put on a social insurance prepayment basis by combining the medical insurance and hospital insurance parts of Medicare, financing both from social security contributions of workers and employees and matching contributions from the Federal Government. Eventually consideration should be given to a broader Medicare program including periodic health examinations, disease detection and related services. The development of out-of-institution health services should be accelerated to enable more of the aged to remain in their homes for care and treatment.

Some older persons require comprehensive rehabilitative services to help them return to productive lives. About 7.8 million persons age 45 and over have one or more chronic conditions, partially or totally limiting their major activity. About 2 million of them need vocational rehabilitation services in order to return to work. The remaining 5.8 million probably could not or would not want to be rehabilitated for employment. However, they could be helped into a greater degree of self help and independence through modern comprehensive rehabilitative services. An expansion of out-patient, home health services and protective services, for example, would permit older persons who face institutional care to remain in their own homes if they so desire.

#### HOUSING

One of our society's greatest needs is for decent housing within the financial reach of all older persons. In 1960, the Census Bureau reported nearly a half million Senior Citizen households lived in dilapidated housing. Over two million more houses were deteriorating or lacking in plumbing facilities. Many homes were unsafe, too large, physically difficult or too expensive for older people to maintain.

Housing designed for the aged must take

into account the many individual differences and needs of the aged. Some may wish to stay in their own homes. Others may wish to live in a high rise apartment. Some want the companionship offered by a church-related home. Some may require institutional care. No matter what their income, they require more housing options.

There must be a vast expansion of housing to insure a wide range of choice to include single family dwellings, apartments, retirement villages and hotels, personal care facilities and homes for the aged. Through an extension of a combination of approaches, mortgage insurance rent supplements, public housing, property tax exemptions and low cost loans, the housing needs of the aged could be met more effectively.

#### SOCIAL SERVICES

The development of appropriate social services would greatly increase the aged person's choices of suitable living arrangements. Expanded homemaker services, meals on wheels, visiting and telephone services would permit many of the aged to remain in the comfort of their homes. The expansion of other community services, legal aid, and consumer information and counseling services would also help them remain independent.

#### PARTICIPATION

Too many of the aged withdraw from community life and suffer loneliness and social isolation, partly because of the lack of social and recreational opportunity, and partly because of society's unwillingness to allow them to participate meaningfully in its institutions. We cannot permit the existence of a large group of forgotten older Americans.

Through expansion of senior citizen centers, adult education courses and volunteer activities, the aged would have more meaningful choices of what they wished to do with their leisure time. They would have the opportunity to participate fully in community life. They should be encouraged to continue to be active in community organizations, in government, and in politics. Many of them have had long experience in these areas and they can contribute a great deal.

#### THE FUTURE

Bold, new, imaginative approaches are needed if we are to meet our obligations to the people who have contributed so much to this nation's progress. Their wisdom, their skills and their interest are still essential to the well-being of the nation.

In the past decade, a remarkable reawakening of concern for the aged has occurred. The foundations for providing basic economic, social and medical services have been laid. Now we must continue to build an enriched healthy environment for all the aged. They should have every opportunity and the help to take advantage of these opportunities to live freely and independently in a healthy, dynamic and progressive society.

#### NEW HORIZONS FOR SENIOR CITIZENS

"Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honor," says the book of *Deuteronomy*. From Jerusalem to Antioch, Rome to Alexandria, in the ancient walled cities dotting the Mediterranean coast, elders guided the affairs of the community. Those who were not in the position of advisors were nevertheless accorded respect and honor.

Whatever dispute arose, whether over the theft of a calf or a case of libel, the matter was submitted to the venerable elders who sat in judgment at the city's gates. Their verdict was binding.

Eventually though, with the relentless onslaught of time, the walls and gates crumbled and disappeared. So did the judgment seats of the elders.

In modern society, respect for the elderly has dwindled to indifference. Experience, the accumulated knowledge of years, has given way before the "productivity" of younger

the hope and inspiration of our country. Our Nation needs more loyal Americans such as Miss Foreman. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to place the following essay in the RECORD as a fine example of the work of young Americans:

#### WHY IT'S GREAT TO BE AN AMERICAN

(An essay by Miss Carolyn Foreman, Teurlings Central High School, Lafayette, La.)

Ah, it's so very wonderful that I am living in wealth, for you see, I was born rich. Every person, regardless of race, creed, or former nationality has the privilege to enjoy the freedom that prevails in the United States: Citizens often say, "What about the people living in slums and ghettos in the United States; are they born rich?" Regardless of the amount of money one has, everyone is born rich in America because he is born free. Each citizen votes for the candidate of his choice. An abundant number of people are not born free; furthermore, they will never enjoy the joys of freedom.

A few years ago an eighty year old Russian immigrant couple came to America. Although they were frail and weak, they were determined to make the strenuous journey. When asked the reason for their long journey to America, they remarked by saying that they had often dreamed of this refuge for the young and old alike. To them, America was a land of promise. They had never acquired this precious gift of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

In 1776 thirteen small colonies desired freedom strongly enough to revolt against their mother country—England. America had a courageous spirit and a determined will; these two basic attributes were the basis for freedom. America began to grow and expand. As a nation we proudly adopted this following motto: "Together we stand; divided we fall."

"Why is it great to be an American?" I can freely live, speak, and breathe without any fear. Frankly, there is no other country that compares to America in superiority and equality.

#### EYE WITNESS REPORT—NORTHERN ISRAEL "SEMI" WAR

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 14, 1969

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, one of the local newspaper chains in my congressional district is performing a unique public service by having its own foreign correspondent located in Israel, sending exclusive eye witness reports on the Middle East crisis back home.

Miss Carol Kovner, although young in years, is a seasoned journalist with years of experience in reporting and commenting on the news. She has worked as a managing editor for a national magazine for more than 5 years, and also as managing editor for her present employer, Kovner Publications, located in Los Angeles.

The first in a series of articles which she will be writing appeared recently. I believe that all of my colleagues will find this stirring account of life today in a small Israeli border town to be quite revealing. The article follows:

EYE WITNESS REPORT FROM CAROL KOVNER ON NORTHERN ISRAEL "SEMI" WAR

(By Carol Stevens Kovner)

The Emek Belsan is a valley next to Jordan's border across the river Jordan in

Northern Israel. Because of the 6-day War, its kibbutzim and towns have become the target of almost daily shelling by the Arabs, Iraqis as well as Jordanians.

The shelling has become a spiralling escalation that is sure to become a bone of contention in the UN this winter. The reason is the Belsan and Jordan valleys are the only places in Israel where Arabs can directly hit populated areas without infiltrating.

On November 11th we visited Beit She'an, a town of 12,400 where homes have been and are being shelled by the Arabs. All apartments have shelters against the bombs. Sand bags are stacked deep and high around their entrances.

Gadna boys of 15-16, who come to Beit She'an from a different high school every day, had come up from Tel Aviv this day to fill and stack the sand bags. Gadna is Israel's Youth Corps for boys and girls 14-18 with training along Scout Lines. They worked hard and with a great will, but like all boys, they cut up a little, too.

Michael Saraga, Segan-Mishneh or 2nd Lt., wiped the smile from our face at the antics of the boys when he brought us to the synagogue that had been hit the week before, on a Saturday, November 2nd. A huge crater and collapsed wall were the work of a Katyusha rocket, a Russian-made bomb famous from WW2. It is actually six bombs in one. The synagogue was in the process of being repaired.

At the synagogue we heard that Kfar Ruppin had been hit earlier that morning. The conducting officer from the Israel Government Press Office, Missem Gabbi, took us to the Kibbutz. We were the first news people there.

Mortar fire holes had pockmarked two buildings, scarred the thick lawn and damaged one sidewalk. Three people were wounded, one girl seriously. She was 18.

At the dining hall, where the kibbutzniks were matter-of-factly eating their noon meal and listening for news on the radio of what had occurred, we talked with Abraham Yakir, whose house had been most seriously hit. He had just recently been Secretary of the Kibbutz.

Anger was still fresh on his face from what had happened not to his home, but to his friends. The shelling had begun at 8:30 a.m. and had lasted for several minutes, he told us.

Yakir said the Jordanians had begun firing into the valley last January, finally bringing the kibbutz members at Kfar Ruppin and the other settlements in the area to a decision to let the children sleep in the shelters every night. It has been found through a study, that it is less psychologically harmful than rushing them in whenever there is danger. The shelling is done mostly at night.

They had lived quietly, he said, for 20 years, communicating with the Arab farmers across the river. After the war, the farmers were moved away and the would-be infiltrators, frustrated by double fences with mine fields along the border, now shoot at them from safe vantage-point.

Kfar Ruppin was originally founded in 1938 because of Arab attacks. It was part of the Young Maccabee movement from Europe, and now belongs to the new United Labor Party, because of its membership in Mapai. It is a prosperous, well-established community, with many new buildings going up. There have never been any American volunteers here.

We asked Yakir what he thought about the day's shelling. "It is part of the plan of the Arabs to destroy us and cause suffering in several locations in Israel," he stated quietly.

"What has happened today . . . is a good example of the way Arabs speak from one end of their mouth about peace, but shell and kill and destroy at the same time. It is a good example of their ambivalent attitude always when their real aim is to destroy.

"They accuse us of not accepting their

'peace offers' but meanwhile attack peaceful people. What else could prove their real aim? To kill civilians . . . and children, learning and playing."

Later that evening we learned that the young girl who had been seriously wounded by that morning's shelling had died.

The fortnight following this visit was a period of steadily escalating, worsening attacks on the villages and farms in the Belsan and Jordan valleys, and the new settlements on the Golan Heights.

Then on Sunday night, December 1, Tel Katzir on the Sea of Galilee and Nave Ur came under fire at about 10, in a continuation of an exchange in the Belsan Valley that earlier in the evening had left Yardena and Degania Alef (called the mother of settlements) on the south end of the Sea slightly scarred. At the time the artillery was not identified.

After midnight, following shelling of four hours duration, Israeli jets were sent out to silence artillery positions in Jordan. Targets included Iraqi positions using 122-mm guns of Russian make with which they were shelling new settlements on the Golan Heights; El Al, a private moshav where settlers are temporarily in the black basalt huts of the former Syrian army digs, and Nahal Golan, a farming settlement of young soldier-farmers sponsored by the army.

On a previous visit to the Golan Heights settlements, one of the young officers at Nahal Golan had explained to us the reasons for Nahal's presence there. His age is 22. He is the young son of Abraham Yakir of Kfar Ruppin.

He told us, in the laconic Sabra manner, "The aims of Nahal are 1. to settle here. 2. to make modern agriculture. There are good fields here and they were never used. Only the Syrian army was here for 20 years, no farmers. 3. Stop the Fatah, Syrian, Jordanian and all guerrillas. We will stop them with the army and with agriculture. We stop the enemy with staying in the place, working the fields and guarding them."

In the valley below the Golan Heights Monday night, December 2, enemy shells rained down over a wide sector ranging from Tel Katzir to Maoz Haim where four cows were killed, Kaytusha rockets were used. (The use of such missiles were sited in the reasons for the commando raid on December 1st on two bridges in southern Jordan, one the railroad bridge of the Hedjaz line, familiar from the Lawrence of Arabia adventures.)

Settlers in the Jordan and Belsan Valleys spent the night in their shelters or at defense posts. The children in most of the settlements had spent long periods in the shelters over the last fortnight, as well as the last several months.

On Tuesday, December 3, it became apparent this was the heaviest shelling of civilian settlements since the 6-Day War. Settlements hit included Hamadiya near Beit She'an where a poultry shed was leveled, Beit Josef, Neve Etan, Maoz Haim, Kfar Ruppin, and near the Sea of Galilee, Massada, Degania Alef and Bet, Ashdot Ya 'akov, Kinneret, Tel Katzir. The shelling ended only when Air Force jets silenced the artillery.

Military observers here believed that the shelling was authorized by Amman. Reasons ranged from retaliation for the Hedjaz bridge raid on Sunday by Israelis in which the communication lines were cut to Akaba, Jordan's only sea outlet, to diversionary tactics hiding internal troubles in Iraq, or between Iraq and Jordan.

On the December 2-3 nights, it was apparent that the Iraqis took the initiative for the first time, opening with an intensive artillery bombardment, unlike earlier occasions in which they joined in after border incidents with Fatah infiltrators had become duels with Jordanian artillery.

On Wednesday, Israeli Ambassador to the UN, Josef Tkosh, sent a letter to the Security Council accusing Iraqi troops of being re-

I have received genuine complaints from legitimate dealers and purchasers of ammunition concerning these record-keeping provisions. I think most of my colleagues will agree that these provisions will be totally ineffective in preventing crime or the indiscriminate use of firearms. Mr. Speaker, you will remember that during House debate on the Firearms Control Act last September, we defeated all amendments calling for Federal firearms registration, licensing, and ammunition sales recordkeeping. The Senate added the ammunition restrictions which have proved to be burdensome, objectionable, and as some employees of the Treasury Department will privately admit, unenforceable.

I am asking for the support of all my colleagues in passing this corrective legislation. I urge your full consideration and approval of H.R. 913.

**TOP LEVEL PAY RAISES WILL FAN INFLATION, SET POOR CONGRESSIONAL EXAMPLE**

**HON. ANCHER NELSEN**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, January 14, 1969*

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, back in 1967, some of us took a lot of heat for our failure to support the Federal postal rate and pay raise bill. However, when the President's state of the Union and budget messages are delivered, it is likely that our reasons for voting in the negative on that bill will become crystal clear.

The 1967 legislation permitted the creation of a commission to make recommendations on salaries of the top-level officials of the three branches of Government, including for Members of Congress. The legislation specified that the President was to use these recommendations in drawing up his budget. The new pay rates would become effective after 30 days unless in that period either House of Congress specifically disapproved any or all of them, or a statute had been enacted into law establishing different rates of pay.

At the time this unwarranted procedure was established, I wired the editors of the daily papers in my district:

The omnibus bill includes questionable rate increases, disguises a pay hike for Congressmen themselves, and so inflates the President's own recommendations as to make likely the passage of the President's income tax increase.

It was my hope that salary adjustments could have been made for lower level postal workers, with a step increase which would have been fully justified. It is regrettable that this bill was loaded down with increases for the higher salaried Federal employees, including Members of Congress.

I further pointed out to constituents, in a report dated October 23, 1967:

Such a (commission) procedure might take some of the pressure off Congressmen who want to vote themselves more pay but fear the public wrath. But such a procedure is also a sorry abdication of congressional integrity and responsibility.

Mr. Speaker, I believe subsequent events have upheld these views. The tax

increase is now an unwelcome fact of life. The Commission on Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Salaries, as suspected, has determined that "present salary levels are inadequate" and "not sufficient to support a standard of living that individuals qualified for such posts can fairly expect to enjoy." In its report to the President on December 2, 1968, it recommended increases totaling \$34,700,000 spread over 2,047 Federal officials. These increases would cover virtually the top hierarchy of the Federal Government including Senators, Congressmen, Supreme Court Justices, and many lesser Federal judges, heads of departments, agencies, bureaus, and so forth.

It seems almost a certainty that President Johnson will touch on these increases short hours from now. To all Americans beset by war, inflation and heavier taxes, this is deeply distressing. And it will be considerably more distressing if such top-level pay hikes become effective through a backdoor spending device that conceals from the people how their elected representatives stand.

Hefty pay raises at this time will fan inflationary flames that have already scorched the dollar and incinerated buying power.

The need to set a responsible and moderate example is pressing on all who serve in the Federal Government in these difficult times. In accordance with this obvious need, I urge the Congress to look with a probing and unselfish eye at any salary recommendations which may be forthcoming. In fact, we should be given the opportunity to reject the whole kit and caboodle. In basic fairness to the taxpayers, any such salary boosts should be subject to a recorded vote before they become effective.

**HON. WILLIAM C. FOSTER RETIRES**

**Hon. PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, January 14, 1969*

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, on December 31 the Honorable William C. Foster retired from his position as Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. As all of us know, Mr. Foster, a lifelong Republican, has served in major capacities in the executive branch in each of the last four administrations. He served at various times as Deputy Secretary of Defense, Under Secretary of Commerce, and as administrator of the Marshall plan. During the Eisenhower years, he served as a prominent national security adviser, including participation as Co-Chairman of the blue-ribbon Gaither Panel, consultant on reorganization of the Pentagon, adviser to Secretary Dulles on arms control matters, and U.S. representative to the 1958 Technical Conference on the Problem of Surprise Attack. During the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, he has been an originator as well as first Director of ACDA.

The United States has been fortunate indeed that a man of Bill Foster's talents and energy has devoted so much of

his many-faceted career to the service of his country. As a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, I have had the honor and pleasure of having a close personal relationship with this outstanding American. In 1965 I served with him on the U.S. delegation to the 20th Assembly of the United Nations, and saw at firsthand his skill and good judgment in the exercise of his responsibilities. It has been my particular privilege also to serve in recent years as congressional adviser to the Eighteen-Nation disarmament Conference; in that capacity I have knowledge of the sensitive and critical tasks which Bill Foster has handled so ably in his years as head of ACDA and as chief U.S. representative to ENDC.

Trying to check the arms race, both in terms of nuclear and conventional weapons, is, as we are all aware, a frustrating and sometimes seemingly hopeless affair. But to Bill Foster, the challenge of making efforts to curb the arms race has been consistently pursued with intelligence, toughness, high diplomacy, and great determination. And to the benefit of the United States and the rest of the world, his painstaking efforts have met with not inconsiderable success.

The Limited Test Ban Treaty, the hot line, the Outer Space Treaty, and now the Nonproliferation Treaty all attest to the progress which Bill Foster was able to achieve. Of course, there is still a long, long way to go. But at least a significant beginning has been made. Even when prospects for reaching meaningful and realistic agreements seemed dim indeed, Bill Foster never wavered from his task or lost the determination that progress could and must be made.

I am proud to have this opportunity to pay tribute to one of those durable Americans who has performed so many important duties for his country over such a long period of time. We are all grateful for his accomplishments and we regret that we shall lose his services. In conclusion, I am sure I speak for your many friends on Capitol Hill in wishing you, Bill Foster, the pleasant but rewarding retirement which you so richly deserve.

**OUR NATION NEEDS MORE LOYAL AMERICANS**

**HON. EDWIN W. EDWARDS**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, January 14, 1969*

Mr. EDWARDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, at a time when so many people have the false impression that beatniks and hippies of our country are representative of the youth of the day, it is most encouraging to come from an area in which our young people are loyal, dedicated Americans, proud to accept their roles as future leaders of our country. The spirit of the youth of Louisiana is exemplified by the following essay by Miss Carolyn Foreman, a student at Father Teurlings Central High School in Lafayette, La. Louisiana is most proud of her future citizens such as Miss Foreman who reflect in the best possible way



sponsible for eight major artillery attacks since Oct. 17.

Also on Wednesday, December 4, Israeli jets struck at two Iraqi artillery, ammunition dumps and troop concentration sites, near Irbid and Ma'raq in Jordan. One Israeli pilot and jet was lost, but the one and one-half hour attack stopped the long bombardment of the villages.

At Kfar Ruppin, the following Saturday, one of the members said the children had been forced to stay in the shelters for a solid week. They were very much aware of what was happening. When not in the shelters, if they heard a door slam, they asked immediately, "What's that?"

Although Kfar Ruppin was hit only in the fields this time, the week's work and schooling was disrupted. "Usually we hear an armored patrol being attacked or another sign of danger. But this time, on Monday and Tuesday, the shelling began with no warning."

"There has been two days of peace, since the Iraqi's artillery was silenced by the IDF, but we want more than two days, we want more than two years of peace, we want peace for good."

And the children of Kfar Ruppin? When they are allowed to play in their sandboxes, their games now include "bomb attack", building a farm of sand and then destroying it.

## ONE MAN'S PERSONAL CRUSADE AGAINST MOUNTAIN POVERTY

**HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.**

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, January 14, 1969*

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, John Lamb, age 77, is an ambassador of good will and help to the poor, both materially and spiritually.

This man's dedicated efforts to his fellow man is described in the current edition of the magazine, "Rural America."

I think it is a fitting testimony for us all as to what one man can do who is dedicated to the service of mankind.

For this reason, I would like to bring to the attention of the other Members this article:

ONE MAN'S PERSONAL CRUSADE AGAINST MOUNTAIN POVERTY; AT AGE 77 GOOD SAMARITAN JOHN LAMB BEGINS HIS 21ST YEAR OF HELP TO RURAL POOR

(By Ray J. Taylor)

Barely 60 miles west of D.C. I turned off Route 50 across a narrow bridge into Sperryville, Va., and pulled up to an ancient diner. Slow-moving traffic headed for Skyline Drive had me twenty minutes late for my rendezvous with Washington's good samaritan, John Lamb.

"Do you know John Lamb? Have you seen him this morning?" I asked as I ordered coffee.

"Saw Mr. John earlier with a bunch of kids on his truck; he was headed into the hills."

"Said something about making apple-butter," volunteered the lone departing customer.

"Know John Lamb very well?" I asked the waitress.

"About 20 years I guess. He's sure been a God-send to most of us around here at one time or another. He's always bringin' clothes, books, furniture, toys and even jars to help folks canning. If you see him tell him folks around here could sure use some more clothes like he brought last Christmas. Not much money around here now you know, not past apple pickin' time."

I finished my coffee and wandered back

across the road past an abandoned frame schoolhouse. Five miles back up the road I had passed the new consolidated school.

### SAVE THE CHILDREN

John's warning still rang in my ear: "We'll never get rid of rural hard core poverty unless we do it through the children. But these kids don't have a chance. No money for lunches, or books or supplies, ill fitting clothes, no help at home, kept out of school to pick apples or take care of smaller children until they're so far behind each year they fall. Then they don't want to face their school friends and as a result dropout—and our next generation of hard core poor families has its start."

### A DAY IN THE HILLS

A beep on a horn and a tall, lanky, ruddy-faced John Lamb waved me into his truck with an enthusiasm at least 30 years younger than his age of 77. Thirty minutes and twenty miles later we drove up a tortuous "Rag" mountain road into a lane and up to a two-room long house.

One of Mr. Lamb's pet projects was well under way. High school students from Arlington Trinity Presbyterian Church choir were helping the Archie Dodson family build another two-room log cabin to accommodate the girls in their 11-member family.

Archie told me they had tried moving off this mountain site into a home closer to town but didn't like it and returned to their isolated cabin homestead.

More skilled for pioneer building needs than some, Archie was adept with axe, saw and hammer and could lay a foundation, wall or chimney with equal ease. More at home with rifle and reels, most mountain men lack job skills.

Mrs. Dodson proudly showed me the hundreds of jars of canned vegetables that Mr. Lamb had helped her preserve. He had supplied the jars. The side hill acre that was a garden plot couldn't have produced very much. Before this day would end I would see again and again the need for basic skills in survival farming and rudimentary house-keeping.

Throughout the day I visited homes that did not deserve the description as homes. Barely one hour from the nation's capital I found myself 60 to 100 years behind the times.

Back in 1947, John Lamb bought a mountain home with 37 acres near Shenandoah for his summer retreat and retirement home. He soon learned that the famed beauty of the Skyline Drive hid countless pockets of poverty-stricken families in heart-breaking squalor.

Touched by the plight of the ill-fed, poorly clothed children whose education is mostly too little, too late and constantly interrupted, Mr. Lamb turned his mountain home into a training center and meeting place. He concentrated first on introducing his city friends to the overwhelming need.

His personal dedication was never more apparent than when he entered and won a local newspaper subscription selling contest that offered a new truck as first prize. He needed that truck to make his almost daily deliveries from donors to the hill folk.

Mr. Lamb's home at 4402 44th St., N.W., Washington, became a focal point for charitable donations. Literally tons of clothing, food, furniture, books and toys have found their way into more than 1,000 mountain homes in an eight-county area since 1947.

### "MR. JOHN" FOUNDATION STARTED

In 1962, Mr. John Lamb retired as superintendent of the Alexandria Dairy and organized the "Mr. John" Foundation to enlarge upon his effort. Since then he has depended more upon volunteer groups such as Girl Scouts, church groups and high school students from Arlington, Fairfax and the Washington area to collect and sort books for his "home library projects," collecting and sorting clothing, and making de-

liveries. Others have donated quilting frames, canning equipment and money for medical and dental aid.

Thanks to Mr. Lamb a way may yet be found to recover this lost generation from the bonds of poverty and rescue their children from a similar fate.

### A PLAN OF ACTION

It is becoming obvious that there is a need to teach survival farming, pioneer skills, canning, quilting, sewing, basic home making and early American handicraft skills as well as 20th century job training.

A really strong argument can be made for a domestic Peace Corps to effectively reach and deal with the needs of the nation's hard core poverty families. Too proud to seek help, too unsure of themselves to move to town or city, too uneducated and unskilled to know where to turn, these 14 million hard core families need personal, day-to-day help, training and counsel to become self sufficient.

Repeated efforts in the past by John Lamb to secure government program or funding help have failed. Such meager public services as do exist are largely inaccessible to most of these families because they lack means of transportation. Meanwhile, poor health, rotting teeth, unsanitary water supplies, poor diets and disease could be alleviated by help from the proper agencies of state and federal government.

For example, OEO has channeled about 5 million dollars into the Richmond area to help approximately the same number of poverty families as are in the eight-county mountain region that has received none.

It takes hard work, personal involvement and know-how to help overcome the obstacles our rural poor are facing. Mr. Lamb is both an example and inspiration for those who share our concern. He deserves our commendation and support. He points the way.

## U.S. SOUTH AFRICAN POLICY

**HON. JOHN R. RARICK**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, January 14, 1969*

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, when one is able to obtain comments from members of South African Parliament on matters of interest to Americans, I think their remarks are entitled to dissemination to our colleagues.

The Honorable Marais Steyn and Paul Vander Merwe of the South African Parliament were interviewed by Mr. Dean Manion on "Manion Forum," and under unanimous consent I submit the colloquy as follows:

[From the Manion Forum, South Bend (Ind.), Jan. 12, 1969]

U.S. SOUTH AFRICAN POLICY IS DOUBLY SELF-DEFEATING—SALE OF SUBS AND JETS WOULD BOLSTER CAPE DEFENSE AND SWELL TRADE BALANCE

(Hon. Marais Steyn, Member of the South African Parliament)

Dean MANION. With me here at the microphone today is the Honorable Marais Steyn, a member of the South African Parliament, representing a Parliamentary district in the city of Johannesburg.

Mr. STEYN, welcome to the Manion Forum.

Mr. STEYN. Thank you, Dean Manion. I do appreciate the opportunity of being with you.

Dean MANION. Mr. Steyn, last week on this program we had Dr. Paul Vander Merwe, who, as you know, is a representative in the South African Parliament, representing a district in Southwest Africa.

Mr. STEYN. Yes, I know him well.

Dean MANION. Now, as I recall, Dr. Vander Merwe is a member of the National Party, the party that now controls the Government of South Africa. Are you a member of his party, or are you a member of the opposition party?

Mr. STEYN. I'm a member of the opposition minority party, the official opposition in our Parliament. It is known as the United Party.

Dean MANION. As a member of the opposition party, am I to understand that you oppose the policies and principles of the government party? For instance, on our program here last week Dr. Vander Merwe defended the policy of apartheid—does your party support that policy?

Mr. STEYN. No. I think that I should explain to you that there's much misunderstanding in the world about this concept of apartheid, and I'm glad Dr. Vander Merwe had the opportunity to explain it. But my party in South Africa opposes the idea that the people of our multiracial state cannot exist in peace and the idea that we have to dismember South Africa into separate sovereign states.

Our attitude is that we are a multiracial state, that the races are interdependent, especially economically. We believe, in fact, that they cannot be separated now successfully; that we have to devise some way of making a multiracial state work, making it possible for the people to live together in peace. I don't want to go into details, but our idea is to establish a federal relationship among the races in Southern Africa.

Dean MANION. So this matter of apartheid, at least how it is to be applied in the future, is a matter of political dispute in South Africa?

Mr. STEYN. I think I can tell you that the Parliament of South Africa devotes more than half its time to a discussion of questions of race and race relations in our country. It's a subject of the most lively, and vigorous and intelligent debate among South Africans.

Dean MANION. That's very interesting, because we don't hear about that over here. Now, tell me, what are some of the positive achievements of the party in power to which you do subscribe?

Mr. STEYN. Well, you know no government is completely bad. I think that here a Republican would admit that the Democrats are not completely bad, and I have to do the same as far as our government is concerned. They have some positive achievements.

Indeed, the South African people, beyond government, have positive achievements, I think, for example, in the field of education. Although we are putting South Africa together with primitive people, we have succeeded in getting 85 per cent of the African children, the black children in my country, of school-going age, in school, which is three times higher than any other country in Africa. We have in South Africa more university graduates than the rest of Africa put together.

Dean MANION. White and black?

Mr. STEYN. There are more black university graduates in my country than of any color, any creed, any race, in the rest of Africa put together. And that is something—a fact that no one can dispute. That is an achievement. We have at the moment, because education is one of our main objects, no fewer than 35 training colleges producing black teachers to educate black children. The standard for the black teacher is exactly the same as the standard for the white teacher. We do not allow them to teach at lower qualifications than white teachers.

Dean MANION. Mr. Steyn, these expenditures that you talk about being made for the black people must amount to a lot of money. Now what is the proportion again of whites to blacks in South Africa?

Mr. STEYN. Well, out of a population of about 18 million, we have 3½ million whites

and 12¼ to 13 million black people. The others are minor groups.

Dean MANION. Who pays for all of this education that you're providing for the blacks?

Mr. STEYN. The people of South Africa. The whites and the blacks, but obviously because the whites are, at the moment, very much the wealthier community, we pay proportionately very much more in direct and indirect taxation for this purpose. Fortunately, we can do it.

Dean MANION. Is there any inferiority in the facilities provided for black people—hospitals, education and so forth—as compared to the white people, or are the blacks treated as well in this respect as the whites?

Mr. STEYN. You must appreciate that the black people come from primitive reservations, primitive homelands, and there the facilities have fallen behind. But in our cities we do our best to give them treatment which is equal to anything in the Western world. One of the largest hospitals in the Southern Hemisphere is the hospital at Baragwanath, near Johannesburg, for blacks only, and it is the pride of Southern Africa. We are, indeed, tremendously proud of this most astonishing hospital which is available to our black citizens.

Dean MANION. I can subscribe to that because I was there and went through it and saw it.

Mr. STEYN. Good, so I'm not exaggerating. Dean MANION. Well, in this expenditure of money, how can you afford it? Do you get foreign aid, or what?

#### RAPID PROGRESS THROUGH FREE ENTERPRISE

Mr. STEYN. South Africa is one of the few developing countries of the world that has never asked America for money, except on a business basis. We borrow money, we pay interest like a normal business client. We are the only country that has paid its war debt in full, interest and capital. Our economy is expanding, almost by the hour. We have one of the fastest expanding economies in the world, and that is because we work together in South Africa in a peaceful effort to raise the standard of living of all our people through capitalist methods, through methods of private enterprise.

We believe, and we prove it, and you have proved it in America, that there is no economic system that raises the standard of living of the masses faster than the system of private enterprise. And we are proud that we can prove it in South Africa.

Dean MANION. What are some of the economic resources of South Africa from which all this prosperity comes?

Mr. STEYN. Like the United States of America, we started off with agriculture. That was for a long time our only economic activity, and then in the middle of the 19th century, gold and diamonds and other minerals were discovered in South Africa. That brought about a revolution in our economic organization. It stimulated the development of secondary industry, a stimulus that was taken further by the First and the Second World Wars in which we participated on your side. As a result, today manufacturing industry is by far the most important economic activity in South Africa.

Dean MANION. Mr. Steyn, does South Africa buy anything from the United States?

Mr. STEYN. Oh, we have a very healthy trade between our two countries. In round figures we buy from you every year something like 450 million dollars worth of goods, and you buy from us about 250 million dollars of goods. You have a favorable balance of trade with South Africa, very favorable. You also have invested in South Africa something like 715 million dollars today of capital in the business of South Africa. I think any American businessman who has money invested in South Africa will agree that it is a most profitable and remunerative investment.

Of course, it is a pity that some of the

things we need from you, we are not allowed to buy from you.

Dean MANION. What are those things?

Mr. STEYN. Well, I think, for example, of armaments. You know, we in South Africa have responsibilities. One of them is to defend the sea route around the Cape of Good Hope, which is strategically of tremendous importance. For that we need things like jet planes and submarines. We would like to buy those from Britain, from America, but for political reasons you've imposed an embargo upon the sale of such armaments to South Africa.

Dean MANION. Is that the embargo that was routed out of the United Nations and that we followed along like the tail of a kite?

Mr. STEYN. I'm not passing on that comment. But it did follow from a decision of the United Nations.

Dean MANION. Well, I think the people listening ought to know that. With our unfavorable trade balance with the outside world, you are ready and willing to buy how much armament from us which we won't sell to you?

Mr. STEYN. I can't tell you how much it is from the United States of America specifically, but it runs into about half a billion dollars worth of armaments that we wanted to buy from various countries, and you were one of them. You know, we don't want stuff that one uses for anti-personnel purposes—to use for mob suppression or riot suppression internally. Those arms we make ourselves; we can export to others. What we want are submarines and supersonic jets and things like that to defend the sea route around the Cape of Good Hope in the interest of the Western World.

Dean MANION. Now that the Suez is closed, that becomes a very strategic pathway for the advance of Communism, doesn't it?

#### CONTROL OF CAPE ESSENTIAL TO WEST

Mr. STEYN. Now that the Suez is closed and it has become a strategic routing point, one could say, and also with the withdrawal of the British from the Indian Ocean, there is a vacuum there. And we are on the edge of the vacuum.

Dean MANION. And if you fall, the whole West will fall, if I interpret the map correctly.

Mr. STEYN. Well, I'm not a military expert to the extent that I can say that, but it is generally accepted that the loss of Suez and of the route around the Cape would be a major disaster for the Western democracies.

Dean MANION. Mr. Steyn, how do you account for the fact that South Africa is so unpopular? In the United States, in Canada, and in other places, South Africa has become a bad word. What is your explanation for that?

Mr. STEYN. Well, I suppose we are not a perfect community. I suppose we do make mistakes. I think there are things wrong in South Africa, but I am satisfied that the propaganda against South Africa is gravely exaggerated, it is truly exaggerated. I believe the reason is that there are a great many of the have-not peoples of the world who are today envious of the success of the have nations of the world.

I don't think I need emphasize that to an American. You are six per cent of the world's population; are extraordinarily wealthy for your own enterprise and for the gifts of Providence given to you and in the use of those gifts. And six per cent of the world's population in America produce more than half of the manufactured goods in the world. And that is why many people think that you have an unfair proportion of the world's wealth.

And South Africa, it's an interesting fact, which is six per cent of the population of Africa, produces more than half of the manufactured goods of Africa. And that, too, engenders jealousy and envy, and perhaps greed. I think, fundamentally, the reason for South Africa's great unpopularity is that we

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how this activity can be used against the 'friends of Nixon,' " Cramer and Wyman said.

The paper also calls for Communist victory in Vietnam and extension of Castro type communism on the North and South American continents.

The following is the text of the message sent to Udall, Washington and Clark:

"We request denial of any permits for mass demonstrations or assemblies in the Nation's Capitol during Inaugural period. To grant permit to those whose announced intentions are to 'Break the law if necessary to attract attention' is to make a mockery of the constitutional right to peaceable free assembly. There is no constitutional requirement for the issuance of a permit to assemble or march in such circumstances and we urge in the interest of the Public Peace, Dignity and Safety that all such permits be denied without exception.

"LOUIS C. WYMAN,  
"WILLIAM C. CRAMER,  
Members of Congress."

### WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST

(Mr. KUYKENDALL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, once again we are threatened with war in the Middle East. The best guarantee of keeping the peace in that area is to maintain the balance of power. The surest way to increase hostilities and pave the way for the resumption of a hot war is to give a decided military advantage to one side or the other.

The action by French President de Gaulle in stopping the sale of planes to Israel and his negotiations with the Arabs with the view of supplying them planes an arms, is a serious threat to peace. The only way we can bring about a return to the status quo is by furnishing Israel the necessary planes it needs to restore the balance of power.

It is up to the United States to fill the void created by the action of France and see to it that Israel has the necessary means to defend its borders.

The situation has been worsened by indications that the Soviet Union is accelerating its shipment of arms to the Arab nations and making no effort to curtail them.

### TERMINATION OF CONTROLS ON FOREIGN INVESTMENTS DUE

(Mr. MIZE asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to cosponsor the concurrent resolution introduced today by the gentleman from California (Mr. TUNNEY). Our resolution calls for termination, as soon as prudently possible, of the controls imposed last year upon direct foreign investment.

These controls, announced January 1, 1968, and contained in President Johnson's Executive Order No. 11387, are of questionable legality. The President, in issuing his order, was forced to cite the Trading With the Enemy Act of 1917, and a declaration of national emergency dating to the Korean war as authority. Congress was not sufficiently consulted

before the investment restrictions were imposed, and I think it is sufficient to say that the legislative history of the Trading With the Enemy Act of 1917, did not directly address itself to the international monetary crises of the middle 1960's.

Mr. Speaker, as recently as yesterday my staff requested material from the

Office of Direct Foreign Investment, Department of Commerce, for documentation of the effect these controls have had on the outflow of capital. We were informed the most recent collated data was published in the September 1968 issue of Survey of Current Business, page 22, table F, which is reproduced as follows:

TABLE F.—DIRECT INVESTMENT CAPITAL OUTFLOWS SUBJECT TO RESTRICTIONS BY THE FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT PROGRAM  
(Millions of dollars)

	1965	1966	1967		1968			
			Year	1st quarter	2d quarter	1st half	1st quarter	2d quarter
Capital outflows for direct investments, (table 1, line 33, signs reversed).....	3,468	3,623	3,020	899	423	1,322	589	836
Less transactions not subject to OFDI regulations:								
a. Investments in Canada.....	962	1,135	392	64	52	116	-26	240
b. Other nonprogram transactions <sup>1</sup> .....	81	107	55	17	19	36	57	35
Capital outflows subject to OFDI regulations.....	2,425	2,381	2,573	818	352	1,170	558	561
Schedule A countries.....	527	321	521	125	-52	73	73	90
Schedule B countries.....	744	677	916	396	139	535	281	271
Schedule C countries.....	1,154	1,384	1,136	297	265	562	204	200
Less utilization of funds obtained abroad thorough:								
Bond issues.....	52	445	278	77	61	138	140	62
Increases in other long-term liabilities <sup>2</sup> .....	28	193	86	117	-23	94	155	39
Net capital outflows subject to OFDI regulations.....	2,345	1,743	2,209	624	314	938	263	460
								723

<sup>1</sup> Includes transactions by financial enterprises, securities of U.S.-owned foreign companies sold to nonaffiliated U.S. residents and other non-program transactions with countries other than Canada.

<sup>2</sup> Under the assumption that net changes in long-term liabilities of U.S. corporations (tables 1, 2, and 8, line 54 for all countries except Canada) reflect net proceeds of loans obtained abroad which are immediately transferred to foreign affiliates.

This table shows net capital outflows subject to OFDI regulations—that is, subject to the controls imposed by the Executive order. While third quarter data is not yet fully available, I am informed that there was no significant departure from trends established during the first half of the year.

Perhaps the most significant effect these controls have had was the corporate shift to foreign sources for funding. Funds obtained abroad by U.S. corporations through the issue of new securities increased about 350 to 400 percent during 1968—bringing the total to over \$2,000 million. Increased foreign borrowing, then, must be considered in assessing the effect of the controls on U.S. capital.

Mr. Speaker, it would be foolhardy to suggest the controls have had no effect at all. When full data on 1968 is available, in about 6 months, the impact can be known. Perhaps as much as one billion in direct U.S. investment abroad will have been denied U.S. businessmen.

But the crucial question before the Congress and the Nation is simply this: Is the price for this so-called savings too steep to pay? Are our controls contraproductive? Are we damaging irreparably our future balance-of-payments position through shortsighted action for short run gain?

#### RETURN ON INVESTMENTS ABROAD

Mr. Speaker, in 1966 the United States realized \$4,045 billion in dividends on its U.S. investments abroad. In 1967, the figure was \$4.5 billion. This past year will similarly show a healthy surplus for U.S. businessmen who have had the courage and imagination for overseas speculation and investment.

But if U.S. investment is curtailed for a period of years, as it has been in 1968,

American businessmen will be denied the on-going opportunity to build a solid basis for return and profit in the 1970's. No one can say the U.S. balance-of-payments position will be so strong in 10 years that dividends on private foreign investment will be unnecessary to protect the dollar.

One simple statistic will dramatize my point. From 1946-66, our private sector realized a net gain in balance of payments of some \$84 billion, while the Government showed a deficit of some \$115 billion for the same 21-year period. The Nation could not have survived financially without that return on U.S. private investment abroad during that period. In my opinion, the 1970's will be no different.

The President's controls must be rescinded, and our balance-of-payments deficit must be remedied where the damage has been done—in the public sector. The public sector has shown the loss, and private U.S. businessmen should not be forced to pay for public fiscal folly.

### FREE WORLD MERCHANT VESSELS IN NORTH VIETNAMESE TRADE

(Mr. CHAMBERLAIN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, as the 91st Congress begins its deliberations and the Nation, under fresh leadership, looks ahead with new hope at the problems that have troubled us and the world so long there is still no question that our first concern continues to be the prolonged war in Vietnam.

No one, of course, can predict how long it will take to successfully and honorably



have plagued the poor of this nation for more than a century.

I would only add that the need pictured in Dr. King's statement is, if anything, more desperate today than it was a year ago.

(Mr. RYAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CONYERS. I thank the gentleman.

#### THE PERMITS FOR ASSEMBLIES, MARCHES, OR DEMONSTRATIONS DURING INAUGURATION SHOULD BE DENIED

(Mr. WYMAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, permits for assemblies, marches, or demonstrations here in the District of Columbia to those whose announced intention is to disrupt the National Capital during the forthcoming inauguration should be denied. Those seeking such permits make no bones about their intention to create unrest, civil disobedience, and further disruption of law and order. They have been trained in schools for the disruption of law and order.

There is no constitutional requirement for the issuance of a permit to assemble or march to such persons and such permits should be denied in the interest of protecting the public peace and safety. The allowance of a permit in these circumstances would make a mockery of the constitutional right to peaceable free assembly.

We in the Congress do not want this to happen and I have today wired the Attorney General and the Secretary of the Interior as follows:

Request denial of any permits for mass demonstrations or assemblies other than duly constituted inaugural committees in the District of Columbia during Inaugural period. To grant permit to those whose announced intentions are to break the law if necessary to attract attention is to make a mockery of the constitutional right to peaceable free assembly. There is no constitutional requirement for the issuance of a permit to assemble and march in such circumstances and we urge in the interest of the public peace, dignity and safety that all such applications be denied without exception.

LOUIS C. WYMAN,  
WILLIAM CRAMER,  
Members of Congress.

If need be the Congress by joint resolution should call on the executive branch to deny permits under these conditions.

#### PUBLIC SAFETY DURING THE INAUGURAL PERIOD

(Mr. WYMAN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, not without significance is the fact that law enforcement precautions during the inaugural period are under the control of officials of the outgoing administration. This becomes materially important when it is considered that the failure

of the outgoing Attorney General to demand firm law enforcement—reflected by a substantial increase in crime—was one of the major issues in the recent presidential campaign.

It is fervently hoped by almost all Americans that a policy of a new and needed firmness in Federal law enforcement will be the rule for at least the next 4 years, in which law and order with equal justice for all will be maintained throughout the Nation.

At this time I believe the outgoing Attorney General owes the incoming administration at least the establishment of a definition of policy in advance of January 20 that demonstrators conducting themselves within the law will be left alone but that any who deliberately break the law, either on or off the streets, will be arrested and prosecuted. This policy should be maintained by adequate law enforcement personnel in sufficient numbers with an available-on-call backup of Federal forces, all prepared to arrest without brutality deliberate law-breakers without exception. Courts and prosecutors should be on a standby basis throughout whatever period is determined to be critical.

There appears to be no need nor would it be advisable to put tanks or troops on the streets in advance. A show of overforce of this type would be a provocation. But they must be ready if needed, and on a moment's notice.

Public patience with deliberate troublemongers and rioters is justifiably wearing thin. The people are entitled to observe the inauguration of President-elect Richard Nixon in peace and safety. The basic obligation of those responsible for law enforcement is to maintain and defend our citizens as they come and go upon the public thoroughfare. This obligation has never been more apparent than in the National Capital at this hour faced with the announced intention of a small minority to disrupt the inauguration and violate the law.

#### PERMITS FOR ASSEMBLIES, MARCHES, OR DEMONSTRATIONS DURING INAUGURATION SHOULD BE DENIED

(Mr. CRAMER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record.)

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I join with the gentleman from New Hampshire (Mr. WYMAN). If ever there was a time in the history of this country when the dignity of the inauguration should be manifest and should be preserved, it is this inauguration, when our Nation and the world are faced with such great crises.

We have been served notice that there is an intention on the part of certain groups to debauch this inauguration, to despoil it, to defile it, to not even give the new President-elect of the United States the opportunity to set the stage for his program and for peace and prosperity in this Nation and peace in the world.

We have been served notice in an underground newspaper called the Washington Free Press. It is a disgusting publication.

In this publication it is set out in detail what is being planned. It is a "counter-inaugural." Why, they are even asking for a permit to have their own ball on publicly owned property on the grounds of the Washington Monument. They are even asking to have a counterparade marching in the wrong direction the day before the right direction parade is held in commemoration of the inauguration of the President of the United States.

Regardless of party, Richard M. Nixon is the duly elected President of the United States of America. Are we going to permit Mr. Dellinger and his crowd to desecrate the high office of the Presidency? To do to this Nation's Capital and to the image of America and the world what they did outside the Pentagon not too long ago? Are we going to permit them to create a Chicago riot fiasco right here in the Nation's Capital?

We have been served notice. These revolutionaries are now "negotiating" with the Secretary of the Interior, the District of Columbia authorities, and the Attorney General, and members of the committee which I helped to negotiate with on behalf of the House to try to get the demonstrators out of "Resurrection City," and at the time I introduced a bill to make sure that such an occurrence would not happen again. I have reintroduced this bill. I hope that it will pass this session.

I join with the gentleman from New Hampshire in saying that such permits cannot be and should not be granted to permit this or any other organization in the name of any group or purpose to debauch this inauguration. I would hope that my colleagues will join us in this effort.

A copy of the press release announcing my opposition and that of my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from New Hampshire, LOUIS C. WYMAN, is herewith included in these remarks for the information of my colleagues:

#### CONGRESSMEN CALL FOR DENYING PERMITS TO DEMONSTRATORS DURING INAUGURAL PERIOD

Two Republican Congressmen today called upon Interior Secretary Udall, Mayor Walter Washington and Attorney General Ramsey Clark, to deny the issuance of permits to "counter inauguration" protestors who are planning to erect a large tent on the grounds of the Washington Monument as well as march down Pennsylvania Avenue a day before the Inauguration.

In a speech on the House Floor, U.S. Reps. William C. Cramer, R-Fla., and Louis C. Wyman, R-N.H., read the text of a wire they sent to Udall, Clark and Washington in which they said that "there is no constitutional requirement for the issuance of a permit to assemble or march in such circumstances..."

The wire urged the denial of any permits "in the interest of the public peace, dignity and safety." To grant permits to those whose announced intentions are to break the law if necessary to attract attention is to make a mockery of the constitutional right to peaceable free assembly.

Cramer and Wyman also disclosed that an article in the Washington Free Press, an underground hippie newspaper, laid out plans for the counter inaugural which reveals that substantial planning and forethought has gone into the demonstration. "The article clearly anticipates acts of violence by discussing the possibility of 'police charges,' 'gassing,' and the 'overall military situation' during the inaugural week, and

The above facts, plus world conditions, amply illustrate why we should work for an end to the fighting, however; and to that end the recent offer by the North Vietnamese, as reported in the press, for negotiations to commence at a round table—no sides—was a reasonable suggestion and should be accepted. But the South Vietnamese refused.

The North Vietnamese said further that if such a circular table was adopted, they—the North Vietnamese and National Liberation Front—would be willing to eliminate designation by nameplates and flags. But the South Vietnamese refused.

Accordingly, it would appear that, to get substantive talks started, Saigon and its Paris representatives must be convinced that the American people want action, now.

Perhaps General Ky hopes President-elect Nixon and his people will be easier to negotiate with; and therefore nothing will be lost by waiting. Let us hope that is not correct, because any delay can only result in additional losses.

In his San Antonio speech of September 1967, President Johnson said that we would be willing to stop all bombing of North Vietnam if substantive talks could begin.

All bombing was terminated last November 1, 70 days ago. Since then 1,485 Americans have been killed and billions more dollars have been spent.

With the premise that many more American lives will be lost if Saigon is allowed to continue the delay by arguing about the technicalities of procedure, I suggest the following:

First. The North Vietnamese suggestion of a round table, without nameplates or national flags, be accepted.

Second. The United States begin negotiations with Hanoi immediately, looking toward a military disengagement.

Third. The United States should make it clear that we prefer Saigon be a full participant in the negotiations, even with respect to the withdrawal of foreign forces.

Fourth. If, for reasons of their own, the South Vietnamese Government does not believe it timely for them to come to the negotiating table, that is their decision. But in our own interest we should make it clear to the South Vietnamese that we must now move promptly to negotiations; then set a date for starting those negotiations, and be there on that date, with or without the South Vietnamese.

In that way, to the immense satisfaction of the American people, we can follow the wise recommendations of both Secretary Clifford and Dr. Kissinger by moving toward a military settlement with Hanoi, letting the Vietnamese work out the political settlement.

Thereupon we could turn a large part of our gigantic budget for swords into ploughshares; and as a result have substantial resources available to cope with the great and growing problems which also face us in other parts of the world as well as here at home.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SYMINGTON. I am glad to yield to my able friend the Senator from New York.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I would like to say to the Senator from Missouri that he has made a splendid speech, and I wish to identify myself with his views. I have the same feelings in my heart that he has.

I would like to ask the Senator this question. It may very well be—we are very sophisticated here—that all of this stalling around has been based on the desire to await January 20 to get the new team on the job. However, does the Senator from Missouri agree with me, since this is January 10, and only 10 days from January 20, that unless the process which he outlined is started now there is not going to be any change when there is a changing of the guard in Paris; that we will see revealed an effort to block negotiations; and that the time is right that the present team has to get on the job to do what the Senator is saying?

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, as usual the able Senator goes to the heart of a situation. The thrust of this address is let us get on with it so these strung-out procedural negotiations develop into actual substantive negotiations.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the Senator.

Mr. SYMINGTON. I thank the Senator for his constructive contribution.

#### ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the rule of germaneness may be waived so that I may proceed for 10 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ALLEN in the chair). Is there objection? The Chair hears no objection, and it is so ordered. The rule of germaneness is waived by unanimous consent.

The Senator from New York is recognized.

#### THE CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the other area of tension and conflagration that the Senator from Missouri should have spoken of in addition to Vietnam is the Middle East.

In the newspapers this morning, the headlines refer to Soviet efforts to bring about some kind of peace in that area under its leadership, generally headlined as "An Imposed Accord," as one newspaper referred to the matter.

This is a dangerous situation for the United States. I have been in the Mediterranean just recently and spent a day aboard a U.S. 6th Fleet carrier which was constantly shadowed by a Soviet destroyer. The situation in the Mediterranean is now one where a large Soviet fleet—nuclear armed—faces a great American fleet, nuclear armed. We must remember that in the 6-day war in 1967 the radical Arabs attempted to involve the Soviet Union and the United States by false statements that U.S. planes were being used against the Arab States. With that kind of highly irresponsible situation in the Middle East anything can happen. Therefore, it is a situation which

deserves the highest priority on the part of the United States.

The thing that worries many people in this country is whether American policy has been changed, following the Beirut airport incident. It is still an "incident" and only a minor element of the entire situation that faces us in the Middle East. This is the main thing that must be made clear in the minds of the American people.

Whatever may be the view of individuals concerning that incident—most unfortunate, in my judgment, particularly as regards some of its political consequences in Lebanon and elsewhere—let us not miss the forest for the trees.

The fact is that Israel and the preservation of Israel still remains a "basic tenet" of U.S. policy as John Foster Dulles put it, because Israel is a bastion of freedom in the Middle East. Therefore, U.S. policy is organized so as to assure Israel's preservation. This requires us to keep our eyes on the whole situation, rather than one event.

Several days ago 16 Senators issued a declaration to put this entire situation in true perspective. They expressed their judgment that the Middle East is the area in the world where the danger of war is most acute. That statement is supported by what we have seen happening in the last few days. Putting the situation in focus does not mean that any views as to the Beirut incident need to be abandoned by anyone who would entertain them, including our Government.

The United Nations Security Council resolution of December 31 failed to take account of the very real threat to the survival of Israel caused by activities of various Arab nations surrounding Israel and including, unhappily, activities originating in Lebanon.

The important thing is that we should keep in focus what is at stake here. Above everything else, we must profit from our experience of 1953 and 1957. At that time, the United States exerted great pressure on Israel to withdraw its forces from the Sinai. To the later regret of President Eisenhower, promises made at the time were not fulfilled and they were breached—to Israel's severe disadvantage. Subsequently the United States was placed in a most embarrassing and difficult situation especially 10 years later when war erupted again because of a breakdown in the agreements and arrangements which the United States had unwritten in 1957.

#### NOTICE OF HEARINGS ON ELECTORIAL REFORM

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to read into the Record a statement by the Senator from Indiana (Mr. BAYH).

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, Mr. BAYH's statement is as follows:

Mr. President, I wish to advise the Senate that the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments will hold hearings on January 23 and 24 on proposals relating to

January 10, 1969

Electoral reform. The hearings will begin at 10:00 a.m. in G308 (auditorium) of the New Senate Office Building. Persons interested in being heard should contact the Subcommittee staff in room 419 of the Senate Office Building.

### ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll. Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

### NOTICE OF FIRST MEETING OF THE AMERICAN GROUP OF THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 10 minutes on extraneous matters, without regard to the rule of germaneness.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Colorado? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, the first meeting in the 91st Congress of the American group of the Interparliamentary Union will be held at 10 o'clock Wednesday morning, January 29, in the Senate conference room, S-207, in the Senate wing of the Capitol. As each Senator knows, all Members of the Senate are members of the American group, and all are eligible to attend. The meeting will be given over to the election of officers for 1969-70, and to other matters of an organizational nature. I hope as many as can will plan to be present.

### THE U.S.S. "PUEBLO" INCIDENT

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, as an American, I rejoiced with all other Americans on Christmas Eve, when the 81 living crew members of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* were released by their captors, the North Koreans.

While I remain deeply grateful that the *Pueblo* crew has been returned to safety in these United States, the manner in which their release was arranged has some disturbing aspects to it. Without wishing to at all dampen the good will owed these men for their service to their country, I do believe a few comments are in order.

At the outset let me make it clear that my concern for these men and their families is no less genuine and humanitarian than those who arranged for their release.

However, I cannot help but believe that the final chapter of this phase of the *Pueblo* affair has not yet been written. Many questions must be answered, and the American people have the right to know the answers.

The timing of this affair appears to me to be the most curious. If we intended to admit before the whole world that we were wrong, and then to deny that our apology was valid, did we have to wait 11 months to do it?

In the spring of 1968, during hearings before the Defense Appropriations Committee, I raised the question of whether or not we would apologize for this incident. I was told by Defense Department officials in substance that—and I cannot quote them directly because this occurred during a classified part of the hearing—such a move would be unthinkable on our part because it would cause a great loss of honor and prestige to the United States. I asked DOD officials a simple question in reply: "What prestige?" I told them in substance that "when a fourth-rate power can hijack one of our ships on the high seas and get away with it, what honor and prestige are you talking about?"

So a move which was unthinkable in the spring became policy by winter. However, it was the added dimension of this policy which really disturbs me.

Not only did we admit to Communist charges that we intruded into the North Korean territorial waters, but we then turned around and advertised that we had lied about it.

The document we signed will make an excellent propaganda piece throughout the Communist nations where our repudiation of it will not be heard. The document will also be effective in underdeveloped areas where the Communists can show "proof" of U.S. "aggression" to the uneducated. But worst of all, the fact that we signed a document we knew was false and that we admitted it can—and I certainly expect that it will—be used against us in, as an example, our Vietnam negotiations in Paris and at any other time in the future when we sit across the conference table from the Reds.

Let us also face this fact: The North Koreans still have the ship, what is left of it, and there is virtually no hope of ever retrieving it.

We still do not know how many secret documents were aboard when the *Pueblo* was captured. On June 10, 1968, when the Navy Department appeared before the Defense Appropriations Committee, I said I considered the *Pueblo* affair "a case of rather extreme, in my opinion, neglect." I said then, and I will repeat now, that the *Pueblo* affair raised in my mind grave doubts on "the use of those self-destruct devices, the question of why the instructions under which the commander of the *Pueblo* handled the ship as he did, and the question of allowing information to fall into the hands of the North Koreans."

In briefings, the Department of Defense has insisted that it would not have been feasible to have used adequate self-destruct devices on the *Pueblo*, thus preventing the enemy from capturing our equipment and documents. Frankly, I doubt the authenticity of DOD's posture in this regard. In light of the very successful self-destruct devices we use in aircraft, it seems highly unlikely to me that we could not have protected our papers and equipment aboard ship.

Inquiries are now being conducted into the entire *Pueblo* incident. Hopefully, these probes will answer many of our questions about this affair. Many questions, however, may remain unanswered. For these the American people deserve and must have answers. They must be

told the truth on the timing of the release of the crew. They must be told the truth as to why we apologized and then lied. But more than anything else that will be revealed through investigation, the American people need to know that we will never suffer another *Pueblo*.

We need to know that the enemy, be they North Koreans, Chinese, East Germans, Soviets, or whoever, will not get away with a *Pueblo* ever again. The American people need such assurance, but the enemy needs it even more.

### AMENDMENT OF RULE XXII

The Senate resumed the consideration of the resolution (S. Res. 11) to amend rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate.

#### THE CASE FOR OPEN DEBATE

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, over the years there have been many eloquent attacks and rebuttals on the question of limitation of debate in the U.S. Senate. Those of us who come upon such well-plowed ground cannot hope to shed much in the way of original thought upon this subject; yet I am sure there are good reasons and necessary arguments that it would be well to cover again so they will be fresh as we once again consider the question.

It is curious to me that there seems to be a singular case of split vision operating upon our national scene today. Almost any paper or magazine on the newsstand has an article or reference made to the rights of minorities. There is a strong assertion made that the "rights" of certain minorities are violated if they are not allowed to disrupt the educational processes of large institutions of learning when they do not agree 100 percent with every aspect of the operation of that school.

The rights of racial minorities are constantly held before us in the public print and on the air, as they should be.

I would not wish to be mistaken, Mr. President, by having my remarks interpreted to mean that I would do away with these reports of the rights of these minorities. However, if there is a creed operative in the public outpouring upon the rights of minorities today, I think it might well read something like this:

"We hereby pledge ourselves to uphold and promulgate the cause of proclaiming the 'rights' of certain minorities."

I think that might be the correct wording of such a creed, Mr. President, and I think its wording to be very important. There apparently is no concerted effort to uphold the rights of all minorities—only certain minorities. I speak firsthand, Mr. President, because I have personally been the victim of discrimination, and witnessed such selective discrimination.

In my State of Arizona, we have a great number of American Indians. These people—wards of the Federal Government—have been largely mistreated and ill-used by the very Government sworn by treaty to protect them; yet there is no great national outcry to right these wrongs. Those of us speaking out on behalf of the American Indian are distinctly in the minority. We are often ignored, seldom heeded, and our efforts are frequently rewarded with a great deal of lipservice and little tangible result.



mitment to all levels of personnel concerned with supervision, training and promotion.

KLH has transmitted its commitment more fully with less formal effort than many firms would find possible. This difference would be especially noticeable among larger, multi-unit firms in which internal communications is a continuing challenge even on far less volatile subjects than minority group employment practices.

#### KEY CONTRACTS FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Mr. Robert Elman, President, KLH Research and Development Corporation, 55 Cambridge Parkway, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139.

Mr. Henry K. Shor, Personnel Director, KLH Research and Development Corporation, 55 Cambridge Parkway, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139.

Miss Patricia A. Goldman, Research Associate, Economic Opportunity Programs, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1615 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006, AC 202/659-6179.

Mr. Ivan C. Elmer, Director, Urban Action Clearinghouse, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1615 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006, AC 202/659-6177.

#### REPORTS AND DOCUMENTATION AVAILABLE

Abstract of proposal to U.S. Children's Bureau for the KLH Child Development Center, Inc.

"The KLH Success Story in Creating Jobs," by Henry M. Morgan, *Technology Review*, 1968.

#### BUILDING A LAND AND PEOPLE

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, New Mexicans love the land. They wish to preserve it as an asset, developing its fertility and adding to its strength. They realize that an investment in the land is an investment in themselves.

These people ask only for a chance to be involved. Given an opportunity, they utilize it to the fullest. They need only be given the tools, and their own industry and resourcefulness will finish the job.

Proof of their belief in themselves and their bond with the land has recently come to my attention. The December 1968 issue of Soil Conservation tells how Mr. I. M. Roybal, of Pojoaque, N. Mex., seeing that creation of the northern Rio Grande resource conservation and development project had opened a door to advancement, without hesitation stepped through. As a result, seven new jobs have been created in the expansion of his contracting business. In the classic American pattern, he has helped himself, his employees, and the economy of his area—not to mention the land he lives on.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article detailing Mr. Roybal's operation be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### CONTRACTOR ADDS DITCHLINING BUSINESS AND MULTIPLES R.C. & D. PROJECT BENEFITS

A New Mexico contractor has turned a conservation need into new jobs for seven people and dollars for the whole community.

I. M. Roybal of Pojoaque, N. Mex., 3 years ago expanded his house-building business to include concrete ditch lining for irrigation and invested \$30,000 in extra equipment.

A factor in his decision was creation of the Northern Rio Grande Resource Conservation and Development Project. Local community leaders organized the project to focus

technical and financial help from federal, state, and other sources on resource needs to turn the area's economic spiral upward.

Some of the assistance was channeled into improving irrigation systems.

#### THE MULTIPLIER EFFECT

Mr. Roybal expanded his contracting business and hired seven more men full-time to meet demands for new irrigation ditches. Seven families benefit from the employment, and Roybal buys more concrete in the community, more fuel, and parts for his equipment. Thus, dollars produce dollars to multiply the economic uplift.

Roybal has added his own innovations to a hand-placed ditch-lining operation. He mixes his own concrete in the field in a 1/6-cubic yard mixer mounted on the back of a small tractor. The concrete is dumped from the mixer into the ditch and shaped with a hand-pulled screed. The screed is guided by wooden rails placed on each side of the ditch. With this method Roybal can line about 350 feet of ditch a day.

#### THE VALUE OF SAVING WATER

Roybal plans to further increase his operation later on with purchase of a slip-form ditch liner and increase his crew from seven to 11 men.

His customers often express their satisfaction with the efficiency of their new irrigation systems, for people in the traditionally water-short Pojoaque Valley know from experience the value of saving water.—Bruce KIDMAN, engineer, SCS, Santa Fe, N. Mex.

#### ELECTORAL REFORM NEEDED

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I voted against the move to sustain the objection of Senator MUSKIE and Representative O'HARA to counting the vote of Dr. Lloyd Bailey, an elector from the State of North Carolina, on the grounds that Dr. Bailey, under the Constitution, was a free agent to cast his vote for President as he wished, despite any ethical or moral considerations that might have been involved.

A thoughtful editorial in yesterday's Washington Post deals with the situation that was created by Dr. Bailey's action, pointing out correctly that such a thing may well occur again, and, indeed, that it could easily be multiplied many times, unless corrective action is taken before the next presidential election.

I am a strong advocate of electoral reform, a matter with which I hope the 91st Congress will deal. I agree with the Post's editorial comment that "the drafting of a constitutional amendment to remove the peril points in our system for election of the President has become one of the most urgent tasks" confronting us.

I believe Senators and Members of the other body will find this editorial of interest, Mr. President, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### POINTING TO REFORM

The refusal of Congress to rebuke the presidential elector who betrayed his trust confirms the worst fears that have been expressed in regard to our electoral system. By this vote Congress has recognized that the Presidency of the United States may be put on the bargaining table. The immediate question before the two houses was whether they could prevent North Carolina Elector Lloyd W. Bailey from shifting his vote to George

Wallace after he (Bailey) had been elected on a Nixon slate. But the larger question was whether the George Wallace technique of bargaining with the major presidential candidates, in case no one obtains an electoral majority, can be used in future elections.

Congress has clearly indicated that it may be so used. Electors pledged to one presidential candidate may shift their votes to another candidate, without fear that Congress will intervene. We think this is a correct interpretation of the law as it now stands, but it opens the door wide to bargaining by a third party in a close race to determine who shall be President.

Congress cannot be reasonably accused of favoring such a system. On the contrary, many members are alarmed by the possibility that any future President may bargain his way to the White House. But they also recognize that this basic defect in the system cannot be cured by tinkering with the counting of votes. The remedy must come from a comprehensive constitutional amendment. The basic trouble is not that electors sometimes refuse to carry out the instructions they are given at the polls. It is that electors are retained within a system which, in effect, now seeks to bring about the election of the President by popular vote.

There is widespread agreement that the electors must go. They serve no useful purpose whatsoever. The country no longer trusts them to exercise any discretion in the choice of the President. And neither Congress nor the courts will hold them to the necessity of supporting the candidate to whom they are pledged, because the Founding Fathers intended to give them some measure of discretion. The action this week was a dramatic illustration of the necessity for a truly effective reform.

It is true that there is still much disagreement as to the nature of the change to be made. But there is growing conviction that only direct popular election of the President will provide a complete remedy and at the same time command sufficient support to be adopted.

In our view, the drafting of a constitutional amendment to remove the peril points in our system for election of the President has become one of the most urgent tasks confronting Congress. We hope that it will be pursued with vigor, determination and a disposition to reconcile the remaining differences so as to make the adoption of the most acceptable reform possible. The adoption of the presidential disability amendment a few years ago is a good example of how long-conflicting views can be reconciled when there is a major effort to achieve a reform that has become imperative. The creation of new national election machinery is now in that category.

#### THE MIDDLE EAST

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, two articles published in the Philadelphia Inquirer of January 2, 1969, put in perspective the current situation in the Middle East.

As the editorial says:

Instead of condemning Israel at every opportunity, the United Nations should be giving attention to assuring observance of the cease-fire which it ordered long ago, and which the Arabs have treated with contempt.

And as William S. White says about the Israelis:

They love their country; they will unhesitatingly fight for it. And they will not be talked out of their right—and duty—of self-defense.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial and article be printed in the RECORD.

January 10, 1969

There being no objection, the editorial and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, Jan. 2 1969]

#### ONE-SIDED CONDEMNATION

There may be some substance to the feelings held by many that the Israeli attack on Arab planes at the Beirut airport was disproportionate to the immediate provocation: the utterly insane attack by Arab terrorists on an Israeli airliner at Athens. There has been the feeling, also, that Israel picked the wrong target in the reprisal raid in Lebanon, which has been regarded as the most pacific of the Arab states surrounding Israel and the one with the closest ties with the West.

When all these things are said, and felt, nevertheless, the condemnation of Israel's action by many governments, including our own, and by resolution of the United Nations Security Council, is wholly disproportionate to the facts of Arab violence, terrorism and violation of the cease-fire agreement which have harassed Israel without let-up.

Why was there not the same kind of condemnation against the Arabs when guns and grenades were used in the Athens attack, which killed one passenger, wounded a stewardess and endangered the lives of 30 or more others, besides wrecking the plane? Why was not the Security Council outraged when Arabs dynamited women and children to death in a Jerusalem market? Why is not a word heard from those so ready to condemn Israel's every reprisal when the last remaining Jews in Poland are being subjected to cruel persecution?

Israel is a small land surrounded by predatory enemies who have vowed its destruction, and, unable to gain their objective by conventional military means, engage in almost continuous acts of sabotage and guerrilla warfare.

Attempts to exonerate Lebanon from the activities of the "Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine," the leader among the anti-Israeli terrorist groups, cannot stand up. The men who attacked the plane in Athens with murderous intent are Lebanese; they flew to the point of their mission from Beirut. During the last three months, no fewer than 18 terrorist incidents have taken place from Lebanon.

Instead of condemning Israel at every opportunity, the United Nations should be giving attention to assuring observance of the cease-fire which it ordered long ago, and which the Arabs have treated with contempt. And the U.N., with the U.S. and Soviet Russia leading the way, should be exerting itself to bring about peace and stability in the Middle East—something the Israelis have ardently desired.

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, Jan. 2, 1969]

#### CRITICS OVERLOOK ISRAEL'S FIGHT FOR LIFE IN ARAB "HOLY WAR"

(By William S. White)

WASHINGTON.—All this breath-taking condemnation of Israel by "world opinion" for the Israelis' reprisal attack upon the airport in Lebanon needs some cool re-examination and some factual perspective.

It is true that Israel's action here, in retaliation for a terrorist Arab assault upon an Israeli aircraft in Athens in which an Israeli lost his life, was unwise and excessive if judged in total isolation. For Lebanon has been a moderate force within the Arab bloc and has thus far aligned only by words in the "holy war" being conducted against Israel by more vehement—the Communist-oriented—states such as Nasser's Egypt.

Still, this whole business cannot be understood out of its whole context. When all the facts, and not just some of them, are seen without prejudice, Israel comes off incom-

parably better than it is coming off in the excited indictments being flung about inside and outside the United Nations.

First of all, Israel's commandos at any rate took the greatest care in Lebanon to take no man's life. But the essential points are vastly deeper. Here is a nation dug out of the hard, arid earth that for all its life has been tirelessly menaced by extremist Arabs from every side. Week after week, month after month, year after year the Israelis have been drenched by the poisonous hatred of Cairo Radio. Eternally threatened, they have lived in a stockade state, much as did the American pioneers. Endlessly attacked along their frontiers, they have responded with a courage and an élan rarely seen in contemporary times.

Explicitly and repeatedly told by the Arabs that they are going to be destroyed by the Arabs, it is perhaps not too surprising that after two decades it is growing difficult for them to see that "big picture" which statesmen far from the scene are pleased to paint for them.

Is it very surprising, then, that finally they react with undue violence, considering the further point that never once have they been granted elementary justice by a U.N. presently headed by the openly prejudiced Secretary U Thant?

The simple, historic reality is that the Israelis have never stood a chance in the U.N. where the Russians and their tin-pot and sometimes crypto-Communist allies among the African and Asian states have used this tough and tiny Western outpost as a kind of badminton puck in the Cold War.

But there is an even more fundamental truth, and it is this: It is no longer liberally chic to be pro-Israel, where once it was too liberally chic altogether. Twenty years ago "elite" American opinion sentimentalized Israel out of all reason. Today, "elite" American opinion can hardly find anything good about the Israelis. It would require a book fully to explore this turnaround; this columnist's opinion is that Israel has fallen out of grace not because of its considerable faults but rather because of its old-fashioned virtues.

For the Israelis oddly cling to certain outmoded concepts which in a shorthand way are more conservative than otherwise, to wit:

They do not happily embrace any and all "revolutions," such as Col. Nasser's exported "revolutions" in places like Yemen. They feel no shame in being patriots. They love their country; they will unhesitatingly fight for it. And they will not be talked out of their right—and duty—of self-defense. They do not accept the new isolationism, the new pacenikism, of the New Left, now so popular in quarters here and abroad. Having been told several thousand times that pro-Communist Arabs intend the literal destruction of their way of life, they have come to believe it.

That Lebanon is not really a part of this conspiracy is true enough. That Lebanon's airport has been attacked is in every way regrettable. But that the world can hardly expect a people so long brutalized by hostile neighbors to respond in every instance with all prudence and restraint is surely also true. When a man is fighting for his life it is a little hard to expect him to proceed with all the solemn care that might be exercised by some fellow who never felt a wound.

#### SIXTEEN SENATORS SEEK PERSPECTIVE ON ISRAEL

Mr. MONDALE, Mr. President, a bipartisan group of 16 Senators emphasized the importance of examining the total context of the current crisis in the Middle East in a statement released Monday afternoon.

This statement, I believe, helps a great deal to clarify and balance this discussion in this country of this dangerous situation. In preparing and circulating it, the senior Senator from New York (Mr. JAVITS) and I sought to respond in a balanced way to the recent censure of Israel by the United Nations. However unfortunate that situation may be, we believe it requires a look at all the elements involved in the dispute.

The statement points out that Israel is continually subject to attacks from hostile groups in Arab nations. It declares that a realistic approach to the conflict between Israel and her Arab neighbors requires implementation of an equitable policy of permanent peace along the lines of the U.N. resolution of last November 22, efforts to maintain a strategic arms balance, settlement of the refugee question, and establishment of an organization for economic cooperation and development.

It was a privilege to be able to work with Senator JAVITS on this statement, and both of us are grateful to the 14 other Senators who joined in signing the statement. We hope it will contribute to the continuing Senatorial discussion of the difficult and dangerous problems which characterize the troubled Middle East.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the statement, followed by a list of the signers of the statement, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the text and list were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### TEXT OF STATEMENT ON THE MIDDLE EAST, MONDAY, JANUARY 6, 1969

We express our deep concern over the rapidly deteriorating situation respecting peace in the Middle East—the area in the world where the danger of new war is greatest.

We have noted the adoption by the United Nations Security Council, with the concurrence of the United States, of the resolution on December 31st in connection with this unfortunate situation. This resolution "condemns Israel for its premeditated military action" and "issues a solemn warning to Israel that if such acts were to be repeated, the Council would have to consider further steps to give effect to its decisions."

We are particularly concerned about the effectiveness of the Security Council resolution in view of the fact that it makes no reference to the direct threat to Israel's survival posed by the continuing raids into Israel—with their mounting toll in lives and property—by Arab guerrillas operating from the Arab states; states that have maintained a state of war with Israel for twenty years and which harbor and officially encourage the guerrillas.

The Israelis are fighting for their very lives as their Arab neighbors, bolstered by Soviet military and diplomatic support, again openly threaten to obliterate them.

The Jarring Mission, intended to implement the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, should, of course, continue its efforts to avert the speedily deteriorating situation.

We believe the situation must be examined in its total context and that Americans are entitled to view it in proper perspective. Accordingly, under these conditions, we believe the policy of the United States should be:

1. To establish a policy of permanent peace in the Middle East. This will require an implementation of the UN resolution of No-

vember 22, 1967. This resolution carries out all its terms in as parallel and equitable a manner as possible, with each provision being related to the other rather than being based upon Israel's withdrawal from occupied territories in return only for paper promises from the Arab states. A key point in this UN resolution is "respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force."

2. To make every effort toward helping to maintain the strategic arms balance between the radical Arab states and Israel, lest these Arab states be tempted into renewing full-scale warfare. The United States has already demonstrated its policy in this respect by signing a contract to sell 50 supersonic jets to Israel, an action which we support and approve. The American people do not want to see a situation where Israel will be so threatened that outside participation is called or to assure its very survival. It would be helpful to this effort for the USSR to join in limiting its supply of strategic military weapons to the radical Arab nations, and to accept the right of an independent and free Israel to exist along side its Arab neighbors within secure and recognized boundaries.

3. To call for the most urgent consideration of the settlement of the Arab refugees, a problem which continues to be critical. Conditions have completely changed since the establishment of UNWRA. About half of the refugees holding ration cards are now within the de facto jurisdiction of Israel itself making them much more available to settlement.

4. To encourage establishment of an organization for economic cooperation in the Middle East to bring about mutual economic development, better trade relations, technological research and administration of aid and technical assistance programs in the area.

#### SIGNERS OF THE STATEMENT

Clifford P. Case (Republican, of New Jersey).  
 Peter H. Dominick (Republican, of Colorado).  
 Charles E. Goodell (Republican, of New York).  
 Fred R. Harris (Democrat, of Oklahoma).  
 Philip A. Hart (Democrat, of Michigan).  
 Jacob K. Javits (Republican, of New York).  
 Walter F. Mondale (Democrat, of Minnesota).  
 George Murphy (Republican, of California).  
 William Proxmire (Democrat, of Wisconsin).  
 Abraham Ribicoff (Democrat, of Connecticut).  
 William B. Saxbe (Republican, of Ohio).  
 Richard S. Schweiker (Republican, of Pennsylvania).  
 Hugh Scott (Republican, of Pennsylvania).  
 Joseph D. Tydings (Democrat, of Maryland).  
 Harrison A. Williams (Democrat, of New Jersey).  
 Stephen M. Young (Democrat, of Ohio).

#### BOB BARTLETT WILL BE REMEMBERED

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, the Senate is much poorer because of the passing of Bob Bartlett of Alaska. No Nation ever produces too many men of his caliber. He wore himself thin in this Chamber in the service of his State and Nation.

Rarely has it been my privilege to see a finer example of a public servant dedicated to the well-being and advancement

of his State and country. I worked with him, seeing at first hand how he applied himself to the basic issues and needs of Alaska. Aware of the needs of that area of our Nation, he made himself expert in the fields of knowledge that were so acutely attuned to the emerging realities of his State.

From his vantage point here, he produced significant gains for Alaska. But he was never a purely parochial man or Senator. In his own unique manner he served his country as well as his State. The needs of the Nation came to the fore in his actions as we here observed them. Truly, he wore two hats in this Chamber—one as a Senator from Alaska, the other as a U.S. Senator. In this manner he set a series of examples that others who follow him into this Chamber would do well to emulate.

Never indulging in fanaticism, he applied himself to the realities of life. Steering clear of blind partisanship, he sought intelligent compromise that would serve the entire land. Moderate in counsel, he put forth wise words in a clear and often courageous way.

Now he is gone from our midst, and we are all the poorer for it. There have been so many unusual and talented men and women who have served in this body. Each has brought his own gifts to the service of the Republic and its institutions. In so doing they have strengthened those institutions and the Nation that rests upon them. Bob Bartlett made a major contribution to this body, our tradition, and the continuity that is its essence. He will be remembered in the hearts of all who knew him, worked with him, and had the privilege of his friendship.

I extend my sincerest condolences to his family.

#### PERMISSIVENESS RUNNING OUT?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I would like to express the hope that the Washington Evening Star's columnist, James J. Kilpatrick, is right in his statement in Thursday's paper that the college professors and presidents who have condoned violence on America's college campuses, and who have sought to appease those who have fomented these troubles, "have gone out of style."

They most assuredly should go out of style, for the uprisings they have countenanced form a blot that may never be erased from the pages of the history of education in America. Events such as those that have transpired recently on the campus of San Francisco State College, where instructors have gone on strike in support of student anarchists, should no longer be tolerated by the responsible agencies of government upon which most of our colleges and universities depend.

Columnist Kilpatrick praised Governor Reagan of California for his forthright pronouncement that the colleges must be kept open, that they must not be surrendered to those who would destroy them and I commend him, too. We need more public officials willing to stand firm against insurrection.

The column cites the experience of

Worcester Polytechnic Institute, where the trustees have adopted a strong anti-demonstration policy, based on the premise that "the right to criticize and protest is not the right to disrupt or to interfere with the rights of others." Worcester has had no trouble.

The "tides of permissiveness" may, indeed, be running out, as Kilpatrick says. I know that there must be millions of Americans who would join me in hoping so. I ask unanimous consent that this column be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### REAGAN HAILED FOR GETTING TOUGH ON CAMPUS

Those who undertake to read the currents of public opinion are engaged in a difficult art. Such tides never can be predicted to the fraction of an inch. Mostly it's guesswork or just plain hunch. But it's a good bet that California's Governor Reagan has sensed public attitudes exactly in his resolute statement on campus violence.

The governor ran into newsmen this past Sunday at the Sacramento airport. It was the day before San Francisco State College was scheduled to reopen. Reagan was asked for comment. He paused deliberately; then he laid it on the line.

"Those who want to get an education, those who want to teach, should be protected in that at the point of a bayonet if necessary. The college has to be kept open. I don't care what force it takes. That force must be applied."

Hallelujah! That is precisely what should have been said and done all along. It is amazing, in retrospect, that such eminent men as Grayson Kirk of Columbia ever could have lost track of the truth that Reagan stated so bluntly. The campus of a college or university is like any other community. In the presence of violence, the rights of the law-abiding residents—the students who want to learn, the teachers who want to teach—have to be defended at any cost. These come first. Any compromise with this principle is an invitation to anarchy.

A year or so ago, Reagan's statement would have provoked moans, groans and gasps from the intellectual community. No more. The professors and presidents who have condoned the outrages, and sought to appease the firebrands, have gone out of style. Increasingly, the public demand is to expel the fascist students and to fire the faculty members who enter into conspiracy with them. These militants can respect the rights of others, or they can get out. It's as simple as that, and no phony invocations of "tenure" or "academic freedom" or "the right to dissent" should be heeded any longer.

The firmness voiced in California by Reagan is not unique. Other responsible administrators have taken the same high-principled view. The trustees of Worcester Polytechnic Institute adopted a statement of policy last June—a copy has just come across my desk—that provides a model for every college in the land.

The Worcester statement opens by affirming the institute's belief in individual freedom. But "academic freedom is not academic license, and the right to criticize and protest is not the right to disrupt or to interfere with the freedom of others." The statement continues:

"Students enter Worcester Tech voluntarily. They apply presumably because they wish to further their education and hopefully because they believe Worcester Tech, with its traditions and reputation, is capable of advancing their intellectual attainments. Students come to learn, to be guided, not to direct."



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"If they do not like some of the rules and regulations, traditions and policies of Worcester Tech, they do not have to enter. But let it be understood that having been accepted, and having decided to enter, they are expected to abide by the laws of our nation and comply with the rules and policies of Worcester Tech. Criticisms and suggestions are always in order and will continue to be welcomed, but threats, disturbances or force of any kind—whether by a single student a minority or a majority—will not be tolerated."

The Worcester statement concludes with an explicit warning that the college offers no sanctuary to any person who condones, advocates, or exercises the seizure of private property or the use of intimidation. "Any who engage in such activities will be held fully responsible, and punishment at this college for such acts will be prompt and sufficient to the cause, including expulsion."

Worcester Tech hasn't had the first breath of trouble.

This is the sound approach. It is right in principle; it is right politically, too. The tides of permissiveness are running out. From San Francisco to Worcester, the new year sees a determination among free men to restore the order on which freedom itself depends.

#### ADDRESS DELIVERED BY THE PRESIDENT OF BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, in October 1968, I was privileged to attend the inauguration of President Morris B. Abram, of Brandeis University.

At that time I was particularly impressed with an address given by Eric Yoffie, president of the Brandeis University student body. His statement, brief, succinct, and unquestionably sincere, is an articulate expression of the desires and objectives of America's young people. The need to recognize change and to deal with it, the need to have more control over policies which directly affect their lives, and the preference for working within existing institutions and figures of authority to achieve these ends, are all a vital part of the so-called student revolution.

I commend Mr. Yoffie's objectives, and his method of achieving them, and ask unanimous consent that the text of his remarks be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

REMARKS BY ERIC YOFFIE, STUDENT BODY PRESIDENT, AT THE INAUGURATION OF BRANDEIS PRESIDENT MORRIS B. ABRAM, OCTOBER 6, 1968

The greetings which I bring to you today on behalf of the Brandeis Student Union, and the welcome which I extend to Brandeis President Morris B. Abram, are more than merely polite gestures. They are the products of a three-week period in which student leaders have met frequently with Dr. Abram, and have discussed with him a large range of educational issues. By briefly reviewing the content of these sessions, I hope to convey to you the nature of our greeting and the sincerity of our welcome.

We began by emphasizing our desire to establish meaningful communication with the Office of the President. We went considerably beyond that, however. We evaluated with President Abram the inevitable tendency of universities to fit themselves into existing and familiar patterns. Habit, of course, is no longer justified, as we are today confronted with a demand for radical reforms. Distinguished universities have begun to realize that educational reevaluation must be based upon present and future requirements; rather than on precedent or tradition, however ancient or hallowed.

We agreed, therefore, that meaningful discussion means free discussion. Our ground rules will be simple ones: there must be at Brandeis no individual, no position, no structure, or no approach, however fundamental and accepted, which is immune from constant reappraisal and constructive criticism, and if necessary, from sweeping reform.

Often-justified discontent at other universities indicates to us the necessity of initiating immediately such an exhaustive reassessment. We feel that among the most pressing demands are the following: firstly, the need to elevate the status of teaching at Brandeis; secondly, the need to reform our undergraduate curriculum; thirdly, the need to better develop our approach to university planning; fourthly, the need to revise our academic calendar and make the four-year pattern more flexible; and, lastly, the need to reevaluate the nature of the Brandeis community.

The community has changed because the university has changed. In twenty years, the accomplishments at Brandeis have been monumental. As this first era comes to a close, however, we must not rest on our laurels. In only two decades we have attained the status of a great university. Our responsibilities, therefore, as we turn to the second era, are now much greater.

This is particularly true in view of the tremendous differences between 1948 and 1968. As various fields continue to change rapidly, it is difficult enough to know what a proper graduate education ought to be; it is even more difficult to determine how the undergraduate out to be educated. When an increasing number of students plan graduate study, a university such as Brandeis, which is, and must remain, primarily an undergraduate institution, runs the risk of becoming merely a corridor—the last chamber before the really important room is entered. Obviously, the undergraduate's experience is considerably affected. This is not simply a matter of raising questions about the adequacy of a particular curriculum. We discussed with Dr. Abram the more basic questions that are raised. The primary issue becomes one of educational integrity. We suggested that this must be judged not by the standards of others, but by the Brandeis community, which we envision as a face-to-face academic unit in which there is internal coherence, shared membership, and high morale.

Shared membership does not mean student rule. It does mean, however, the necessity of the students assuming principal responsibility for making decisions about themselves as individuals, and, further, our expectation that we will be given a share in shaping decisions of an educational nature and those affecting the general drift of university policy. We requested from Dr. Abram, then, only a partial role, but a meaningful one, which does not mean mere advisory status.

We agreed, finally, upon the necessity for a clear, unequivocal commitment by Brandeis University to play a vigorous, constructive role in the surrounding community, and to reorient its program toward the pressing social and economic needs of our country.

These were the issues which we have considered in the past few weeks. I should not give the impression that the opinions of the students and of Dr. Abram are identical. That is far from the case, and, to the extent that we differ, the student body pledges to remain the loyal opposition: prodding, questioning, demanding reasoned responses, and so forth.

I feel, however, that our approaches are generally similar, and that we are proposing the same questions concerning how a college community ought to be organized, what services it must provide, and what demands it may legitimately make of its students.

The student body looks forward to work-

ing with the faculty, under the direction of Dr. Abram, in exerting creative leadership in American education, and we welcome him, once again, to the Brandeis community.

#### NOTICE OF HEARING

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, it was announced several days ago that the Committee on Foreign Relations had scheduled a public hearing on January 15 to consider the nomination of William Rogers for the position of Secretary of State.

After further consideration, it has been decided to hold on January 15 a hearing in executive session at which time both Mr. Rogers and Elliot Richardson, Under Secretary of State-designate, will be expected to reply to questions customarily asked of men nominated for appointment to public office. Policy matters of general interest will be discussed at a public hearing, or hearings, to be held in the future.

The hearing on January 15 is being held in order that there may be a report on these nominations to the Senate by the committee which, if favorable, will place the Senate in a position to give its advice and consent to the appointments of Mr. Rogers and Mr. Richardson as soon as possible after President-elect Nixon takes office.

The public hearing on January 15 originally scheduled has been deferred because it was felt that Mr. Rogers could not be expected at this time to answer questions relating to specific issues of foreign policy before President-elect Nixon's inauguration and address on January 20. A subsequent public hearing, or subsequent hearings, will provide members of the committee with an opportunity to question the new Secretary of State without being inhibited by the restrictions that apply before January 20.

#### ANNOUNCEMENT OF HEARINGS ON PRETRIAL RELEASE

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Senate Judiciary Committee, I am pleased to announce that the subcommittee will begin 6 days of hearings on January 21, 1969, on the subject of pretrial release in the Federal courts. The hearings will be held on January 21, 22, 23, 28, 29, and 30, 1969, in room 2228 of the New Senate Office Building beginning 9:30 a.m. each morning.

These hearings will be the first of a series devoted to comprehensive review of the operation of the Bail Reform Act of 1966 and related laws and procedural rules in the light of the experience gathered during the 2½ years of its operation. During the hearings we will give detailed attention to the various legislative and administrative proposals which have been suggested by Members of Congress, judges, law enforcement officials and other interested and informed persons. The greatest need for any changes seems to have arisen in the District of Columbia where many violent crimes are committed by persons on pretrial release. The District is the only jurisdiction where ordinary crimes of violence

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I subscribe to the remarks made by the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. LONG) and my colleague, the dean of our delegation (Mr. HEBERT).

I have very fond memories of Congressman Allen and his family and his very wonderful wife. Mr. Allen was most helpful to me as a young Member of this body. I served with him here for many years. I know he enjoyed a long and happy retirement. He was a very religious man, a Christian man.

I am sure Mr. Allen has earned a great reward in the hereafter. He made a great contribution to our State and to our country.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman.

#### GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the life, character, and public service of the late honorable A. Leonard Allen.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

#### PRESIDENT DE GAULLE OF FRANCE ADDS FUEL TO FLAMES IN MIDDLE EAST

(Mr. FARBSTEIN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, and now comes President de Gaulle, of France, to add fuel to the flames existing in the Middle East. Let France remember that boycotts and embargoes work both ways.

The Israelis have been forced by the evermounting and continuous murderous terroristic attacks to strike with a terrible, swift sword against their enemies. Had they done anything less, it would have been interpreted by the Arab nations as a sign of fear and weakness, and undoubtedly heavier and greater acts of terrorism by the henchmen of the various Arab governments would have been initiated.

If there is to be criticism at this point, let it be equal. No critical outburst was heard when an Israel airliner was shot at, and a passenger killed, at the Athens airport. There was no tremendous outcry at the kidnaping of another El-Al airplane by the Algerian Government. There was no outcry whatsoever on black Friday, November 22, when 13 Israelis were killed and 57 seriously wounded and maimed for life in the marketplace in Jerusalem. There has been no condemnation of the continued Arab terroristic and murderous attacks on Israel border settlements.

If there is to be justice to all the parties involved, if there is to be peace in the area, then let the United Nations and the world leaders treat the entire

situation evenhandedly without partisanship. If the United Nations truly believes in equal justice for all, if the United Nations truly wishes a peaceful settlement of the problems in the Middle East, if the United Nations does not have a double standard, then it must condemn the continual, unlawful, and terroristic attacks made upon Israel as well as it has condemned Israel for its retaliatory action against those who have vowed to drive her into the sea.

If the retaliatory action taken by Israel is considered in the context of the continuous terrorism by the Arabs and the fact that Lebanon has become the capital of the terroristic Arab movement, the justice of Israel's position cannot but be understood.

Let us also beware of the sudden apparent pacific diplomatic moves by the Soviets. They are not in the interest of the United States.

#### SPEAKER McCORMACK TO RECEIVE ROA "MAN OF THE YEAR" AWARD

(Mr. SIKES asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, there are few citizens of this great Nation who have merited honors for patriotic service more than has the Speaker of the House, the Honorable JOHN W. McCORMACK.

We who have had the privilege of being his colleagues during any part of the four decades of JOHN McCORMACK's service know of his many virtues, all of which have made him one of the most admired, the most respected, and the most beloved leaders of our land.

Throughout the country, he has won recognition on many accounts—and he has deserved more honors than he could find time to accept. It is with great pleasure that I call attention to another highly deserved honor which will come to him on February 21 when the Reserve Officers Association cites him as "the citizen who has contributed most to the national security of the United States in these times."

Announcement of the award is carried in the following news release about this award from ROA:

#### ROA NEWS RELEASE

WASHINGTON, D.C., December 20.—An additional birthday honor came today to Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, John W. McCormack, with the announcement that the Reserve Officers Association has selected him for its highest award as the "Citizen who has contributed most to national security in these times." His birthday is tomorrow.

Known as the "Minute Man of the Year Award," the honor is presented annually at the ROA Mid-Winter Banquet, which will be held this year on February 21st at the Sheraton-Park Hotel, Washington, D.C. Some 1,500 military officers from throughout the world are expected to assemble on this occasion, climaxing the annual two-day Mid-Winter Conference. Several hundred members of Congress and leaders of the military Services usually participate.

Brig. Gen. Homer I. Lewis, ROA National President, announced the selection of Mr. McCormack by the Association's National Award Board. General Lewis said:

"Speaker McCormack throughout his career has devoted his energies and influence to building a defense system second to no other power in the world, and thus, as much as any man in the Congress, has made it possible for the Armed Forces of the United States to protect this country and its government while at the same time preserving the basic freedom to which every citizen is entitled in the American Way of life."

General Lewis said he had notified the Speaker of his selection in a personal interview and Mr. McCormack had accepted with an expression of deep gratitude to the ROA and the nation's reservists. Mr. McCormack is an Honorary Life Member of ROA.

The award to Speaker McCormack will be the twelfth made by the ROA. The first was presented in 1958 to Brig. Gen. David Sarnoff, Chairman of the Board of Radio Corporation of America. The other awards follow in chronological order: 1959-Sen. Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.), Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee; 1960-Col. Bryce N. Harlow, Deputy Assistant to the President for Congressional Affairs under President Eisenhower and slated for the same post under President Nixon; 1961-Hugh M. Milton, Under Secretary of the Army under President Eisenhower; 1962-Rep. Carl Vinson (D-Ga.) Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, now retired; 1963-Sen. Dennis Chavez (D-N.M.) who died prior to receiving the citation. It was presented posthumously to his widow; 1964-Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (R-Me.), ranking minority member of the Senate Armed Services Committee; 1965-Rep. L. Mendel Rivers (D-S.C.) Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee; 1966-Sen. John C. Stennis (D-Miss.), Chairman of the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee; 1967-Rep. Robert L. F. Sikes (D-Fla.), ranking member of the House Defense Appropriations Committee; 1968-Rep. F. Edward Hébert (D-La.), member of the House Armed Services Committee.

Mr. Speaker, the following is an excerpt from December issue of the Officer Reporter of the Reserve Officers Association:

HOUSE SPEAKER McCORMACK CITED FOR HELPING BUILD DEFENSE SYSTEM, NAMED CITIZEN OF YEAR FOR 1969

Speaker of the National House John W. McCormack, who has publicly acknowledged ROA's help in narrowly averting a national defense disaster in 1941, has been selected by ROA to receive its 1969 award as "The Citizen who has contributed most to national security in these times."

Popularly known as the annual Minute Man Award and given each year at ROA's Mid-Winter Banquet, the honor will go to the veteran congressman before an anticipated record crowd at the annual banquet on February 21 at Washington's Sheraton-Park Hotel.

Brig. Gen. Homer I. "Pete" Lewis, ROA National President, announced the choice of Mr. McCormack by the ROA National Awards Board.

General Lewis said:

"Speaker McCormack throughout his career has devoted his energies and influence to building a defense system second to no other power in the world, and thus, as much as any other man in the Congress, has made it possible for the Armed Forces of the United States to protect this country and its government, while at the same time preserving the basic freedom to which every citizen is entitled in the American way of life."

"Speaker McCormack is recognized in the Congress as a leader who has used his influence and his leadership to side with the principle of strength. Few men in the past quarter century have had the privilege of contributing so substantially to the security which every citizen of the United States

GLC  
JFUnited States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 91<sup>st</sup> CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 115

WASHINGTON, TUESDAY, JANUARY 7, 1969

No. 3

## Senate

The Senate was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Thursday, January 9, 1969, at 12 o'clock noon.

## House of Representatives

TUESDAY, JANUARY 7, 1969

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.  
The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch,  
D.D., offered the following prayer:

*Lead me in Thy truth and teach me,  
for Thou art the God of my salvation.—*  
Psalm 25: 5.

O Lord, our God, grant unto the Mem-  
bers of this body, and all who work with  
them and for them, a fresh sense of Thy  
presence as we take up the duties of this  
day. May we learn to think Thy thoughts  
after Thee and to keep our hearts open to  
our people that to us will come wisdom  
as we make decisions, good will as we  
relate ourselves to one another, and  
courage as we endeavor to do what is  
right and good for all.

In this moment of prayer do Thou—

Breathe on us, breath of God,  
Fill us with life anew,  
That we may love what Thou dost love,  
And do what Thou wouldst do.

In the Master's name we pray. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yes-  
terday was read and approved.

### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Sundry messages in writing from the  
President of the United States were com-  
municated to the House by Mr. Geisler,  
one of his secretaries.

### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr.  
Arrington, one of its clerks, announced  
that the Senate had passed without  
amendment a concurrent resolution of  
the House of the following title:

H. Con. Res. 1. Concurrent resolution mak-  
ing the necessary arrangements for the in-  
auguration of the President-elect and Vice-  
President-elect of the United States.

### SWEARING IN OF MEMBER-ELECT

The SPEAKER. Will any Member-  
elect who has not been sworn come to  
the well of the House and take the oath  
of office?

Mr. TAFT appeared at the bar of the  
House and took the oath of office.

### THE LATE HONORABLE A. LEONARD ALLEN

(Mr. LONG of Louisiana asked and was  
given permission to address the House  
for 1 minute and to revise and extend his  
remarks.)

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker,  
I find it my sad duty today to advise  
the House officially of the passing of one  
of Congress most distinguished former  
Members, the Honorable A. Leonard  
Allen, of Winnfield, La. Mr. Allen died  
quietly early Sunday morning, January  
5, 1969. He was born on a farm near  
Winnfield 78 years earlier, on January 5,  
1891.

It has been my great honor, Mr.  
Speaker, to serve in the congressional  
seat which Mr. Allen held so long and so  
honorably. He began his service in the  
House on January 3, 1937, and was  
elected to the seven succeeding Con-  
gresses, retiring from the House on  
January 3, 1953, after 16 years of labor  
during the Nation's most crucial years.

Mr. Allen began his public service in  
1914 as a schoolteacher. Subsequently he  
served as principal of two high schools  
and superintendent of the Winn Parish  
public schools. In 1922 he was admitted  
to the Louisiana bar and entered the  
practice of law, serving for a time as city  
attorney for Winnfield, La.

In the Congress Mr. Allen served on  
the Veterans' Affairs Committee and  
helped write legislation affecting millions  
of America's young men and women.

Mr. Allen will be well remembered by  
those Members who were his contem-  
poraries. And to those of us who follow  
in his footsteps he will continue to be  
an example for our own service and  
conduct. With his passing the Nation has  
lost a great patriot. His native Louisiana  
has lost an honored son. And many, many  
individuals, including myself, have lost  
a dear and trusted friend. We mark his  
passing with sadness and respect, and  
salute his memory here in this Chamber,  
which he loved so well and served so long  
and so ably.

Mr. HEBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the  
gentleman yield?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I yield to the  
distinguished dean of the Louisiana  
delegation.

Mr. HEBERT. Mr. Speaker, I had the  
privilege, along with my colleague, HALE  
BOGGS, of coming to Congress 28 years  
ago when Leonard Allen was dean of the  
Louisiana delegation. We immediately  
found in Leonard Allen a most unusual  
warmth and an understanding and a  
dedication to his duties here in the Con-  
gress.

He was a man we will always remem-  
ber. He was a man of high principles. If  
ever an individual could be given the ap-  
pellation or description of a Christian  
gentleman, it was Leonard Allen. He had  
his days of humor with us, and he had  
his days of serious business with us, but  
we always found in him a most effec-  
tionate, loyal, and dedicated man.

Certainly as dean of the Louisiana de-  
legation now, and having had the privi-  
lege of serving so long with Leonard  
Allen, I extend deepest sympathy to his  
family and particularly to his son, who  
has become a very distinguished judge  
in his own right. It was a privilege to  
have served with Leonard Allen. It is  
with deep sympathy that we now realize  
he is no longer with us.

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district can the demands of justice be met in a realistic fashion.

My concern is fully shared by Congressmen BOB WILSON, JOHN TUNNEY, and JAMES UTT, who with me represent all portions of the two counties served by the southern court district. We all urge the Judiciary Committee to schedule the earliest possible consideration of this much needed relief for our overburdened court district.

*Middle East*

## A DANGEROUS MISSILE GAP

(Mr. CARTER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, during the past year, a Styx missile from an Egyptian ship sank the Israel ship, *Eilat*.

It has been brought forcefully to my attention that we have no missile as powerful, as accurate, or as difficult to detect as the Styx. Neither are any of our ships provided with detection devices which will give our men sufficient reaction time to shoot down or otherwise deflect the course of the missile.

Russian ships are equipped with Styx missiles, a reaction time of 30 to 60 seconds is required to shoot down or deflect this missile. Our detection devices permit reaction time of only 5 seconds. Steps should immediately be taken to develop capable detection devices on our cruisers and destroyers particularly in the Mediterranean area. Also, we should concentrate on developing a missile equal to or superior to the Russian Styx.

Truly, a dangerous missile gap exists in this area at the present time.

## THE FRANK CARLSON SYMPOSIUM ON WORLD POPULATION AND FOOD SUPPLY

(Mr. MIZE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, last month Kansas State University at Manhattan hosted the Frank Carlson Symposium on World Population and Food Supply.

The 2-day symposium honored Kansas' senior Senator, Frank Carlson, who retired on January 3, 1969, from 40 years of public life. Senator Carlson has been State legislator, Congressman, Governor, and Senator of our State. During four decades of public service, he has inspired the confidence of his constituents, the respect of his contemporaries, and the trust of his President. Through successive administrations, both Republican and Democratic, Senator Carlson has gone beyond the workaday role of politician to become a statesman.

## SYMPOSIUM REFLECTS CARLSON'S PERSONAL COMMITMENT

Senator Carlson's own standards of personal commitment and concern, and his lifelong approach to the challenges of public service, led naturally to the fitting tribute which Kansas State University chose to honor Frank Carlson.

The symposium addressed itself to the central question of the future of humanity and the quality of life itself in the

years immediately ahead. World population increases, balanced against the world's available food, present a fearsome challenge today. Tomorrow, this challenge could become insurmountable for free men, among whom respect for the individual is paramount.

## KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY SHARES COMMITMENT

President James McCain and his staff at Kansas State are acutely aware of the dangerous instability of a hungry world. The university has demonstrated compassion and competence through agribusiness development and assistance to emerging nations of Asia, Latin America, and Africa.

This competence may be documented in many ways, but clearly one parameter must be the Kansas State response to the State Department's call for technical assistance. Kansas State has provided significant contributions abroad, under Federal sponsorship, for over a decade.

The university currently participates in one project to assist cooperating nations develop their post-harvest storage control techniques. The importance of this assistance can be properly understood when one realizes that rodents in India consume as much as 40 percent of each year's grain production, according to responsible observers. Malnutrition throughout the world can be significantly reduced by more effective storage, and Kansas State is the vanguard of this effort.

The university provides technical assistance to Andhra Pradesh University in India, in connection with that nation's agricultural production promotion program. Kansas State also provides U.S. assistance in the crucial development of an agricultural and veterinary college at Ahmadu Bello University in Nigeria. Regardless of the outcome of the tragic war in Nigeria, the college established at Ahmadu Bello will be called upon to provide training essential for expanded agricultural production and proper nutritional balance throughout the war-torn area.

## SYMPOSIUM BROUGHT TOGETHER LEADERS

It was natural, therefore, that Kansas State should honor Frank Carlson in this meaningful way. Common concern is common ground. The symposium brought together experts from business, government, the academic community, and the Congress. Dr. Milos Macura, the distinguished Director of the Population Division of the United Nations, was in attendance to present a major paper on demographic considerations in developing nations.

Dr. Lester Brown, of the International Agricultural Development Service, and Under Secretary John Schnitker, presented papers on the efforts of the Department of Agriculture in recent years.

Responsibilities of the academic community, the Federal Government, business, and the people themselves were all discussed by experts from each field.

Senator GEORGE MCGOVERN, the first director of food for peace, under which over \$17 billion worth of U.S. agricultural commodities have been shipped to people in great need throughout the world, delivered the keynote address.

Among the leaders who affirmed their personal commitment to meet the challenges of world population and food production was the newest Senator from Kansas, the Honorable BOB DOLE, Frank Carlson's successor in the Senate of the United States. BOB DOLE distinguished himself in the House of Representatives as a member of the Agriculture Committee and made his own contributions to the solution of the problem to which the symposium addressed itself. It is reassuring to humanitarians throughout the world that BOB DOLE will be able to carry on his efforts in this area as a Member of the Senate. He will perpetuate the leadership which Frank Carlson, Clifford Hope, Arthur Capper, Andrew Schoepel, Harry Darby, and other Kansans have made in the development of adequate supplies of food and fiber for all who need them. Both data and ideas are essential if the growing imbalance is to be satisfactorily resolved. Much needed data and ideas were presented in Manhattan, many for the first time.

The Frank Carlson symposium assembled a distinguished cast of workers for humanity. It is comforting to know that these leaders of proven ability are devoting their energies and talents to the problems of the population explosion and subsequent food scarcity.

With their leadership, and the concern of an aroused public, there must be hope for the future.

Frank Carlson has always reflected optimism for humanity, as well as a deep personal belief in God and His understanding and compassion. It was particularly fitting that the deliberations in Manhattan reflected Senator Carlson's abiding confidence that we are capable of solving our most perplexing problems in the years ahead.

## PROPOSAL TO INCREASE PERSONAL INCOME TAX EXEMPTION

(Mr. MESKILL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MESKILL. Mr. Speaker, on the opening day of the 91st Congress I reintroduced my bill to double the personal income tax exemption from \$600 to \$1,200. This bill, H.R. 50, contained the signatures of 24 cosponsors. Today, I am introducing an identical bill containing the names of five additional cosponsors.

I am more convinced than ever that this is a necessary and timely proposal as evidenced by the broad support which it has received. Labor leaders and business executives have all endorsed this idea. In addition, it received favorable editorial comment in some 60 newspapers across the country.

The present exemption is the most flagrant injustice of the income tax law. The \$600 figure has existed since the early days of the depression and does not reflect the present cost of feeding, clothing, educating, and maintaining a family member, which has more than tripled. My bill would raise the exemption to a much more realistic level.

Federal red-ink spending has caused so much inflation and has so raised the cost of living that the present \$600 ex-

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emption is nothing more than a token gesture. The Government has set \$3,000 a year as the level of poverty. However, in its tax policies it seem to claim that a person can live on much less. This is, of course, absurd.

The limit should ideally be much higher than even the \$1,200 proposed in this bill but my proposal would grant an urgently needed measure of relief without too great a reduction in Federal revenues. Any possible loss in revenue could more than be made up by tax reforms. Plug up the existing loopholes and the loss in revenue would be offset.

The fact that many of my colleagues have seen fit to cosponsor this proposal points to the growing support for such reform. I sincerely hope that this Congress will respond to the will of the people and take quick and speedy action in approving this bill.

#### BEEF IMPORTS SHOULD BE HELD TO THE CALCULATED QUOTA FOR 1969

(Mr. BERRY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, on page 220 of the Federal Register, under the date of January 7, 1969, there appears a statement over the signature of John A. Schnittker, Acting Secretary of Agriculture, dated December 31, 1968, which announcement referring to Public Law 88-482 reads as follows:

Such limitations are to be imposed when it is estimated by the Secretary of Agriculture that imports of such articles, in the absence of limitations during such calendar year, would equal or exceed 110 percent of the estimated quantity of such articles prescribed by section 2(A) of the Act.

The notice of the Department further reads as follows:

In accordance with the requirements of the Act the following first quarterly estimates are published:

1. The estimated aggregate quantity of such articles which would, in the absence of limitations under the Act be imported during calendar year 1969 is 1,035 million pounds.

2. The estimated quantity of such articles prescribed by section 2(a) of the Act during the calendar year 1969 is 988 million pounds.

Since the estimated quantity of imports does not equal or exceed 110 percent of the estimated quantity prescribed by section 2(a) of the Act, limitations for the calendar year 1969 on the importation of fresh chilled, or frozen cattle meat (TSUS 106.10) and fresh, chilled, or frozen meat of goats and sheep (TSUS 106.20), are not authorized to be imposed pursuant to Public Law 88-482 at this time.

In other words, Mr. Speaker, the Department of Agriculture is again using 110 percent of the estimated quantity of meat imports as a base limitation rather than 100 percent as Congress intended. As has been pointed out to the Department on a number of occasions, the additional 10 percent was allowed in the law not to be used as the determination of the base, but was included to give the Department flexibility in making estimates of the volume of products which

may be imported. It was included in the law because the Secretary himself asked for this leeway since he was not sure how close he might be able to estimate and thus asked Congress to give him a 10-percent leeway.

It was not the intent of Congress that this 10 percent should be used as a means of stretching or expanding the allowable volume above the calculated quota figure. It was not the intention of Congress that the base figure of beef to be imported should be 1,035 million pounds, as the Secretary sets forth in his notice.

Beef imports should be held to the actual, calculated quota for 1969. The 10-percent leeway may be used by the Secretary to prevent a violation of the law, but if it is used as it apparently is being used in the notice of the Department as a base, then, Mr. Speaker, it is time for Congress to take judicial notice of the fact that the Department deliberately plans to flout the law.

Mr. Speaker, I not only sincerely protest the intended flout of the law by the Department, but I shall ask the House Agriculture Committee to bring the Department before them to determine whether it is their intention to deliberately disregard the intention of Congress or whether they are going to force Congress to amend the law to compel the Department to interpret the law the way Congress intended that it should be interpreted.

#### REPORT PREPARED BY DIRECTOR OF OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 36)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Education and Labor and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

I am transmitting a report prepared by the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, required by section 610 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 as amended. The report contains information on the salaries of certain officers and employees of organizations funded under the Economic Opportunity Act.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 7, 1969.

#### SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PEACE CORPS—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs:

To the Congress of the United States:

I take pleasure in transmitting to the Congress the Seventh Annual Report of the Peace Corps.

The statistics of 1968 are impressive by themselves.

—Volunteers began serving in seven new countries, and plans have been set for programs in two more.

—The number of volunteers increased to more than 12,000 men and women serving in 59 countries.

But statistics tell only part of the tale. The two greatest achievements of 1968 were intangible.

For the first time, host country nationals were integrated into the agency's overseas staff. They helped to recruit volunteers in the United States and to train abroad. They assured the pursuit of goals that they had established for themselves, not that we might have dictated to them. As a result, the Corps became a truly effective team effort for international understanding.

This report also shows proof of the relevance of the Peace Corps to problems we face at home. When the Corps began, it boldly promised that those who flocked to it for experience abroad would return better able to direct the destiny of their own country.

Of the 25,000 volunteers who have come home:

—A third have returned to school for advanced degrees.

—Almost a third of those employed teach in inner-city schools, working in jobs that educators find difficult to fill.

—Another third work for Federal, State, and local governments.

So a tour in the Peace Corps has become more than a two-year stint helping others; it has encouraged thousands of youngsters to pursue careers in public service.

This report is a testimony to America's commitment to the future. I commend it to your attention.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 7, 1969.

#### TAX REFORM PROPOSALS—COMMUNICATION FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 35)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication from the President of the United States; which was read and referred to the Committee on Ways and Means and ordered to be printed:

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
Washington, D.C.,  
December 31, 1968.

Hon. JOHN W. McCORMACK,  
Speaker of the House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: The Treasury Department specialists in tax policy some time ago undertook a major effort to prepare tax reform proposals of a comprehensive nature.

The Congress, in the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968, requested that proposals for a comprehensive reform of the Internal Revenue Code be submitted by December 31.

The studies and proposals for tax reform have been developed by the staff of the Treasury Department.

These studies and proposals, although reviewed by Secretary Fowler, should be viewed primarily as the technical product of the Treasury Staff. I have not re-

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Senator MANSFIELD. Mr. President, Lady Bird, Members of the Leadership and my colleagues in the ranks:

If there was one thing I learned in the House, it was to be brief. So, Mr. President and Lady Bird, all I want to say is "Banzai! May you live 10,000 years."

Mr. CARL ALBERT. Now I want to present the loveliest person I ever presented, our First Lady.

Mrs. JOHNSON. May I say thanks very much for those volumes about the Capitol. The Capitol was my beat for a long time. Really, when we say goodbye to Washington, the address of 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue was a small span of time for us in comparison to the years we spent closely affiliated with this building and very close to so many people who serve here.

So I am delighted to see you tonight. I am happy that you asked us here and thank you for those books. We are very proud of them.

Mr. CARL ALBERT. My own strong right arm, the distinguished Majority Whip, Hale Boggs.

Mr. HALE BOGGS. Mr. President and Mrs. Johnson, my colleagues: I can only say on behalf of the Speaker and Carl and myself that all of us are very proud of this turnout, Mr. President. This is a bipartisan turnout. It is a tribute to you, the President of the United States, and your lovely wife. We thank all of you for coming.

Mr. CARL ALBERT. The greatest living legislator in the free world, or any part of the world, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, who will take over.

The SPEAKER. Mr. President, Mrs. Johnson, my distinguished colleagues of both branches of the Congress: You have honored us, Mr. President and Mrs. Johnson, by accepting our invitation to join with us on this occasion. It shows your simplicity, not only your great leadership, but your simplicity as a man, and both of you as human beings.

The House of Representatives and the Senate, without regard to party, entertain for the both of you the highest feeling of friendship and respect and, of course, I have entertained for you and Mrs. Johnson for many years the deepest and most profound feeling of friendship humanly possible and have enjoyed the very close association that has existed between us.

You have been President of the United States during a very trying period of our Nation's history and of the world's history. As I said on the Floor and in the Democratic Caucus, you will go down in history as one of the great Presidents of our beloved country.

As a manifestation of the deep respect and friendship that all of us entertain for you and Mrs. Johnson, I am very pleased, acting for my colleagues, to present to you, Mr. President, and to you, Mrs. Johnson, this beautiful plaque which means so much in the life and history of our country, this building, the Capitol.

To me, as I approach it every morning, it impresses me as if it is the first time I saw the Capitol and the dome. It means so much in the life and history of our country, the Capitol of the United States, that I am very happy, acting for my colleagues, to present to you this beautiful and expressive and significant plaque which I know will be always treasured by you and Mrs. Johnson. The plaque reads:

"To Lyndon Baines Johnson, teacher, legislator, leader, Vice President of the United States, President of the United States, supreme patriot."

It is signed by John W. McCormack, Speaker; Carl Albert, Majority Leader, and Hale Boggs, Majority Whip.

With this plaque, Mr. President, goes our deep affection and friendship for you and Mrs. Johnson.

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Speaker and my beloved friends: When I received the Speaker's

gracious invitation to come up here this afternoon, I accepted and I accepted very eagerly. I reasoned that it never hurts a private citizen to know a few people in public office.

I have never really thought, though, that we were exactly strangers. I don't know how many letters—I am told that we have 31 million pages of material that is enroute to our library from the House and Senate and Presidential days. I really haven't counted the number of letters and special messages I have sent to each of you individually or collectively or even how many telephone calls I have made to you or what time of day I have made them.

But one thing I am sure of, and I believe there will be no division between Democrats and Republicans on this: There has been no communications gap between the President and the House of Representatives.

I imagine if some of you Members had it to do over again, you would never have given your unlisted numbers to the White House operators.

But it has not been a one-way street. You have kept the line of communications open. I doubt if there is a single Member of the Congress who served during my term of office who did not make his views known to me one way or the other. If some of you preferred to use the Washington Post or the Star over the postal service, that is all right.

As I think about it in retrospect, I am not entirely without fault on that score either. I have even been known to use all three networks at times, just to save a stamp. I am not sure it was ever faster than the mails, either. I remember I once asked you early in May to bite the bullet, and I didn't hear the crunch until late in June. Some of the things I heard in the meantime I can't even repeat here this afternoon.

Sure, we have had our differences. We have sometimes aired some of them in public. I have not completed all the studies I am going to make on all the 36 Presidents. I have just started seven volumes on George Washington and I have not gotten down to the members of his family yet, and some of the official documents that came to their possession. But I do believe that I am one of the very few Presidents ever to leave the office of the Presidency without any feelings whatever of bitterness or rancor toward the Congress of the United States.

So the emotion that are in my heart this afternoon are these: Nostalgia as I prepare to take my official leave of you after an association of almost 40 years. I was much more sure of myself last March 31st. We had known for some time, for some years, what we were going to say, but we did not know how to say it or when to say it, and finally January came, and then February, and then March. We just felt that that was the last; we had to do it in March.

So we did say what we said on March 31st. I would not change a word of it. If anything, I would hurry it a little bit. I am just as positive that what I said was in the best interest of this Nation and this world and of myself and my family as I can possibly be.

But I do have to admit to you in candor that you created some doubt, perhaps a little question of my own judgment and intelligence, when I heard on the radio coming up here that 13 days before I leave office you raised the President's salary from \$100,000 to \$200,000. After staying around here 40 years and leaving 13 days before that salary raise, that doesn't show very good judgment on my part, does it?

But I will say this: The poor President who will occupy this office for four years will earn every dollar of it, and then some. And you are going to earn every dollar that you have the willingness to accept.

Now outside of nostalgia, I want to say something else, I feel much gratitude as I remember all of the help and guidance that you have given the President. And finally, I

feel profound respect as I think of the hundreds of billions that you have helped to enact to strengthen America.

With all the recent calls for Congressional reform, your accomplishments have somehow often been overlooked and a valuable sense of perspective has been lost. I am not saying that reform is not needed. Man has yet to devise any institution that can't be improved. There is a need for reform and there is a need of modernization every day. But to say that improvement is needed is not to say that the Congress has not acted properly and is not capable of performing its duties well.

I believe otherwise, and the facts, I think, bear me out. I believe we have just witnessed one of the most creative and one of the most productive eras in the history of the entire American Congress.

When I look back over the various Congresses, some 90 of them, those Congresses find a place in history if they can make a major contribution to just one area of American life. But you Democrats and Republicans have opened new horizons in dozens of fields. I won't list them all, but I do say that you were an Education Congress. There are some 70 bills that have been passed. And in five years you passed 60 bills of the 70 in education.

You were a Civil Rights Congress. You were a Health Congress. Of the 40 bills in the years past, you passed 30 of them.

You were a Conservation Congress. In 188 years, we have created 176 National Parks, and you created 46 of them in five years.

You are a Consumer Congress—more than one dozen consumer bills.

You are an Anti-Poverty Congress. You are a Cities Congress. You are a Housing Congress. The greatest housing bill ever passed was passed last year.

You were a Manpower Congress, a Safe Streets Congress, an Older Americans Congress and a Transportation Congress.

There are more than a dozen accomplishments from 435 Districts. Every man from every District didn't vote for every bill, but I believe that every one of them who I knew voted for what he thought was right for his District and his country, and collectively they have written a record that I think has never been matched in all of our 188 years, and I am proud of it.

Now, I must admit that at times I have felt, as President Truman felt for a brief period, that you were a do-nothing Congress, and that you were a no-good Congress, and that you were a terrible Congress. I guess that is the way our system of government is created. We have the checks and balances and when everybody doesn't agree with the President, he doesn't feel they are as good as they ought to be.

As I leave this town, whatever mistakes have been made, I have made them or my people have made them, and I have no regrets and nothing to lay onto anyone else.

The working people of this country have been good to the President. The business people have tried to make this a better Nation. The House and Senate have helped us. They didn't make a confirmation I wanted, or ratify a treaty I wanted, but more than 500 constructive measures—sometimes they cut out or added to them, but they did their jobs as they saw fit and they did it well and they did it better in this government than any other government in all the world, in my judgment.

I don't have much patience for these people who spend all their time saying what is wrong with the Congress and what is wrong with the courts and what is wrong with the country. We have the best country in the world if we just quit talking about it.

This Congress was my home for so long. I love it so deeply and I know how it does rise to the demands of our time and I hope and pray it will continue to do so.



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all prudence and restraint is surely also true. When a man is fighting for his life, it is a little hard to expect him to proceed with all the solemn care that might be exercised by some fellow who never felt a wound.

#### AUTHORIZING PAYMENT OF EXPENSES OF HOLDERS OF CONGRESSIONAL MEDALS OF HONOR INCIDENT TO ATTENDANCE AT PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURATION

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution (H. Res. 83) and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

##### H. RES. 83

*Resolved*, That there are authorized to be paid out of the contingent fund of the House of Representatives, on vouchers approved by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, not to exceed \$15,000 for the payment of expenses incurred by holders of Congressional Medals of Honor incident to their attendance at the presidential inauguration on January 20, 1969.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to rise in support of the resolution introduced by the gentleman from Texas (Mr. TEAGUE), the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

This resolution would authorize the expenses from the contingent fund of the House of Representatives in an amount not to exceed \$15,000 for the payment of expenses incurred by Congressional Medal of Honor holders incident to their attendance at the forthcoming presidential inauguration.

Mr. Speaker, it is not necessary for me to enumerate the heroic services made by this distinguished group of Americans.

Suffice it to say that there is too little opportunity to express the gratitude of the Nation to this heroic group of our citizens. These men, all of whom have performed acts of gallantry and bravery above and beyond the call of duty, have been invited to attend and participate in the presidential inauguration and the varied activities associated therewith.

There are only 279 holders of the Congressional Medal of Honor who are living today. The medal they wear so proudly and with justification for heroic acts of heroism was not awarded in the name of any single administration or in the name of the executive or judicial branch of Government. It was awarded in the name of this body—the Congress of the United States. These men are recipients of our medal—the Congressional Medal of Honor. It is, therefore, appropriate that this body appropriate from its contingency fund moneys to underwrite the cost of their trip to Washington to accept the invitation already tendered to attend the inauguration of the next President of the United States.

To refresh our memories about the caliber of men we are honoring by this small token of recognition, let me cite a few brief facts about the Medal of Honor. It is awarded by the President of the United States in the name of Con-

gress to persons who, while on active duty in the Armed Forces of the United States, perform acts of heroism at the risk of life.

To receive the Medal of Honor each recipient must meet the common standards of "above and beyond the call of duty." Yet, as a group, they are uncommon for they represent no single military rank or branch of service, profession or station in life, or race, color, creed, or national origin.

I support this resolution and urge that it be expeditiously approved.

(Mr. ADAIR asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### APPOINTMENT AS MEMBERS OF THE MIGRATORY BIRD CONSERVATION COMMISSION

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of title 16, United States Code, section 715a, as amended, the Chair appoints as members of the Migratory Bird Conservation Commission the following members on the part of the House: Mr. DINGELL, of Michigan, and Mr. CONTE, of Massachusetts.

#### RECEPTION FOR THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, LYNDON B. JOHNSON, IN THE LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

(Mr. PICKLE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, last evening the Members of the House of Representatives and the Members of the Senate were privileged to have as honored guests the President and Mrs. Lyndon Johnson. The reception was held in the Longworth House Office Building in honor and recognition of the President and the First Lady for their many years of devoted service to the American people. More than four hundred members, both Democrats and Republicans, came to pay their respect to the President and to the Presidency.

The President was relaxed, pleasant and in high good spirits, and the First Lady, as always, was the gracious, charming First Lady who has captured the American people's heart. It was a thrilling experience for those who attended to see the President in such good spirits and in turn to see the sincere and genuine expression of friendship on the part of all Members.

Whatever our party affiliation or our districts or whatever feeling any of us might have had about particular legislation, last night was an evening that laid aside all differences and complete emphasis was placed on a genuine spirit of appreciation.

Having spent some 40 years in the Nation's Capital as a public servant, the

President can look back on many great accomplishments and recall many exciting moments of our country's history. As Congressman, Senator, Vice President, and President, he served his country nobly. He has been a moving force in every momentous decision that this Nation has had in the last 30 years, at least. During the past 5 years as President, more accomplishments have been achieved than perhaps in any similar period of history.

Indeed, Mr. Speaker, history will record that more great achievements were reached during these past 5 years than in the last quarter of a century. And as the President has worked on these matters, always there was the quiet presence of Lady Bird Johnson who has been the inspiration for the President all of these years.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Record at this point the exchange of remarks made by those who were privileged to say a few words at this ceremony. It was one of the most delightful evenings in Washington. I submit we should share these comments with all American citizens.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. CARL ALBERT. Ladies and gentlemen, may I have your attention just a minute.

We are all so happy that our great President has turned out to be with us and our lovely First Lady, Mrs. Lady Bird Johnson. We are not going to make a formal function out of this, but we do have a couple of presentations that we would like to make on behalf of the Members of the House.

First of all, on behalf of the Leadership and the Capitol Historical Society, I want to ask Fred Schwengel to make a presentation to the President.

Mr. FRED SCHWENGEL. Mr. President and Mrs. Johnson, Members of the Leadership and my colleagues and good friends:

Mr. President, you, like many of us, have been highly honored, and you, more than the rest of us. We have been honored with your presence here. All of us have tried to honor our country as you have with service.

Now I am honored, as President of the United States Capitol Historical Society, to present to you a collection of books, a book in six world languages.

Allen Nevins wrote for the preface, "Since 1800, the Capitol has been the scene of grim, hard work by many thousands of conscientious legislators and their aides who have thought little of public fame, but much of accomplishments and their tasks."

Mr. President, you were one of those who served so ably, first as an aide and then as a legislator. A grateful House of Representatives presents these volumes in languages spoken by more than a billion people in this world in the hope that they will bring back many pleasant memories to both of you and to one like you who has no peer in his love for his country and the Capitol.

I am reading from a card that goes with this presentation. It is signed by Speaker McCormack, Mr. Carl Albert, Gerald Ford, Hale Boggs and Leslie Arends. With this present, Mr. President, I join your many colleagues, Republicans and Democrats, in wishing you well, Godspeed and bless both of you. Come back to see us. Thank you.

Mr. CARL ALBERT. The House is happy to welcome back one of its most distinguished former Members, who has a pretty important job now, the distinguished Majority Leader of the Senate. Mike, we want you to say a word.

acts of violence committed in the course of Arab warfare that continues against Israel in violation of the cease-fire. "A cowardly act of barbaric insanity" labelled it the Ceylon Daily News of 28 December. "Another act of insanity" cried the Buenos Aires Herald on 27 December. "A condemnable act" said Dagens Nyleter of Stockholm on 28 December.

From all continents, from all parts of the world, came expressions of shock and anger.

The attempt to blow up an airplane with all its passengers and crew and endanger the lives of many others at a neutral airport was of the same character as throwing grenades into a crowded bus station, exploding dynamite charges in a market place, placing button shaped mines in school yards, planting mines under tourist buses. Defeated in their aggression of May-June 1967, the Arab States were now trying to prove their mettle by war against women and children. Thwarted in their openly proclaimed plan to destroy Israel and annihilate its people in 1967, the Arab governments have turned in 1968 to bleeding Israel by murder of the innocent and defenseless, by terror and sabotage. At the Athens airport the warfare by stealth, merciless and indiscriminate, reached new depths of baselessness. It was clear that it must not be left without reaction.

Where was the action to come from? The world, shocked as it was, remained paralyzed and the governments strangely silent. The people of Israel were once again on their own. Israel knew that it was again up to itself to uphold its rights, to protect its citizens, to prevent a stranglehold on its air lifeline.

The decision was taken. Israel acted. Yet how different its action was from that of the Arab aggressors.

The attackers of the El-Al aircraft in Athens testified that they were Lebanese who came from Lebanon. One of them was Lebanese born, the other a resident and national of Lebanon. Both lived in the city of Tripoli. Both were members of the Palestine Liberation Front, the same terror organization that claimed credit for the act of piracy committed against the El-Al plane last June. Its headquarters are situated in Beirut.

In the last months the concentration of raiders increased especially in the vicinity of the Lebanon Israel cease fire line. The number of sabotage raids in this area between August and December 1968 was twenty two. The encouragement and the complicity of the Lebanese government are no doubt accountable for the rapid expansion of the front activities.

Prime Minister Al Yofi has announced several times that his government supports terror operations against Israel. This morning he declared again, "The fedayeen operations are legal and sacred."

An opinion was expressed in this council that Israel's action was disproportionate to the terror attacks that preceded it. When would Israel's action have been proportionate to them? Had the assailants of the aircraft in Athens succeeded in blowing up the plane and killing the fifty persons aboard, or they brought about the explosion of other airplanes on the field and of the airport installations, would this have made the Israeli action proportionate? Should we have waited until Arab warfare succeeded in bringing about such a catastrophe? Should we have waited until terror attacks from Lebanon against Israel territory resulted in more casualties and more damage?

It is odd to hear several supporters of Arabs aggression in the Middle East suggest that Israel pay compensation for the aircraft destroyed at the Beirut airport field. And who will pay for the lost Israeli lives? Is the single life of the Israeli engineer killed in Athens, while on a U.N. mission, worth less than all the metal and wire and upholstery destroyed in Beirut?

Who will determine this? Or are the shares of the owners of the Arab airlines more privileged than human life? Who will compen-

sate Israel for the hundreds of its citizens killed in the course of the existing cease-fire? Who will make reparations for the damage of the border villages that are being shelled incessantly or the Jews, lingering since June 1967, in Arab concentration camps. Or the property of nearly a million Jewish refugees from Arab lands, for twenty years of Arab war against Israeli territory and people?

Here in the Security Council of the United Nations, a quarter century after the defeat of Nazi barbarism, are we to hear that the scrap iron of airplanes is worth more than Jewish blood?

It is perhaps not by accident and it may even be symbolic that the most penetrating assessment of the situation came under the name of Winston Churchill, the younger Winston Churchill, in the London Evening News of 30 December, today: "On the one hand . . .", he wrote, "A deliberate (but bungled) attempt was made to destroy an Israeli civil airliner as it was taxing out for take off with 51 people aboard. On the other hand a raid that resulted in the destruction of 13 empty aircraft that was meticulously planned and executed to avoid loss of life (and it appears, succeeded in this respect) should come in for so much more condemnation from the British, French and American governments than the deliberate attempts to destroy an airliner with all its passengers aboard . . ."

Israel desires tranquility on the cease-fire line with Lebanon as on other cease-fire lines. There will be tranquility if Lebanon abides by the cease-fire and puts an end to acts of violence by terror organizations operating from its territory, contrary to the cease-fire. In the last twenty years such acts of aggression have only brought disaster and suffering to all the people of the area.

I have returned from Israel two hours ago. I have found the people and its government determined to follow a course of peace, resolved to end the war that has plagued the Middle East since 1948. But I have found a people which, if war continues to be waged against it, will defend itself with all its soul and all its heart and all its might. To this people it is immaterial how this warfare is being waged or how it is defined. Whether attacked by the shell of a regular army's artillery or by the bazooka bomb of an irregular military force, the people of Israel will defend itself. Whether death is forced upon it by an Arab army or by a terror warfare organization supported by Arab governments and committed to Israel's annihilation, the people of Israel will not yield to it. They will repel it as best they can, by whatever means they possess. For in the struggle for life it is the right to live that precedes all. I have found a people that has suffered all too much, all too long, to be deterred from achieving its objective—to live at peace, real peace, like all other nations. I have found a people that will not agree that laws valid for all should be non-applicable to itself.

It must end. The Arab States can and should end it. The Security Council must call upon them to do so. To omit such a call again can only encourage further breaches of the cease-fire. If peace is to come, the cease-fire must be maintained. There is no reason why it should not be. Israel hopes that all governments in the area will now realize that it is in the interest of all of us to respect the cease-fire and to prevent all its violations by whatever means committed, so that we may devote our efforts fully toward the establishment of a just and lasting peace.

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 3, 1969]  
ISRAEL REPRISAL SHOULD BE PUT INTO THE PERSPECTIVE OF HISTORY  
(By William S. White)

All this breast-beating condemnation of Israel by "world opinion" for the Israelis' reprisal attack upon the airport in Lebanon

needs some cool re-examination and some factual perspective.

It is true that Israel's action here, in retaliation for a terrorist Arab assault upon an Israeli aircraft in Athens in which an Israeli lost his life, was unwise and excessive—if judged in total isolation. For Lebanon has been a moderate force within the Arab bloc and has thus far joined only by words in the "holy war" being conducted against Israel by more vehement—and Communist-oriented—states such as Nasser Egypt.

Still, this whole business cannot be understood out of its whole context. When all the facts, and not just some of them, are seen without prejudice, Israel comes off incomparably better than it is coming off in the excited indictments now being flung about inside and outside the United Nations.

First of all, Israel's commandos at any rate took the greatest care in Lebanon to take no man's life. But the essential points are vastly deeper. Here is a nation dug out of the hard, arid earth that for all its life has been tirelessly menaced by extremist Arabs from every side.

Week after week, month after month, year after year the Israelis have been drenched by the poisonous hatred of Cairo Radio.

Eternally threatened, they have lived in a stockade state, much as did the American pioneers. Endlessly attacked along their frontiers, they have responded with a courage and an élan rarely seen in contemporary times.

Explicitly and repeatedly told by Arabs that they are going to be destroyed by Arabs, it is perhaps not too surprising that after two decades it is growing difficult for them to see that "big picture" which statesmen far from the scene are pleased to paint for them.

It is very surprising, then, that finally they react with undue violence, considering the further point that never once have they been granted elementary justice by a U.N. presently headed by the openly prejudiced Secretary General U Thant?

The simple, historic reality is that the Israelis have never stood a chance in the U.N., where the Russians and their tinpot and sometimes crypto-Communist allies among the African and Asian states have used this tough and tiny Western outpost as a kind of badminton shuttlecock in the cold war.

But there is an even more fundamental truth, and it is this: It is no longer liberally chic to be pro-Israel, where once it was too liberally chic altogether. Twenty years ago, "elite" American opinion sentimentalized Israel out of all reason. Today, "elite" American opinion can hardly find anything good about the Israelis.

It would require a book fully to explore this turnaround; this columnist's opinion is that Israel has fallen out of grace not because of its considerable faults but rather because of its old-fashioned virtues.

For the Israelis oddly cling to certain outmoded concepts which in a short-hand way are more conservative than otherwise, to wit:

They do not happily embrace any and all "revolutions," such as Col. Abdel Gamal Nasser's exported "revolutions" in places like Yemen. They feel no shame in being patriots. They love their country; they will unhesitatingly fight for it. And they will not be talked out of their right—and duty—of self-defense.

They do not accept the new isolationism, the new pacenikism, of the New Left now so popular in quarters here and abroad. Having been told several thousand times that pro-Communist Arabs intend the literal destruction of their way of life, they have come to believe it.

That Lebanon is not really a part of this conspiracy is true enough. That Lebanon's airport has been attacked is in every way regrettable. But that the world can hardly expect a people so long brutalized by hostile neighbors to respond in every instance with

ganization and give her the collective security of the entire European community against Soviet aggression.

We now have three Mediterranean nations in NATO: Greece, Italy and Turkey. With the expansion of the Soviet fleet into the Mediterranean, Israel should be treated as a member of the European community and not isolated in the Middle East.

The United States should also make clear that while we seek peace in the Middle East and while we seek to live in friendship with all the nations of the Middle East, including the Arab States, the United States has a historic commitment to the survival of a free and sovereign Israel and we must consider any attack on the State of Israel an attack on the peace of the world.

The United States played a key role in the rebirth of the free state of Israel. The United States cannot sit idly by and watch the dissolution of Israel by her warring neighbors.

We cannot sit idly by because Israel alone bravely stands as a bulwark against Communist expansion in the Middle East and Africa.

It has been wisely stated that he who controls Africa—the rich in natural resources continent of Africa—controls the world. We have a right to ask why the Soviet Union has rearmed all of the Arab States and why the Communists continue to foment unrest against Israel.

The answer is clear.

The Soviet Union perhaps even more than the Arab States themselves want to see the destruction of Israel because only Israel bravely stands in the way of Communist hopes for total domination of the Middle East and Africa.

The Soviets will fail. Anyone who knows the tenacious spirit and love of human dignity demonstrated by the Jewish people for the past 2,000 years despite indescribable persecution must quickly realize the Jews will not meekly surrender the homeland they sought so diligently for all of these centuries.

It is for this reason, Mr. Speaker, that it is important for Americans to understand all the issues in this tragic confrontation.

What happens in Israel and to Israel is of vital concern to all Americans.

The survival of Israel as a free state is not a sentimental journey for Jewish people alone. The survival of a free Israel is in the highest interest of the United States if Soviet expansion is to be checked and peace preserved.

That is why, Mr. Speaker, I believe we should recognize Israel's difficult position and assist her instead of joining in condemnation.

This trend toward exporting terrorism must be stopped at all costs before it gets out of hand. The Israelis bravely have shown us how this international terrorism can be effectively stopped.

The material referred to follows:

THE ISRAELI ACTION AT THE BEIRUT AIRPORT,  
DECEMBER 28, 1968

#### A. LEBANESE RESPONSIBILITY FOR TERRORISM

1. Since September 1968, 18 terrorist incidents have taken place from Lebanese soil, with the overt encouragement of the Lebanese Government. The terrorist group most active in Lebanon is the one which calls itself "The Popular Front for the Liberation of

Palestine." This is the group that claimed responsibility both for the hijacking of the El Al plane to Algeria in July 1968 and for the terror attack on the El Al plane at Athens on December 28, 1968. The group maintains its headquarters in Beirut and is allowed to function openly. Its communiques are regularly published in Beirut. It was from Beirut Airport that the two perpetrators who sprayed machinegun fire and threw explosives at the El Al plane at Athens had departed. One passenger was killed and a stewardess wounded during that attack.

2. Lebanese official support for terror against Israel is reflected in numerous public statements. In the words of the Lebanese Prime Minister on November 2, 1968:

"Fedayeen action is legitimate, and no one can condemn the fedayeen for what they are doing. Their aim is to retrieve their homeland and their plundered rights. . . Thus, I say, fedayeen action is legal." (Radio Beirut, 11.2.68.)

Following the attempt to destroy the El Al plane at Athens Airport. Radio Cairo on December 28th quoted Lebanese official sources as "praising the courage of the perpetrators." This was echoed in the Lebanese daily, *El-Hadaf*, 12.28.68: The action at Athens was an outstanding act of heroism. The path of struggle is a difficult one, but those who follow it faithfully will ultimately reach the goal."

#### B. SCOPE OF ISRAELI ACTION

3. As a result of the Israeli action at the Beirut Airport, December 28, 1968, 12 to 14 Arab aircraft were destroyed or severely damaged (9 jets and 3-5 turbo-jets.)

4. At great risk to themselves, Israeli troops at the Airport exercised the strictest precaution to prevent civilian casualties. The planes were emptied of passengers and ground crews, and people in the vicinity were led away to safety. Loudspeakers were employed to issue instructions in Arabic and English. The only shots fired were warning shots in the air. No fire was directed at people. There is no truth in the allegation that explosives and machine guns were used. Smoke bombs were employed against the possible arrival of Lebanese reinforcements. The runways were left untouched.

#### C. THE PURPOSE OF THE ISRAELI ACTION

5. In contrast to the severe precautions to avoid civilian casualties in the Israeli action, the terror attack on the El Al plane in Athens was one of cold-blooded murder. Thirty-eight passengers including women and children, were in the plane when it was struck by grenades and machinegun fire. That the plane, with its 30 tons of fuel, did not explode on the spot was due more to chance than design.

6. The Athens incident was the second act of violence in six months by a Beirut-based terror group directed against the Israel national airline. Following the piratical act in July, Israel made it clear that it would not tolerate interference with the free and innocent movement of its aircraft.

Last week's criminal attack at Athens Airport again highlighted the dangers inherent in this method of terrorization which may be expected to spread if no reaction is forthcoming.

7. Israel has no desire in worsening its relations with Lebanon. It is, however, obliged to defend itself against any aggression at the place where it is planned and carried out. States that make it possible for terrorist groups to organize and perpetrate acts of terror bear responsibility for the aggression. Under the rules of international morality and law, no State is allowed to harbor and encourage armed forces operating from its territory against a neighboring State, and then be considered immune from reaction in self-defense.

8. For Israel, a country surrounded on every border by enemies foresworn to its destruction, the national airline is a vital life-line to the world outside. Any attempt

to interfere with its legal freedom of movement is a blow at Israel's security.

#### LEBANON CANNOT DISCLAIM RESPONSIBILITY FOR TERRORISM

(Statement by Prime Minister Eshkol, Jerusalem, December 29, 1968)

After the piratical act of the kidnapping of the El Al Plane last July, we refrained from reacting in force and took diplomatic action instead for the release of the plane, crew and passengers. I made it clear at that time, on behalf of the Government, that we would not accept any interference with the free movement along our air routes. I emphasized that kidnapping not only endangered Israel but also violated principles of freedom and safety of aviation, and I called for a cessation of acts of this kind.

#### UNPRECEDENTED CRIMINAL ATTACK

Unfortunately, an end has not been put to this dangerous practice. Once again, an unprecedented criminal attack has been perpetrated, this time on an El Al plane at the International Airport at Athens. Terrorists threw hand-grenades and Molotov cocktails, and shot from machine-guns at a civilian aircraft carrying passengers in innocent flight to their destination. One of the passengers was killed, and a stewardess was wounded. It was only by chance that the assault did not claim a larger number of victims. The aim of the assailants was to kill dozens of people and by spreading fear paralyze Israel aviation.

The attack was carried out with the purpose of causing a large number of casualties. It is difficult to exaggerate the gravity of this deed of violence and bloodshed. No State has the right to ignore the danger emanating from such a criminal method of terrorization, which may be expected to spread if no reaction is forthcoming.

#### LEBANON BEARS RESPONSIBILITY

We have no desire whatsoever of worsening our relations with Lebanon. Israel is interested in a delimitation of the hostile front—not in its expansion. But we are obliged to defend ourselves against all aggression, in the place where it is planned and carried out. This practice adopted by our enemies must stop. States that make it possible for terrorist organizations to organize and perpetrate acts of terror bear responsibility for aggression, a responsibility they cannot disclaim. This is accepted as a fundamental principle of international law. On no account can we accept the notion that the waging of war against Israel should be permitted if those who wage it call themselves this or that organization and not a government.

The facts are clear: the terrorist band that struck at our plane operated out of Beirut. In Beirut are located the headquarters of the organization that carried out the deed. From Beirut went out the organization's words of bravado concerning its deed—as well as the statement proclaiming its intention to continue with actions of this kind. Under rules of international morality and law, a State is not allowed to harbor and encourage an armed force operating from its territory against a neighboring State and be considered immune from reaction.

These terrorist methods employed by Israel's enemies strike not at Israel alone but are capable of causing the gravest interference in international civil aviation.

Israel calls for the honoring of the rights of all States to fly their international airlines in freedom and safety.

EXCERPTS FROM ISRAEL'S REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS, MR. YOSEPH YEKOA, AT THE SECURITY COUNCIL, DECEMBER 30, 1968.

Inhuman in its lust for blood, indifferent to the catastrophic dangers involved, oblivious of international interests and rights, the attack in Athens was the most despicable of



January 7, 1969

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

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ceived, considered, or made any judgments on these staff proposals. They are the technical product of the tax specialists in the Department and have not been discussed or examined by me.

I have conferred with the Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee and the Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, the appropriate committees handling this legislation, concerning what seems most appropriate under existing circumstances. We believe that in justice to the Administration that will take office within the next month and who will have to live with and administer any legislation passed, it is only appropriate that they have the opportunity to examine carefully and make their judgment on these matters. All data pertaining to this matter will be made available to the incoming Secretary of the Treasury promptly, and he and I have discussed this procedure and the Secretary-designate concurs in this decision.

The Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee has been informed that since the Congress will not resume until January 3, all data are available to the Congress when they desire to receive it. I have been today informed by the Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, the Ranking Minority Member and the new Secretary that they will make their own arrangements for the proper consideration of any tax proposals that may be desired at a date acceptable to the three of them.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

#### CHAPLAIN CAPODANNO POSTHUMOUSLY AWARDED MEDAL OF HONOR

(Mr. MURPHY of New York asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, today I attended a very impressive and moving ceremony at the Washington Navy Yard. The occasion was the posthumous presentation of the Congressional Medal of Honor, our Nation's highest military honor, to Chaplain Vincent Robert Capodanno, a lieutenant in the Navy Chaplain Corps who was killed in action on September 4, 1967, in Quang Tin Province, Republic of Vietnam.

Father Capodanno was born and raised in Staten Island, N.Y., which is part of the congressional district I represent. He attended Curtis High School in Staten Island and Fordham University in New York. He studied for the Catholic priesthood at Maryknoll Seminaries in Glen Ellyn, Ill., Bedford, Mass., and New York City, and he was ordained a Catholic priest on June 7, 1957.

Father Capodanno had a distinguished record of service long before he won the Medal of Honor. He served as a missionary for the Catholic Foreign Mission Society in the Far East from 1958 until 1965.

He became a Navy chaplain on December 28, 1965, and began his service in Vietnam in April of 1966. From then until the time of his death he won the Purple Heart and the Vietnamese Gal-

lantry Cross with Silver Star, among other awards.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I am attaching a copy of the citation for Father Capodanno's Medal of Honor and a copy of the address given by Secretary of the Navy Paul Ignatius at the award ceremony.

Words, of course, cannot adequately describe this man's heroic deed, nor can a medal adequately honor his ultimate sacrifice; his service to his men and to his country and to his God are so extraordinary that they can never be fully honored. But for a man such as Father Capodanno, for whom service to God and country came before any personal consideration, the fact that he died serving his God and his country, in a manner consistent with his strongest convictions, is more honor than we can ever give him.

This Nation and this world have lost an extraordinary man; we should be thankful that we had the benefit of his service and dedication for the time he lived.

The citation and address follow:

#### CITATION

The President of the United States in the name of The Congress takes pride in presenting the Medal of Honor posthumously to Lieutenant Vincent R. Capodanno, Chaplain Corps, United States Naval Reserve, for service as set forth in the following citation:

For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty as Chaplain, 3rd Battalion, 5th Marines, in connection with operations against enemy forces in Quang Tin Province, Republic of Vietnam, on 4 September 1967. In response to reports that the 2nd Platoon of M Company was in danger of being overrun by a strong enemy force, Chaplain Capodanno left his position of relative safety with the company command group and ran to the beleaguered platoon through an open area raked with fire. Despite the intense enemy small-arms, automatic-weapons, and mortar fusillade, he moved about the battlefield, administering last rites, giving medical aid to the wounded, and greatly inspiring all within sight or hearing. Although an exploding mortar round severed a portion of his right hand and inflicted painful, multiple wounds to his arms and legs, he refused all medical aid. Instead, he directed the corpsmen to treat their wounded comrades, and he continued to move about the battlefield with calm vigor as he provided encouragement by voice and example to the valiant Marines. Seeing a wounded corpsman directly in the line of fire of an enemy machine gun fifteen yards away, Chaplain Capodanno rushed forward to the corpsman, but was struck down only inches from his goal by a burst of machine-gun fire. By his heroic conduct and inspiring example, Chaplain Capodanno upheld the highest traditions of the United States Naval Service. He gallantly gave his life in the cause of freedom.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

REMARKS BY HON. PAUL R. IGNATIUS, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, AT POSTHUMOUS MEDAL OF HONOR PRESENTATION TO LT. VINCENT R. CAPODANNO, CHAPLAIN CORPS, U.S. NAVAL RESERVE, WASHINGTON NAVY YARD, WASHINGTON, D.C., JANUARY 7, 1969

Mr. and Mrs. Capodanno, Admiral Moorer, members of the Congress, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

We are here today to award our nation's highest military honor to a truly heroic individual, Vincent Robert Capodanno, who was killed in action on 4 September 1967 in Quang Tin Province, Republic of Vietnam.

A lieutenant in the Navy Chaplain Corps, he is the third chaplain in our country's history to receive the Medal of Honor, and the second Navy chaplain to be so honored.

Indeed, men like Chaplain Capodanno are unusual men. From the time he accepted his appointment in the Chaplain Corps in December 1965, until his death, he repeatedly distinguished himself. The Purple Heart and the Vietnamese Gallantry Cross with Silver Star, among other awards, attest to this.

The act that Chaplain Capodanno so selflessly performed—the one that brings us here because it earned him his country's highest award—was consistent with the exemplary life he led.

Learning that the Second Platoon of the M Company, 5th Marine Regiment, was engaged in savage fighting and might be overrun, he ran to join them. The unit was pinned down by enemy fire. Despite this, he proceeded to minister to the wounded and the dying.

His actions were an inspiration to the young Marines who saw him. His words of faith strengthened morale and provided encouragement to those who heard him.

Although seriously wounded in this action, he refused medical aid so that others could be treated, and continued ministering to his men. Seeing a wounded corpsman whose position was in the direct line of enemy fire, he dashed to his side. In so doing he made the ultimate sacrifice.

Today, it is my privilege to award Chaplain Vincent R. Capodanno the Medal of Honor, posthumously, for his heroism in the face of impossible odds; for his courageous support to the men who looked up to him for guidance and spiritual strength; and for his willingness to make man's greatest possible sacrifice for his country in its struggle for peace in the world.

Admiral Moorer, the Chief of Naval Operations, will now read the citation.

#### PORNOGRAPHY MUST BE KEPT OUT OF OUR HOMES

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. CAHILL) is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Speaker, I have taken this special order to advise the House that I am introducing a bill which, if enacted, should prevent the use of the mails for the transmittal of obscene matters to our homes.

Every Member can attest to the outrage of the citizens of this Nation who, in spite of their every effort, have been unable to prevent the delivery through the U.S. mails of smut and pornography. This is particularly true when minor children are in the home.

In 1968 alone postal authorities received over 165,000 formal complaints from recipients of obscene mailings. My investigations reveal that most of these complaints were from parents of children who are of school age. In my judgment, this legislation is absolutely necessary to prevent unscrupulous publishers and dealers from using the U.S. mails as a pipeline for the unconscionable flow of smut and obscenity to minors.

The bill that I am introducing has been drafted to conform to recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions and would specifically prohibit mail-order sales of obscene materials to children under 16 years of age. My bill would make the unsolicited mailing of hard-core pornography to any family with children under 16

a Federal crime punishable by fine and jail sentence.

Mr. Speaker, I realize the constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and expression, and like all Members support the protections inherent in the first amendment to our Constitution. However, our Supreme Court has consistently held that hard-core pornography is not protected by the Constitution, particularly where the interests of children are concerned. Recently our Supreme Court in a landmark decision held that the rights of parents to direct their children's education and upbringing include the ability to protect them from offensive and obscene books and photographs. Based upon this ruling and my conviction that the legislation that I have introduced does not violate any constitutional rights, I truly believe that if enacted it would be the answer to the removal of smut and pornography from homes in which young children reside.

Mr. Speaker, this is a national problem and requires the attention and action of this National Legislature. I hope that the Members will examine the bill which I am introducing and that they will support its enactment into law.

#### ISRAEL'S DETERMINED EFFORT TO STOP EXPORTATION OF TERRORISM IS THE ONLY WAY TO AVOID ANOTHER VIETNAM IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. PUCINSKI) is recognized for 30 minutes.

(Mr. PUCINSKI asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PUCINSKI. The Speaker, much is being said today about Israel's destruction of some 13 civilian Arab airliners at Beirut Airport.

The United Nations, in a hasty, albeit, poorly thought-out action, severely censured Israel when in fact the United Nations should have been addressing itself to the growing trend by the Communists to export terrorism in pursuit of their own goals.

Let there be no mistake about what is involved in this whole matter. Only the brave Government of Israel is able today to understand that the same kind of terror tactics which led to the war in South Vietnam are now being exported by terrorists to other parts of the world.

It may be difficult for the average American to understand this, but the fact remains that what we are witnessing in the world today is a gigantic effort by the Soviet conspiracy to continue the turmoil it started 20 years ago and to ultimately precipitate the destruction of Israel as a sovereign state. For Israel alone stands in the way of Soviet expansion into the Middle East and Africa.

I am mindful that the attack on the 13 Arab airliners at Beirut was forceful and severe.

But I am mindful also of the fact that the Government of Israel has stated with complete clarity, and in my judgment, complete justification, that it will re-

taliate for acts of terrorism against the Israelis at the place where plans for such terrorism are spawned.

I am amazed that the United States has joined in the denunciation of Israel without looking at all the facts.

There can be no doubt that the attack on an Israel civilian airliner at Athens was but one more arrogant act of terrorism by the Arabs which the Israelis have endured since the rebirth of their nation.

Mr. William S. White, the distinguished American journalist, quite properly stated the case in his column of January 3 when he wrote that the Israel reprisal should be put into the perspectives of history. I shall include Mr. White's entire column at the conclusion of my remarks. But at this point I should like to cite a significant observation by this outstanding American observer when he properly points out:

Week after week, month after month, year after year the Israelis have been drenched by the poisonous hatred of Cairo Radio.

He states further:

Eternally threatened, they have lived in a stockade state, much as did the American pioneers. Endlessly attacked along their frontiers, they have responded with a courage and an elan rarely seen in contemporary times.

Explicitly and repeatedly told by Arabs that they are going to be destroyed by Arabs, it is perhaps not too surprising that after two decades, it is growing difficult for them to see that "big picture" which statesmen far from the scene are pleased to paint for them.

Is it very surprising, then, that finally they react with undue violence, considering the further point that never once have they been granted elementary justice by a U.N. presently headed by the openly prejudiced Secretary General U Thant?

The simple, historic reality is that the Israelis have never stood a chance in the U.N., where the Russians and their tinpot and some times crypto-Communist allies among the African and Asian states have used this tough and tiny Western outpost as a kind of badminton shuttlecock in the cold war.

Thus, it can be stated without contradiction that we cannot judge the Israeli attack on Beirut in total isolation. Looked at in its proper perspective, Israel's action emerges in a new and more meaningful light.

Mr. Speaker, in order for us to understand the magnitude of the Israeli effort toward world peace and its stubborn determination to avoid another Vietnam in the Middle East, it is important for us to recall the beginning of the crisis in Vietnam.

The record is replete with evidence the Communists staged violent acts of terrorism and subversion against the South Vietnamese until they brought this nation to the brink of collapse. The United States was forced into the conflict in order to save South Vietnam from this terrorism.

I have said time and again that Vietnam is the testing ground for the Communists' new technique of warfare—warfare through terrorism and subversion.

You cannot dismiss the acts of terrorism against the Israelis as the acts of individuals motivated by nationalistic passions and emotions.

The evidence will show that the ever-increasing violence against the Israelis both within their own boundaries and now in more remote areas such as the attack at Athens, are being carried out by a well-organized, and well-trained apparatus with its headquarters within the borders of the Arab States.

There are those who argue that Lebanon has had a 20-year record of passivity and discretion toward the State of Israel. This may be so, but the record now shows that Lebanon is today the citadel—with or without official sanction of the Lebanese Government—for various Arab terrorist groups that continue to plot aggression of the most brutal sort against Israel and her people.

In their attack on Beirut, the Israelis were carrying out their policy of striking at the nerve center where these conspiracies against the Israelis are spawned. Beirut was not selected because it is an easy target. It was selected because the Lebanese Government has either failed or has chosen not to make its territory available to the terrorist groups attacking Israel.

I am placing in the RECORD at this point two documents prepared by the Israeli Government which I believe are important if we are to understand the present conflict in its proper perspective.

The first explains in detail the Israeli action at Beirut and the reason why Beirut was chosen.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that a careful reading of the evidence contained in this document will demonstrate the degree of patience the Israelis have demonstrated for so long a time before finally taking action against the nerve center of conspiracy against Israel.

It is important to point out the extreme care Israeli troops took—at considerable risk to their own safety—to prevent civilian casualties.

Even in war, the Jews continue to reflect their historic concern for the value of human life.

I am also enclosing Prime Minister Eshkol's statement why Lebanon cannot disclaim responsibility for terrorism.

Mr. Speaker, I am also including excerpts from Israel's statement to the United Nations delivered by her representative, Mr. Joseph Yekoa.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I am including Mr. White's column in its entirety.

I believe these documents will help Americans better understand why the United States action in censuring Israel was precipitous and fails to take into consideration Israel's very valid reasons for her strong action.

Only tiny, but brave Israel understands that unless terrorism is stopped at the site where it is spawned, this kind of international violence will grow in intensity and finally engulf the world in another world war.

We owe Israel a debt of gratitude for her mature and historic understanding of the enemy and not condemnation of her effort.

Mr. Speaker, I believe we can repair the damage done to world peace by the censure of Israel. I believe the United States should lead the way in inviting Israel into the North Atlantic Treaty Or-